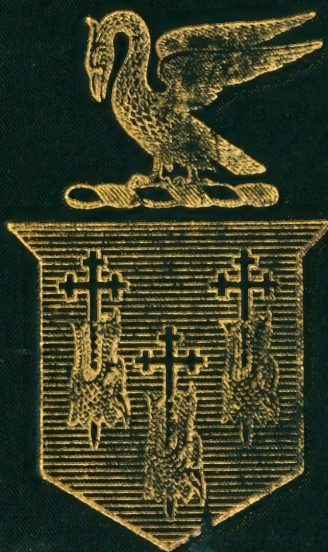


HISTORY
OF THE
BOROUGH
OF
KING'S LYNN.

VOL. II.



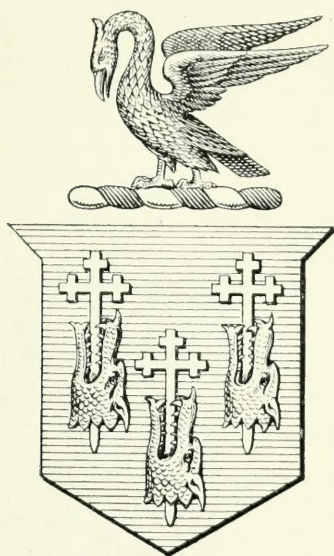


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KING JOHN'S CHARTER, DATED THE 14TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1204 (C.I., c.).

HISTORY OF THE BOROUGH OF KING'S LYNN.



VOLUME II.

BY

HENRY J. HILLEN.

NORWICH:

PRINTED BY THE EAST OF ENGLAND NEWSPAPER CO., LTD.,

AND SOLD AT

King's Lynn by Messrs. MATSELL & TARGETT, W. H. SMITH & SON, W. H. TAYLOR, and
THEW & SON; at Norwich by Messrs. JARROLD & SONS, and A. H. GOOSE;
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PART I. (*continued*).

TO THE ACCESSION OF H.M. KING EDWARD VII.

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CONTENTS.

VOLUME II.

PART I. (*continued*)—TO THE ACCESSION OF H.M. KING EDWARD VII.

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXXIV. SHADOWS ACROSS THE PATH	449A
XXXV. INTO THE SUNLIGHT	458
XXXVI. THE RENDERING OF THE DUES	474
XXXVII. HONOUR AND RENOWN... ..	489
XXXVIII. RUMOURS OF WAR	513
XXXIX. THE GATES OF COMMERCE	532
XL. THE ARENA OF POLITICAL STRIFE	558
XLI. THE OLD ORDER AND THE NEW	567
XLII. THE LOWERING CLOUD	584
XLIII. HONOURABLE IN THEIR GENERATIONS	619
XLIV. THE LIGHT OF HOPE	634

PART II.—DETACHED HISTORICAL ESSAYS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
XLV. SAXON CHARTERS	673
XLVI. COMMON AND FERRY RIGHTS... ..	674
XLVII. THE FREEDOM OF THE BURGH	681
XLVIII. THE MAYOR'S DAY	687
XLIX. MONKS AND FRIARS	695
L. FAIRS AND MARKETS	717
LI. FORGOTTEN INDUSTRIES	724
LII. MEDIEVAL BENEFIT SOCIETIES	739
LIII. FORTS AND FORTIFICATIONS	756
LIV. ANCIENT WATERCOURSES	766
LV. ORIGIN OF THE GREAT RIVER	770
LVI. THE MAKING OF THE HARBOUR	775

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
LVII. THE HARVEST OF THE SEA	784
LVIII. KETTLE MILLS AND THE WATER SUPPLY	793
LIX. CORPORATION INSIGNIA AND PLATE	801
LX. "THE MAYFLOWER"	808
LXI. THE DRAMA—ANCIENT AND MODERN	811
LXII. THE VOICES OF THE BELLS	831
LXIII. CRIMES AND PENALTIES	846
LXIV. THE POOR MAN'S CHURCH	860
DISJECTA MEMBRA	863
PASTORALIA :—	
ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH	868
ST. NICHOLAS' CHAPEL	876
ALLSAINTS' CHURCH... ..	882

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

KING JOHN'S CHARTER, DATED THE 14TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1204 (C.I., C.)	<i>Frontispiece</i>
REVIEW OF THE LYNN ASSOCIATION ON SAYER'S MARSH (1782), FROM A WATER-COLOUR PAINTING BY T. AVISS, IN THE POSSESSION OF S. A. GURNEY, ESQ.	PAGE 517
BELL'S PLAN OF THE OLD HARBOUR	581
"KING JOHN'S CUP"—ENAMELLED PANELS AROUND THE PEDESTAL, AND ENGRAVED MEDALLION INSIDE AT THE BOTTOM OF THE BOWL	695
THE PROPOSED (EAU BRINK) CUT	779
KETTLE MILLS, FROM AN ETCHING BY HENRY BAINES	797

ILLUSTRATIVE DIAGRAMS.

*ALLSAINTS' VICARAGE GARDEN	PAGE 480
*CHURCH AND PRIORY	697
*BRETASK AT THE MOUTH OF THE PURFLEET	746
*SITE OF THE HOUSE OF CORPUS CHRISTI	817
INITIAL CROSS ON A BELL... ..	832
*PLAN OF ST. MARGARET'S BELFRY	837
*PLAN OF ST. NICHOLAS' BELFRY	838

* Roughly sketched ground plans.

HISTORY OF KING'S LYNN.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Shadows across the Path.

DISBANDING the army in despair, and throwing the Great Seal into the Thames, James II. absconded, leaving the country kingless. William of Orange and his wife Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of the wandering sovereign, were, after a short interregnum, crowned King and Queen by both Houses of Parliament (13th February 1689).

* * * * *

The reign virtually ended when the King in disguise withdrew from the palace at Whitehall to enlist the sympathies of the French (11th December, 1688). A week later his nephew entered London, and was eagerly waited upon by the clergy, the city magistrates, and many non-conformist divines, who regarded him as one specially chosen by God to rescue the nation from the grasp of a despotic oppressor. Far too long had "the liberty of the subject" been a phrase of insincerity and mockery, whilst a selfish tyrant gloatingly derided the privileges expressed in their hallowed charters. Willing though they were to yield unswerving allegiance to the saviour of the nation, brave William of Orange, yet must he on his part swear fealty to them and to their children, in solemnly promising to observe their chartered rights. True, the nation was at his feet, but before the crown rested upon his brow, their pent-up feelings found relief in words—seemingly paraphrased by the singer of democracy—the Quaker poet, "in rustic garb of solemn grey."^{*} Their aspirations indeed demanded:—

Right of voice in framing laws,
Right of peers to try each cause ;
Peasant homestead, mean and small,
Sacred, as the Monarch's hall,—
Whoso lays his hands on these,
England's ancient liberties,—
Whoso breaks by word or deed,
England's vow at Runnymede,—
Be he Prince, or belted Knight,
Whatso'er his rank or might,
If the *highest*, then the *worst*,
Let him live and die accursed.

Though strongly persuaded to immediately assume the crown by right of conquest, the Prince judiciously desired the peers to meet so that they might calmly consider the weal of the nation, and afterwards communicate to him the result of their deliberations. A week after the convention, the Commons felt justified in passing this memorable resolution: "That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between the King and people, and by the advice

* *The Curse of the Charter Breakers*, by John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892).

of Jesuits and other wicked people having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant" (28th January, 1689). On the 13th of the next month, after the reading of the Declaration of Rights, the crown was solemnly tendered to the Prince and Princess, because in the meantime William had refused under any condition to act as regent. The offer was thankfully accepted, and William, on behalf of his Consort and himself, promised faithfully to defend the Protestant religion, to be always amenable to the laws of the realm, and never to infringe upon the liberties, or encroach upon the property, of the people. So far, the hopes of the nation were realised; the interregnum was at an end, and the glorious Revolution satisfactorily accomplished.

NEW FRIENDS.

This astonishing change in the dynasty was accepted with cautious reluctance in a few places, but influenced by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, the inhabitants of Norfolk eagerly and without hesitation arrayed themselves on the popular side.

From two letters extant, we learn, that, on the 8th and 10th of December 1688, the Duke of Norfolk was in Lynn, where he received promises of support from the townsfolk. He made no secret of his determination to do all in his power to support the laws and liberties of the nation and the Protestant religion; he openly rejoiced, moreover, that the coming of the Prince yielded so favourable an opportunity, and he reverently declared, no man would venture life and fortune more freely than he.*

At the request of the Corporation, the coronation of William III. and Mary II. was appropriately celebrated (11th April 1689). About the same time the mayor Cyprian Anderson, in his military capacity, was instructed by the Council to conduct 163 enlisted soldiers to London. The men, who were drafted into the Navy, received ten guineas from the King for health-drinking.

THE HAPPY MUNICIPAL FAMILY.

A special Act, for the better employment and maintenance of the poor and for erecting hospitals and workhouses within the borough, was passed, which led to the inauguration of the Corporation of Guardians (1700). Among other things expressed in the Act, the "Guardians of the Poor" could apprentice the children of the needy, and spend money, not exceeding £1,000, in building workhouses. This body included the mayor, the recorder, the aldermen, ten common councilmen (all for the time being), besides twenty other persons duly chosen by the people, two of whom were to be elected at a court held for that specific purpose in each ward, "and the said twenty persons were to have perpetual succession by the choice of a new one in September in every second year after the first were chosen." The borough was made up of two parishes—that of St. Margaret, which had from early time been the whole or a part thereof and that

* The correspondence between our Corporation and the Duke of Norfolk inspired the poetical genius of *Bartholomew Goswold* (1688).

of Allhallows or Allsaints, which prior to the Charter of 1557, was entirely distinct. The first comprised nine wards (18 elected representatives) and the second constituted the South Gate or South Lynn ward (2 representatives or "guardians").

After the new Act came into force the Corporation of Guardians, as a body, never interfered with the South Lynn ward either in assessing the rates or in the management of the poor. Though nominally one, the two parishes were distinctly separate, the Charter and the Act causing little if any difference. The parishioners of South Lynn supported their own church, levied their own rates, which the justices of the peace invariably allowed, and maintained their own poor. When a person moved from one parish to the other, a certificate of removal in either case was given.

Long before enlightened schoolboys discussed the photometric values of gas and electricity as illuminants, our fathers were content with tallow candles and whale-oil. There were indeed a few public lights, but, dotted about at rare intervals, they only helped to make the darkness more visible. Hence the Act insisted, that every householder, under a penalty of 2s. a night, should hang a lighted lantern in front of his dwelling from Michaelmas to Lady Day for the benefit of the pedestrian public. Now in St. Margaret's parish, this clause was strictly enforced, whereas in the other parish compliance thereto was optional. Endangering their own lives and those of their neighbours, for the streets were still in a dreadful condition, the parishioners aggravated their offence by refusing to contribute to the general lamp fund.

From the tax upon coal brought into port by strangers the larger parish derived an income equivalent to £500 or £600 per annum, whereas in South Lynn "the groats" amounted to about the one-hundredth part.

St. Margaret's	1705	7,063 tons	£112 : 02 : 04
	1708	8,034 "	£127 : 10 : 08
Allsaints'	1780	192 "	1 : 00 : 04
"	1781	195 "	1 : 00 : 08
"	1782	189 "	1 : 00 : 00

As a natural consequence the poor rate in the South Lynn ward was much heavier than in the rest of the borough. The parishioners, therefore, contended that since the parishes were incorporated, each ought to share proportionately in the whole income, and that there should be a common poor rate. As the wealthier parish would not agree to this reasonable proposal the Allsaints' parishioners conceived themselves justified in ignoring the charter of incorporation. Hence the vestry instructed its officers to take no notice of any orders issued by the Corporation of Guardians (18th April 1704).

The unfriendliness, which had existed for years between the two sections of what was really one community, reached the utmost limit of endurance, when it was discovered how some of the poor belonging to St. Margaret's parish were being secretly foisted upon that of South Lynn. With commendable promptitude the vestry decided to

put an end to such "unneighbourly dealing;" they determined to defend their rights against "all unwarrantable attempts of their unkind and lordly neighbours the Corporation of King's Lynn," by resorting to "a course of law," and if necessary by levying a specific rate for providing the sinews of war (26th January 1712). This attitude of defiance probably checked these parochial irregularities, though it failed to cure the chronic, inbred parsimony of the burgesses.

Seventy years or so later, the parishioners of St. Margaret's were quite as anxious to amalgamate as they had been to stand aloof. How was this remarkable change brought about? The whole borough embraced an area of about 2,720 acres, of which only 290 acres were within the boundary of the town proper (183 in St. Margaret's parish and 107 acres in that of Allsaints). The second parish extended upwards of four miles along the west bank of the Nar, as far as the bounds of Watlington and Wiggenshall, including as it did a rich grazing district of about 2,323 acres,* besides the hamlet of Seeche or Setchy Parva, the farms known as "the Golden Ball" (Mr. Walter Scott, nurseryman), once an important hostelry; the White House (Mr. Clifford Elliot) and an ancient manor house, the ruins of which have quite disappeared.

Despite the advantage of coal money in reducing the rates, the burgesses in St. Margaret's parish, which was becoming "a large town with more than twelve times the number of inhabitants," were feeling the pinch of a poor rate which amounted to ten shillings in the £. Thus it was that the heavily burdened ratepayers "came to themselves" and their better judgment prevailed. Their dear friends in South Lynn were right after all. The parishes ought to unite. Why, as their interests were one, should there not be a common rate? For years the appointment of guardians in the south part of the borough had been irregular and spasmodic. A year after the Act came into force two guardians were indeed elected, but from that time to 1739 none were chosen; from 1739 to 1750 they were regularly appointed, yet for the last thirty years no elections had occurred. Was this the intention of the legislation? The parishioners of St. Margaret's therefore approached the parishioners of Allsaints', who were quite ready to amend their remissness in appointing guardians, but they were by no means willing to share with those who had grown needier than themselves. And the beneficent offer for them to contribute one-third of a common poor rate proved an ineffectual inducement. Wherefore the South Lynn vestry instructed Henry Partridge junior, a local solicitor, to obtain counsel's opinion

* The exact area of the parish was a debatable subject. "Remember," writes Thomas Huggins, "when you make your rates either for church or poor, that the rate made extends to the above said number, namely 2,411 acres, for with some painstaking, I have found the number" (1669).

A rate of 3d. in the £ upon houses occupied, and 2d. in the £ upon land was fixed the 30th of March 1627 for repairing All Saints church:—

2,273½ acres at 2d.	£18 : 18 : 08
43 " within the Gates at 4d.	14 : 04
paid by incapacity	2 : 04 : 00
	<u>£21 : 17 : 00</u>

[query : £18 : 18 : 10½]

[C.W.A., A. SS.]

upon the following proposal:—"The Corporation of Guardians are desirous of excluding the parishioners of South Lynn from the management of their own poor and (desire) that the rates of the two parishes should be consolidated without any regard to the disproportion in the expense of maintaining the poor in the different parishes."* To this Edward Bearcroft replied, "I am in favour of South Lynn retaining and remaining as before" (3rd January 1781).

THE EARLY BAPTISTS.

Thomas Grantham a remarkable evangelist, credited with knowing eight or nine languages, visited Lynn and obtained permission to conduct religious services in the Town Hall (1687). He belonged to "the ancient family of Granthams in Lincolnshire," where he was known as an enthusiastic General Baptist. As the result of his mission into Norfolk, congregations were formed at Lynn, Yarmouth and Norwich. Grantham permanently settled in Norwich, where he died. To prevent unpleasantness likely to arise at his funeral, the deceased being "a dissenter," he was interred just within the west door of St. Stephen's church, the tolerant and broad-minded rector the Rev. John Connould not merely officiating, but pronouncing an appropriate eulogy over the grave. In the White Friars' Yard chapel, Norwich, where he used to preach, his grandson Grantham Killingworth placed the annexed monumental inscription to his memory:—

A memorial dedicated to the singular merits of a faithful confessor and laborious servant of Christ, who, with true Christian fortitude, endured persecution through many perils, the loss of friends and substance, and ten imprisonments for conscience' sake, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Grantham—a learned messenger of the Baptist churches, and pious founder of this church of believers baptised, who delivered to King Charles the Second, Our Declaration of Faith and afterwards presented to him A Remonstrance against Persecution. Both were kindly received, and redress of grievances promised. He died January 17th, 1692, aged 58 years.

"There had been a Baptist church here about the time of the Revolution," asserts the Rev. W. Richards, writing in 1776. "but whether the members were baptized in the town or somewhere else cannot now be ascertained. It was much discountenanced and persecuted by the higher orders and seems to have become extinct."† The fruit of Thomas Grantham's labour was the establishment, rather than the resuscitation of Baptist nonconformity. Shortly after the founding of one of "the Baptised Churches" in this town, a movement was instigated against the members, because of the "obnoxious tenets" they held. Though unobtrusive and almost unknown, their pastor James Martham became a victim under the infamous Conventicle Act, which precluded more than five persons.

* There is in the British Museum a sulphur cast of the Seal of the Guardians of the Poor (Nos. 5.1.5). It is round (1½ inch in diameter) and contains a beaded oval, in which is a three-quarter length figure of a man, holding a long staff in his right hand and the arms of the town in his left. The legend, inside a beaded border, reads:

GARDIAN. PAVP

LENN.E. REGIS.

† Evans' *Memoir of the Rev. W. Richards* (1810), p. 30.

other than those of the same family, from meeting together for worship. Based upon depositions provided by two informers, Robert Whitehead and Henry Oseincraft, legal proceedings were instituted against James Martham (1690). A fine of £20 was inflicted because of the illegality of the house in which the Baptists met; £20 was also laid upon the preacher and 5s. upon each of his hearers. Martham refused to pay, alleging the witnesses were guilty of perjury. The case was taken to London, but how it was settled does not appear.* Further particulars may be gleaned from a tract of 16 pages published in London and entitled *The Lyn Persecution, being the Case of our Brother the Baptist Minister there, James Martham; whose goods have been seized, and himself harrassed in Law (and is now persecuted in Chancery) for holding a Baptist Meeting in that Town, notwithstanding his and the House's Legal Qualification* (1692).

Though a crushing blow, the young society was not annihilated. A secession from the Presbyterians (1744) assisted in sustaining the languishing cause, which was reorganised (1760), under the successful ministry of Thomas Chesterton, who dying in 1773 bequeathed £100 to the society.†

DEMONSTRATIVE LOYALTY.

Several designs against the King's life had already been providentially thwarted, when another termed "the assassination plot" was discovered, which aimed not only at the death of the sovereign, but the invasion of the country (21st February 1696). Whether James was implicated in this movement is somewhat uncertain. The Lords and Commons both "subscribed an association," to stand by one another in defence of his majesty's sacred person and government, against the late king and his adherents. All the municipal corporations in the kingdom followed suit. In the town records, we read:—"March 11th (1695-6), sign'd an Address to his Majestie in the nature of an *Association* to stand by and assist his Majesty against all his Ennemys whatsoever."

On the King's return from the Continent after the capture of the almost impregnable fortress at Namur (August 1696) he received another animating effusion from Lynn. Its intrinsic value, as a specimen of local bibliography, demands reproduction:—

Great Sir, Wee your Majesties most dutifull and loyall subjects, the mayor, aldermen, and common-councill, and chiefe inhabitants of the burgh of King's Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, crave leave to prostrate ourselves at your Royall feet, with sincerest joye and most devout thankfulness adoring the Divine Goodness for watching over your pretious life (in all Dangers it has been exposed to by sea and land) upon the safety whereof the fate of so many nations did depend. The comfort is too bigg for us to express, To behold your sacred person with happyness and honor returned to these your dominions after the vast toyles of a war ingaged in for the security of your realms and the tranquillity of Europe. . . . May the same propitious providence make these blessings durable and perpetuall, may your sacred Majestie be still the charge of

* See Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. II., pp. 361-2.

† See Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. II., pp. 1076-80.

the Life Guards of Heaven, may your royall cares be sweetened, though they can never be requited, by the constant loyalty and duty of a gratefull people; may your days be long and prosperous, and your renoune increase; may your Realms flourish in virtue, union, plenty, peace; and when you shall be called to a heavenly crown may generations to come rise up and call you blessed.

A FIGHTING MEMBER.

Sir Henry Hobart was elected to represent the burgesses in the parliament, which met at Oxford (1661). He sat with his father, who served as knight of the shire of Norfolk. "The House had, after long delays, decided on the 21st of April that none of the candidates were duly elected, and fresh writs were issued on the 22nd. But, before the new members had time to take their seats, parliament had dissolved; so that in point of fact the county of Norfolk was not represented in that parliament." (Sir Thomas Browne.) Further on we find: "Sir Henry Hobart was chosen one of the burgesses for Lynne and Alderman Taylor for the other, who was burgesse the last parliament. Sir Joseph Williamson and Mr. William Harboard were chosen againe. Mr. Hoste and Sir Robert Steward for Rysing as before. . . . So wee have butt two newe parliament men for Norfolk. Sir James Johnson for Yarmouth and Sir Henry Hobart for Lynne" (1681).

Sir Henry foolishly resented certain words attributed to Oliver le Neve, Esq. A duel, the outcome of Sir Henry's challenge, was fought on the heath at Cawston, a spot about twelve miles from Norwich (August 20th 1697). From the first Le Neve denied saying what was imputed to him; nothing, however, would shake the baronet's conviction to the contrary. Sir Henry wounded his antagonist in the arm, but received in return a severe thrust in the abdomen, to which injury he succumbed the next day. He was buried at Blickling, where was the family seat. This Sir Henry (the 4th baronet) was the father of the first Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Near the *Woodrow* inn, on the Norwich Road, stands a small stone pillar where our member fell. Oliver le Neve fought with his left hand.

MEMORABILIA.

(1) METERS AND PORTERS.

The remuneration payable to the sworn meters of the port was definitely fixed (4th June 1694). Freemen were in future charged one penny per "chalder" of coals, and threepence per ton of goods, whilst strangers were to pay a penny extra in each case.

Against the coal meters and head porters, a very serious charge was lodged by the chief officer of the customs (1701). After pointing out to the Corporation, how every one of them had accepted bribes, given false certificates of weight and measure, and thus defrauded the King of his duty, the Lords Commissioners ordered their instant dismissal (11th July). The men were, however, reinstated a month afterwards, the Council insisting that the customary oath should be strengthened by a surety of £20 (13th August).

(2) LAW SUITS.

In 1697 the town was involved in two laysuits. The first was an action against Leonard Hulton to recover "a quit rent of 23s. 6d. per annum, and arrears for 38 years to Michaelmas 1694 on his house late Th: Toll Esq., and also a rent charge of 6s. 8d. per annum." This seems to refer to Thomas Toll, the son of our late member (died 1653), who was admitted to Gray's Inn (18th February 1642), received the freedom of the borough at his father's request (3rd August 1655) and died at the age of 59 years (1681). The case was tried before Lord Chief Justice Holt, who nonsuited the tenant (29th March 1697). The second was the prosecution of a merchant named Vinckeson in the Court of Exchequer. He was charged with exporting large quantities of corn and grain pretending they were his own, whilst they really belonged to strangers and foreigners, thus defrauding the town of the duty. Having violated his oath as a freeman, the Corporation were justified in the course pursued (6th June 1697).

(3) THE MART.

For some reason, which is not apparent, the great annual fair was held in the Common Staith yard (1681), but its removal from the market-place was not a success, because a committee subsequently discussed the desirability of holding it in future upon the old spot (4th November). However, in 1689, it was resolved that "for and upon divers good and reasonable considerations, it cannot be profitable for this town to have any mart here and therefore that *no suite be made therein*." This points to a temporary discontinuance.

(4) THE MILITIA.

In 1697 the Norfolk Militia comprised 4,532 foot and 335 horse. Lynn contributed two companies—250 men.

Sir John Turner, 1st captain	}	130 men
Henry Shenerly, lieutenant		
William Taylor, ensign		
Cyprian Anderson, 2nd captain	}	120 men
John Kidd, lieutenant		
Seel Peast, ensign		

The hundreds of Freebridge—Lynn and Marshland, including Clackclose, contributed 56 horse. The officers were James Hoste 1st captain, Richard Hamond, lieutenant, Nicholas Le Strange, cornet and John Waynford, quarter-master.

An Act was passed for granting the King "an aid" of 4s. in the £ for one year, to assist in carrying on the war against France. Of the £84,728 12s. 10½d. contributed by the whole county, the following items are given for comparison (1699):—

Norwich	£8,518 11 11
Yarmouth	2,820 3 4
KING'S LYNN	1,814 14 0
Thetford... ..	239 0 0
Freebridge—Lynn	3,511 16 0
" Marshland	3,353 14 11

Three counties only yielded larger returns than Norfolk, namely, Middlesex, Essex and Yorkshire.

(5) UNUSUAL DISTRESS.

A great decline in the stocking industry was caused by the introduction of weaving. The local knitters found how impossible it was for them to compete with the new method; they therefore embodied their grievances in an appeal to the Town Council (November 1685), which our members, Sir Simon Taylor and Sir John Turner, were requested to place before parliament. Five years later, thousands of the poor in Lynn were unemployed through "the new invention of weaving worsted." On receipt of another piteous address, the Council petitioned the House of Commons to inaugurate some measure for alleviating the distress of the townsmen (17th January 1690). As the industry was in a transition state, nothing of course could be done. Another petition upon far broader lines owed its inception to Ezekiel Goddard of Lynn. It was framed on behalf of the many millions employed in the woollen manufacture throughout the kingdom (10th August 1700). The next year, the "Lynn Workhouse Act" received the royal assent. From the preamble, we learn how the poor "doe daily multiply and idleness and debauchery amongst the meaner sort do greatly increase for want of Workhouses to sett them to work, and sufficient authority to compell them thereto." It was indeed to obviate these social evils that the Act was formulated. Two decades later, the same industry was menaced from a different quarter, when John Gurney "the second" (uncle to Somerville A. Gurney, Esq.) earnestly pleaded the cause of the woollen manufacturer before the House of Lords, at the same time insisting upon the prohibition of the cotton manufacture. The "weavers' advocate" was offered a seat in parliament by Sir Robert Walpole, which was respectfully declined (1720).

(6) "EXCEEDING WISE."

Edward Stillingfleet (1660?-1708), the son of Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Winchester, practised here as a doctor. Being a scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge—B.A., 1682, M.A., 1685, F.R.S., 1688, M.D., 1692, and Gresham Professor of Physic, he was highly qualified. His Jacobite opinions greatly incensed his father, who was chaplain to Charles II. "1695-6, May 13: Two peales (were rung) for a son of Dr. Stillingfleet . . . 000: 13: 4." [*P.R.*, *St. N.*]

(7) "FREE AS NATURE."

Edmund Hooke (1634-1723), a successful woollen draper, twice mayor (1684 and 1695) and appointed alderman for life (1696), erected a magnificent altar-piece in St. Nicholas' chapel. It was designed by Henry Bell; the figures of Moses and Aaron were painted by R. Schröder. This magnificent work of art was destroyed by the enlightened vandals of 1852.* The same

* See Mackenell's *Hist. Lynn*, pp. 100-110.

benefactor gave £100, which was invested in land for the poor of Beeston-Regis and Upper Runtun (1715). The income recently amounted to £28 per annum. He was an ancestor, on the mother's side, of Carlyon Bellairs, M.P. for Lynn (1906).

(8) GUESTS.

Henry Howard, Earl of Arundel and seventh Duke of Norfolk, was sumptuously entertained (1684), as was also Charles Townshend, the second Viscount, on being appointed Lord Lieutenant (1701).

* * * * *

Mary II. died from an attack of small pox the 28th of December 1694, and William III. through a fall from his horse the 8th of March 1702; both were buried in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Into the Sunlight.

ANNE, the second daughter of James II. by his first wife Anne Hyde (daughter of Lord Chancellor Clarendon), succeeded to the throne on the death of her sister's husband William III. (8th March 1702). In 1683 she married Prince George of Denmark.

* * * * *

Mindful, how the Revolution had placed her sister upon the throne, Anne unhesitatingly adopted the policy of her predecessor. By espousing what was indeed most pleasing to the people, her accession was a source of unspeakable delight, especially to the Protestants.

CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE.

Literary and loyal—and conceited too, were the members of the Corporation, and they lost no opportunity of parading the attributes with which they were endowed. "To gild refined gold—to paint the lily" might be a "wasteful and ridiculous excess," when undertaken by incompetent persons; let *them*, however, do the gilding and the painting and then judge whether the lustre of the gold and the purity of the lily were not astonishingly improved. Hence, within a month of the Queen's accession, they began pestering her with "addresses" (30th March 1702), which were as full of bombastic self-importance as the crowing of a diminutive bantam.

(1) "A FAMOUS VICTORY."

The crushing defeat, sustained by the Gallo-Bavarians at Blenheim near Hochstedt, where the loss of the confederates amounted to 11,000 in killed and wounded, whilst that of the enemy was more than 40,000 men (13th August 1704), was the harbinger of a second outburst of rhetorical adulation. To the verbal effusion, which Richards transcribes for the delectation of future generations (vol. II., pp. 878-9), the municipal seal was affixed (25th September 1704).

The defeat of the French under Marshal Villeroi at Ramilies by John Churchill Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene (23rd May 1706), as well as the expedition into Spain, led by the intrepid but eccentric John Mordaunt Earl of Peterborough, inspired the imagination of our ever-loyal Corporation, and set the pen of the ready writer careering over parchment once more (9th June 1706). Reader, if thou art interested in local literature, please turn to Richards' *History* (vol. II., pp. 823-4), where thou may'st peruse this fulsome panegyric. The writer towards the end, having lost his bearings amid a profusion of inter-parentheses, must be forgiven, if his words perplex, more than they enlighten.

(2) THE BONDS OF UNITY.

The Act of Security passed by the Scottish parliament, forcefully demonstrated the advisability of a union between the two countries—a project, which absorbed the attention of the late King, and was wisely recommended by Anne in her first speech to parliament. This was finally achieved by a bill which received the royal assent (6th of March 1706). The terms of the union, however, became practically effective the 1st of May 1706. In the mean time the Queen received the last of a series of complimentary “addresses,” which shall be transcribed:—

May it please your Majestie,

Nothing could ever equal your Victories in the field but your Councils in the cabinet; thus, happily, in spite of all the Jesuiticall contrivances of your and our Ennemys to vanquish nationall and hereditary prejudices, to reconcile so many jarring and different pretensions, and to unite England and Scotland into one kingdome and interest, hitherto by all in vain attempted, will, together with the Blenheim and Ramilies, remain everlasting monuments of your Majesties glory.—Our Protestant succession is hereby extended thro' the British Isle, Our Legislature, Trade, and Interest, one, and all Jealousies and Differences being removed, that strength which has often been a weakening to us, to the mutual endangering our constitution and safety is now become a real security to both and formidable to our enemies. Thus the hopes of our divisions, fomented by a popish Pretender and his heedless abettors, will be now extinguished, and wee shall always think it our dutie, as what is most agreeable to your Majestie and beneficiall to ourselves, to be unanimous with one another, and to pay a friendly regard to our united Neibours, as becomes fellow protestants and fellow subjects.—May your Majestie, seated on the throne of your united Britannia, long hold the ballance and arbitrate the peace and safety of Europe, and be as great and happy here, as your memory will be immortal and glorious hereafter. [25th April 1707.]

THE DEEP AND DARK BLUE OCEAN.

A gale from the north-east raged with terrific fury along the Norfolk coast (1696). Vessels from Newcastle, the fleet from Yarmouth, and many colliers from Lynn and Wells, bound for Hull, were caught unexpectedly in the storm. Some ran for safety to the Yarmouth Roads, and some to the Lynn Deep, but few, alas, escaped. About 200 vessels were totally wrecked and their crew amounting to over 1,000 perished. Many families at Lynn were bereaved. Through the scarcity of coal which followed, the price became abnormally high.

The "Great Storm" of 1703 was indeed a national calamity. A wild hurricane swept the country for several days. The famous Eddystone Lighthouse, with Henry Winstanley its ingenious constructor, was carried away; twelve men-of-war with an aggregate crew of 1,800 men were lost in sight of land. The climax of the cyclone was felt on Saturday the 27th of November. Although the wind was from the west, Lynn did not escape its dreadful onslaught. The damage to property was estimated at £1,000; seven or eight vessels, moreover, foundered at sea and about 30 sailors perished.

TWINKLING POINTS OF FIRE.

Casualties off the north-west coast of Norfolk had alarmingly increased since the Dutch began to harass our shipping. Hence the owners and masters of vessels belonging to Lynn and Boston sought permission to erect one or more lights near St. Edmund's Point (1st August 1663). To maintain the lights power was needed for levying a due of 8 pence upon every chaldron of coal or twenty tons of goods in English ships, and the same amount upon every ton in foreign vessels, entering these ports. The Society of the Trinity House at Deptford favoured the proposal, as we learn from a report signed by Sir William Batten and others (17th October). A month later, John Knight received a warrant of licence to erect one or more lights upon the "Hunston-cliffe or chappel lands," which might be maintained by the dues already suggested. Nothing, however, was done until 1665, when patents were issued for the erection of lights at Dungeness, Harwich, Tynemouth, Milford Haven and "Hunston-cliffe." Probably a series of wooden cages, standing upon high crutches, wherein huge coal fires might blaze, were first raised along the treacherous coast of north-west Norfolk. An old Admiralty map gives a pictorial fire-beacon with its ladder at Sandringham and a "running light," consisting of two lights near St. Edmund's Point. None are marked on the Lincolnshire coast.

In this reign, licence and authority under the Privy Seal, was granted to James Everard, a wealthy Lynn banker, and Rebecca his wife to erect a wooden pharos at Hunstanton, as a private speculation, with the privilege of demanding, during a term of fifty years, the before mentioned dues from all vessels on their way to Lynn or Boston (1710). The present more durable structure was built by the Brethren of the Trinity House, London, about the year 1837.

THE MARINERS' GUIDE.

The wise men came from the *East*, and philosophers though rare are not unknown even in this part of the United Kingdom. Many are familiar with the writings of Hobbes, "the philosopher of Malmesbury," but who claims literary acquaintance with Bewley, "the philosopher of Great Massingham," or — — "the philosopher of Lynn?" Nevertheless Ezekiel Walker lived and died, in our midst, and was buried in the graveyard of St. Nicholas. A crumbling head-stone bears, we are told, the simple yet surprising epitaph—"He was a philosopher."

Of the career of this learned scientist and ingenious mechanic, so closely associated with the lighthouse at Hunstanton, little is recorded. Supposed to have been in some way connected with a ladies' seminary, he resided during the later part of his life in the house at the corner of Austin Street, occupied a few years since by the late Dr. F. A. Barrington. This eccentric recluse, absorbed in solving the mysteries of nature, was held in awe by his unsympathetic neighbours. Long after death, his spirit was believed to haunt the old dwelling, and certain geometrical figures cut in the pavement of the kitchen floor were said to indicate where the astute philosopher concealed his money. Two iron doors led to the cellar, where stood an iron chest!

Walker's contributions to Nicholson's *Philosophical Journal* and Tilloch's *Philosophical Magazine*, besides the fact that many of his articles were translated and appeared in the continental press, gave him a reputation in the Scientific World, the prescribed area of which did not embrace our benighted borough. Acoustics, light, heat, electricity, magnetism, astronomy and kindred subjects fascinated him; he, moreover, conceived "a new method of chemical philosophy, founded on original experiments." A series of his essays which first appeared in various journals, were reprinted and published by John Wade, Lynn (1823).

To Ezekiel Walker (living in 1828), belongs the invention of the parabolic reflector. His first experiments were tried in Everard's lighthouse. "A cone of the proper shape," writes Mr. George Edwardes (1890), who well recollected "*Walker's Light*," "was lined inside with what might be called a mosaic of small pieces of looking-glass, all less than an inch square . . . His invention was afterwards improved upon by making the parabolic cone of copper, strongly plated with silver." The light was at first derived from 18 concave reflectors, each 18 inches in diameter. A single reflector, with a lamp of ten single threads of cotton placed in the focus of the parabola would appear at a distance of 15 miles, somewhat larger than a star of the first magnitude; hence each of the 18 cones reflecting the same amount of light would shew like a single star eighteen times as intense (1778).

Doubts have been cast upon Walker's reputation, by a statement by Mr. Hutchinson, the dock-master at Liverpool, who, in his work on *Practical Seamanship* (1777), contends that the Mersey lights at Hoylake and Bidstone were fitted with reflectors formed of small facets of silvered glass, fixed as nearly as could be to the parabolic curve as early as 1763. This assertion may be regarded with grave suspicion, because Richards, in speaking of the Hunstanton light, states, "This house remained for many years the only one of the kind in the United Kingdom," and also because of the fact that in 1786 the Lord Provost of Edinburgh applied to Walker for advice respecting the lighting of the coast of Scotland. Four lights were erected the next year under the auspices of the Northern Lights Board at Kinnard's Head, at North Rannaldshaw (Orkney Islands), at Scalpa Point (Isle of Harris) and at the Mull of Kyntire.

In the *Cumberland Packet* of the 10th of September 1788 is a paragraph eulogising these new lighthouses:—

The excellent method of erecting lighthouses prescribed by Mr. E. Walker is now sufficiently proved . . . that it (the new apparatus) produces a strong light is well known, but that this desirable object is attained at small expense of oil can only come under the inspection of a few; however, one argument, even in favour of this is now made public. The Commissioners for erecting four lighthouses on the northern parts of Great Britain obtained another Act the last session of Parliament, authorising them to erect a fifth.

CLIMBING DOWN.

Towards the end of 1704, petitions from the deputy lieutenants, the justices of the peace and the inhabitants of Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire were outspread before parliament, concerning a ruinous monopoly in the coal trade established at Lynn, which not only diminished her Majesty's revenue, but tended to discourage merchants generally. Complaint was made because the masters of all ships, other than those owned by the freemen of Lynn, were obliged to remain three days in port before being permitted to discharge their cargoes, and because after waiting the prescribed time, the coal might then be sold to none but freemen, who suggested prices, which though commercially disastrous, the masters were forced to accept. Hence at the expense of the traders, the townsmen made unfair profits. The Commons, having referred the consideration to a private committee, the Corporation decided to obtain counsel's opinion. In the mean time our members Sir Charles Turner and Robert Walpole, Esq., were instructed to offer the committee certain concessions, if absolutely necessary, touching the charge of 8 pence per chaldre upon the cargoes of unfreemen and the detention of their ships for three days. They were to act, as they, under the circumstances, might think rightly, strictly however reserving to the borough "the ancient custom of foreign bought, of foreign sold, and the duty of 4 pence per chaldre time out of mind received and enjoyed." The neighbouring counties, it must be frankly admitted, were not murmuring without reason (12th January 1705).

Later in the year, a process was served upon the Corporation for the non-payment of certain royal dues. The High Sheriff, James Hoste of Sandringham, received a writ for seizing into her Majesty's hands the liberties of Lynn, through "default of entering claims, and answering and accounting for debts, fines, and forfeitures," arising within the borough. Edmund Rolfe, the town clerk, was instructed to "forthwith take care to cause appearance to the said writ and (to cause) such other matters (to) be performed as were incumbent upon the Mayor and Burgesses" (13th June 1705).

LOANS FOR THE DESERVING.

Lynn joined the corporation of several other towns in a lawsuit, because of the non-payment of a charity in which each was individually interested.

Sir Thomas White (1492-1567) "a man of sane judgment and genuine piety" was born at Reading, and died at Oxford, where

he founded St. John's College. Succeeding as a merchant clothier, he was knighted (21st October 1553) and elected Lord Mayor of London (29th October). As a benefactor to education and civic bodies, he was, as we are told, rarely, if ever, surpassed. He offered the Corporation of Bristol £2,000, so that by purchasing land, they might secure a yearly income of £120. The money was accepted (1567), the Corporation covenanting to pay £100 yearly for ten years. The £1,000 was to be appropriated thus:—£800—divided into loans of £50 each, was to be granted free of interest to sixteen young clothiers, who, having honourably served an apprenticeship and obtained the freedom of the town in which they dwelt, were desirous of starting business themselves. After furnishing proper securities, they were permitted to retain the loan ten years. At the expiration of the term, the money was again to be lent to such other persons as should be decided by the Corporation of that town. With the remaining £200 corn was to be bought, and afterwards sold to the poor at prime cost.

The benefactor, moreover, directed, that after a lapse of nine years, £104 should be paid at the Feast of St. Bartholomew (24th August 1576) to the Corporation of York to be lent by them to four young freemen of that city—a preference always to be shewn to clothiers. The next year, the same amount upon similar conditions to the city of Canterbury; the next to Reading; the next to the Merchant Tailors' Company; the next to Gloucester, and so on successively to Worcester, Exeter, Salisbury, Norwich, Southampton, Lincoln, Winchester, Hereford, Oxford, Cambridge, Shrewsbury, *Lynn*. Bath, Derby, Ipswich, Colchester and Newcastle; then to revert to Bristol and proceed annually and regularly to the other places, and so on for ever!

Since the founding of this charity, our borough ought to have received 13 payments of £104 each, that is one every 24th year. The first payment was made in 1594; the second in 1618; the third in 1642; the fourth becoming due in 1666. Payment, however, was deferred for three years because the rent of the estate, in which the principal was invested, had been lost "through the late rebellion." The next payment was received in 1693, though due in 1690. In the action in 1713, the various corporations probably tried to recover a deduction made in the amount. How they succeeded is not known. Counting from 1693, the next instalment was due in 1717; this our Corporation refused to accept, because of a deduction for taxes unjustly insisted upon by the city of Bristol. Rather than resort to law for redress, *Lynn* accepted £75 in 1724. In 1819 our borough expended £69 15s. upon an unsuccessful attempt to recover from Bristol a proportionate share of the net profit derived from the estate.*

* In 1843 the Commissioners of Enquiry calculated that the borough was accountable for £904 4s. 2d. The amount in hand 31st Dec. 1901 is given as £101 13s. 7d.

The portrait in the Town Hall of Sir Thomas White—a copy of the painting in the Hall of St. John's College, Oxford, is similar to those possessed by the other towns.

WALPOLIANA.

No county family was more closely associated with our borough, than were the Walpoles of Houghton. Established in England prior to the Conquest, they possessed considerable estates at Walpole St. Peters, from whence they derived their name. For more than one hundred and eighty years members of this illustrious house were connected with the municipal government or parliamentary representation of Lynn. A moiety of that representation was considered at one time almost an hereditary right.

The most important member of this influential family was Sir Robert (1676-1745). He was the eldest son of Robert Walpole, Esq., of Houghton in Norfolk, who was member for Castle Rising from 1689 to his death, when the family-borough returned the son (1701), but after two short parliaments he sought the suffrages of a more important constituency—that of King's Lynn (1702). Sir Robert was then 26 years of age. His was a peculiarly remarkable parliamentary career. In 1708 he became Secretary at War, and afterwards Treasurer of the Navy. He was appointed Prime Minister in 1715, but resigned after two years. In 1721, however, he was reappointed, and he held at the same time the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. On the accession of George II., whose antipathy to Walpole was no secret, his Premiership was unexpectedly confirmed; hence he continued to hold the position 15 years longer. The whole term of his administration—21 years—constituted “a record.”

A serious accusation was brought against Sir Robert by the Commissioners of Public Accounts (December 1711). They charged him with purloining two notes of hand, one for 500 guineas and the other for £500, in his capacity of Secretary at War, for forage contracts in Scotland. On the 17th of January he was heard in his own defence; nevertheless the House agreed that he had been guilty of a high breach of trust, and decided that he should be expelled and committed to prison. The next morning the fallen minister surrendered, and was thereupon conducted to the Tower. A new writ was issued for Lynn, but regardless of the enormity of his offence, he was promptly re-elected. His opponent, Simon Taylor, petitioned parliament. Of course the House regarded their prisoner as incapable of serving; hence Sir Robert remained in custody until the prorogation of parliament. He was looked upon as a martyr—as he unquestionably was—to the Whig cause, and was continually visited by the *élite* of society.

At the dissolution in 1713, his faithful constituency again placed their trust in him, and during this parliament, the last summoned by Queen Anne, he took a leading part in the defence of Steele against the attacks of the Tories. The ignominy which the Tories endeavoured to inflict upon “the Minister of Peace” was turned into augmented reputation. In 1723 his eldest son was raised to the peerage as Baron Walpole, and he himself became a Knight of the Bath (1720) and was rewarded with the Garter (1726). He represented Lynn in 17 successive parliaments.

SYNOPSIS OF THE WALPOLE PEDIGREE.*

(1.) *Edward Walpole*, Esq., of Houghton (1621-1667); he ardently promoted the restoration of Charles II.; for these services he was created a Knight of the Bath 1661; elected M.P. for Lynn 13th April 1660, and again 29th March 1661; he served with Sir Ralph Hare, also Sir William Hovell; dying in 1667, he was succeeded in Parliament by Robert Wright, Esq., of Wiggenhall St. Germans (10th April 1668). Hogarth dedicated one of his election series of engravings—*The Polling*, to Edward Walpole, Esq. (1758).

(2.) *Robert Walpole* (1650-1700; eldest son of 1); deputy lieutenant of the county; he acted as guardian to Lord Charles Townshend; colonel of militia; freedom of Lynn 1680; M.P. for Castle Rising, as a Whig (1689-1700).

(3.) *Sir Robert Walpole* (1676-1745; eldest son of 2); he was the celebrated prime minister of George I. and II.; freedom of Lynn 1697; member for Castle Rising (1688-1701), and for Lynn (1701-1742); whilst a commoner he was created not only Knight of the Bath, but Knight of the Garter, and was elevated to the peerage as *Baron Houghton*, *Viscount Walpole*, Norfolk, and *Earl of Orford*, Suffolk (9th February 1742). Portrait by Kneller, Town Hall, Lynn; and by Heins, St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich.

To this remarkable person closer attention will be given.

(4.) *Robert Walpole* (died 1751; eldest son of 3); he held several lucrative appointments; created Knight of the Bath and *Baron Walpole of Walpole* (Norfolk), 10th June 1723; High Steward for Lynn from 17th April 1745 to his death; he succeeded as *2nd Earl of Orford* in 1745.

(5.) *George Walpole* (died 1791; only son of 4); he was appointed Lord of the Bed-chamber and Ranger of St. James' and Hyde Parks; Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk (1756), and Colonel of West Norfolk Militia; succeeded as *3rd Earl of Orford* (1751); High Steward of Lynn (8th April 1751 to his death); freedom, 3rd February 1752; he disposed of the splendid collection of pictures made by his grandfather (1779) to Catherine the Empress of Russia for £40,550. The paintings, including some of the finest achievements of Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, Claude Lorraine, Salvator Rosa, etc., are now at St. Petersburg.

(6.) *Horace Walpole* (1719-1797; son of 3; uncle to 5); "a most delicate Italian top" (Dr. Edm. Pyle); was usher of the receipts of exchequer; controller of the Great Seal and keeper of foreign receipts; M.P. for Castle Rising 1742, and elected at Lynn 24th February 1757, and 27th March 1761; he resigned 1767; freedom of Lynn 29th September 1746; distinguished in the literary rather than the political world, he established a private printing press at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, and published his own and other works; he succeeded as *4th Earl of Orford* (1791), but dying unmarried, all the honours of the family expired except the Barony of Walpole; a new creation was subsequently made in favour of his cousin Horatio Walpole (8). Portrait in the Lynn Town Hall, also one by Heins in the Blackfriars' Hall, Norwich.

(7.) *Horatio Walpole* (1678-1757; son of 2); was a privy councillor and was deservedly noted as a diplomatist; created *Baron Walpole of Wolterton* (near Aylsham), 4th June 1756; he was M.P. for Castle Rising 1702 to 1714; for Yarmouth 1722 to 1734, and for Norwich 1734 to 1756.

(8.) *Horatio Walpole* (1723-1809; eldest son of 7); was M.P. for Lynn 1747 to 1757; called to the Upper House on the death of his father as *2nd Baron Walpole of Wolterton* (1757); appointed High Steward of Lynn 14th February 1792, which he retained until his death; created *Earl of Orford* 10th April 1806.

(9.) *Thomas Walpole* (died 1803; son of 7); was elected M.P. for Lynn 21st March 1768, 8th October 1774, and 11th September 1780; succeeded by his nephew in 1784; freedom 5th October 1769.

(10.) *Horatio Walpole* (1752-1822; son of 8); was elected M.P. for Lynn 2nd April 1784, 18th June 1790, 27th May 1796, 5th July 1802, 3rd November 1806, and 6th May 1807; freedom 4th June 1784; he was called to the Upper House as *2nd Earl of Orford* on the death of his father (1809), and was then appointed "Lord High Steward of Lynn."

* For further particulars consult Burke's *Peerage*.

(11.) *Horatio Walpole* (1783-1858; son of 10); was elected M.P. for Lynn 9th March 1809, 17th June 1811, after receiving an appointment as one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 7th October 1812, 18th June 1818, and 9th March 1820; when called to the Upper House on the death of his father as the *3rd Earl of Orford*, he was made Lord High Steward of Lynn 29th September 1822.

(12.) *John Walpole* (1787-1859; son of 10); was lieutenant-colonel in the army; elected M.P. for Lynn 29th June 1822, 10th June 1826, and 30th June 1830 (until 3rd May 1831). *

Arms:—Or, on a fesse between two chevrons, sa, three cross-crosslets of the first.

“H.M. KING WALPOLE.”

During his first session in parliament, Sir Robert Walpole was the author of a report to facilitate the passing of a measure for the better maintenance and employment of the poor, and for erecting hospitals and workhouses in Lynn. On this subject no legislative action was then taken (1702).

At a general election in 1710, which was conducted throughout the kingdom with extraordinary violence, two hundred and seventy Whig members lost their seats. Never before had there been so rapid an electoral change of front—the great Whig majority of 1708 suddenly vanished, giving place to the great Tory majority of 1710. Feeling the instability of his position, Sir Robert secured two strings for his political bow; he contested the county to find himself at the bottom of the poll (11th October), but he headed the poll at Lynn (7th October). At this parliamentary crisis Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, earnestly appealed to Sir Robert to retain his place in the Cabinet, saying that although a Whig, he was as good as half his party put together.

Walpole was too long-headed to accept the flattering invitation (writes John Morley). His strong and straightforward mind had already grasped the cardinal truth, that it was no longer possible for a mixed and composite government to deal with the immense difficulties of the time, and that only a vigorous, concentrated, and continuous administration could be trusted to bring the country through its dangers. He refused Harley's solicitations, though by a singular variation from modern official usage, he retained, for several months after the Whig ministry had been broken up, the place of treasurer of the navy which he had held along with the office of Secretary of War.

To criticise the administration of their predecessors in office was and still is, the primary business of a new government, and the Tories lost no time in accusing Godolphin of not accounting for £35,000,000 sterling. Sir Robert published two replies in defence of his chief, and so able and convincing were the arguments, that his enemies determined upon ousting him from the House. They accordingly accused him of peculation, as already hinted, in the discharge of his duties, and it was therefore resolved:—

* Lord Nelson was a descendant of a branch of the Walpole family, and received his Christian name from his godfather “Horatio” Walpole (8).
Mary (sister of Sir Robert Walpole)

married Sir Charles Turner of Warham and Lynn, their daughter—
Mary married the Rev. Charles Sackling, D.D., prebendary of Westminster, and their daughter—
Catherine married the Rev. Edmund Nelson, M.A. 1723-1802, rector of Hilborough and Burnham Thorpe, whose son was—*Horatio Nelson*.

That Robert Walpole, Esq., a member of this House, in receiving the sum of 500 guineas and in taking a note for 500 more, on account of two contracts for forage for Her Majesty's troops quartered in North Britain, made by him when Secretary of War, pursuant to a power granted to him by the late Lord High Treasurer, is guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption. That he be, for his said offence, committed prisoner to the Tower of London during the pleasure of this House. That he be, for his said offence, expelled this House (17th January 1712).

A writ was issued on the 23rd for an election, and, oblivious of the misdemeanours with which Walpole was charged, the burgesses reelected him (11th February). The Commons however decided: "That Robert Walpole, Esq., having this session of parliament been expelled this House, was, and is, incapable of being elected a member of this Parliament" (6th March). Hence John Turner was returned (7th April).

At this period Daniel Defoe was employed by Robert Harley, the Lord High Treasurer, to travel about the kingdom in order to obtain information upon political intrigues. In his capacity, as agent in the secret service, he visited Lynn, and, writing from Lincoln (20th September 1712) acquainted his patron with what he saw:—

I found myself (Defoe writes) out of her Majesty's dominions, and in the capital city of the territories of *King Walpole*. . . Here I have seen with some horror the spirit of parties in its highest extraction, how her Majesty is treated among them would fill any man, who makes loyalty and duty to his sovereign a principle, with indignation; any man, who values the peace and tranquillity of his country, with abhorrence; and any man, that has his sense in exercise, with contempt and aversion. [*Portland MS.*]

Further on the famous author expresses astonishment at the way the people "are made lunatic with the madness of their leaders," and mentions his success in having so effectually convinced a Dissenting minister and two leading men among the Dissenters, that they as converts would ere long undeceive more.

Thus was Sir Robert Walpole debarred from sitting with the government, whose dissolution happened the 8th of August 1713.* On the 31st he was once more elected by his faithful adherents, and took his seat at the meeting of the new parliament (16th February 1714). At the close of the contest, Sir Robert is reported to have addressed his constituents in these words:—

Gentlemen—I cannot but think myself entirely obliged to you for the favours bestowed on me this day, but more especially I think myself particularly bound to offer you my most hearty thanks for your kindness in electing me, after that malicious prosecution of me, inasmuch as you were pleased to stand by me, because you dare to be honest in the very worst of times, and this act of yours will render this Corporation famous to the later posterity. The late Parliament (from whom no good could be expected, nor no good came) addressed Her Majesty to use her interest with all foreign states to remove the Pretender from their dominions, but this hath been so well complied with, that he is at present removed as near us as the power of France can place him. Gentlemen—Her Majesty was pleased to tell us (as you all know) a year past, that Dunkirk should be demolished, but not one stone is removed, and the completion of that

Another sparkling address to the queen, finds reflection in a string of scintillating verses from John Greene (1713).

work is deferred till Christmas, and whether it will then be demolished we have no certainty, and as to the terms of peace, I dare be bold to affirm, that had the King of France beaten us, as we have done him, he would have been so modest as to have given us better terms than we have gained after all our glorious victories. Gentlemen—We have some reason to think that the ensuing Parliament will tread in the same steps with the former, but assure yourselves we will struggle hard for our religion and liberty.

HENRY CRISPE of H.M. Customs, London, received two reports of this inflammatory speech—one, from Dr. Otway, St. John's College, Cambridge, who was indebted to a local correspondent, and the other, taken in shorthand, from T. Walker, a Lynn officer of custom (14th September 1714). Crispe communicated at once with the Earl of Oxford, thinking "such a refined piece of insolence and audacious reviling of the Queen, his lordship, the whole ministry and both Houses of Parliament, might be worthy of his cognisance." The zealous interference of these partisans did not check Sir Robert's career. The next year he became Prime Minister.

Dr. Samuel Johnson yielded to the tempting pleasure of lampooning Sir Robert by publishing—*Marmor Norfolciense, or an essay on an ancient prophetic inscription in monkish rhyme, lately discovered near Lynn in Norfolk by Probus Britannicus* (1739). His ponderous comments upon the thirty-eight Latin lines are about as free as his translation. Through an unveiled expression of Jacobite principles in this clumsy satire, the author and his wife are said to have courted retirement in obscure lodgings near Lambeth Marsh, until the threatening storm dispersed.

Referring to the imprisonment of the member for Lynn, Mr. W. E. H. Lecky observes:—"The Tories being in power marked their animosity against him (Sir Robert Walpole) by expelling him from parliament on a charge of corruption and consigning him for a few months to the Tower, but the condemnation, which was a mere party vote, left no stigma on his name, while the species of political martyrdom he underwent only served to enhance his reputation."

PARLIAMENTARY CAREER.

11. Jan. 1701	}	Elected M.P. for Rising; the seat transferred to his brother
1. Dec. 1701		Horace (1702).
23. July. 1702	}	Returned M.P. for King's Lynn with Sir Charles Turner.
12. May. 1705		
6. Mar. 1708		Re-elected on appointment as Secretary of War.
8. May. 1708		Elected with Sir Charles Turner.
4. Feb. 1710		Re-elected after receiving an office of profit from the Crown.
7. Oct. 1710		Elected with Sir Charles Turner. . . Expelled from the House.
11. Feb. 1712		Again elected by the borough. . . Committed a prisoner to the Tower, and disabled "to sit" on account of a violation of trust whilst Secretary of War; on the 7th of April John Turner, Esq., was therefore elected.
31. Aug. 1713	}	Again elected, with Sir Charles Turner, he was made Prime
28. Jan. 1715		Minister in 1715.
8. Nov. 1715	}	Re-elected after accepting an office of profit (also Sir Charles
22. June 1720		Turner).
10. April 1721		
27. Mar. 1722		Again elected with Sir Charles Turner.
10. June 1723		Re-elected after receiving another office of profit.

24. Aug. 1717 } Again elected with Sir Charles Turner.
 6. May 1734 }
 4. May 1741 } Appointed High Steward of Lynn the 17th July, 1738.
 Accepted appointment First Lord of Treasury of Exchequer, when he was called to the Upper House as the Earl of Orford; he was succeeded as M.P. by Edward Bacon, Esq., on the 25th of February 1742.

PERSONALIA.

(1) THE LORD HIGH STEWARD.

Charles Townshend, the 2nd Viscount, was made High Steward of the borough the 21st April 1701. This office he held until the 17th of July 1738. Appointed ambassador extraordinary to the States General of the United Provinces, he posed as a personage of the utmost importance, drawing from the Exchequer "£1,500 for his equipage and £100 a week for his ordinary entertainment." On leaving England, he took with him 6,540 ounces of white plate and 641 ounces of gilt plate (May 1709). Having been Lord Lieutenant of the county since 1701, the Queen cancelled this engagement in favour of James Butler the 2nd Duke of Ormond, a warrior of the highest reputation, but who, attainted for high treason, escaped to France, the parliament in the mean time offering £10,000 for his apprehension (1715).

The Lord Townshend flourished much among us (writes Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich in 1708), for the whole county is absolutely at his back, and he hath got such an ascendant here over everybody by his courteous carriage, that he may do anything among us what he will, and that not only in the county but also in all the corporations, except at Thetford, where all is sold. The election there is among the magistracy and fifty guineas for a vote is their price.

(2) "BEAUTY" IN DISGUISE.

Extolled by Swift, as "the most beautiful person of the age she lived in, of great honour and virtue, infinite sweetness and generosity of temper and true good sense," Anne Long (1681?-1711) the daughter of Sir James Long resided here awhile. Socially of the best quality, she is mentioned in a poem entitled *The British Court* (1707) and Thomas Wharton, Earl of Wharton, was so fascinated, that he scratched a rhapsody upon one of the kit-cat glasses:—

With eternal beauty blest,
 Ever blooming, still the best,
 Drink your glass and think the rest.

Owing to pecuniary difficulties "Mrs." Long broke up her magnificent establishment in Albemarle Street and retired to Lynn under the assumed name of *Smyth*, "in order to live cheap and pay her debts" (1710). From a scrap of newspaper, which unfortunately bears no date, the following "Impromptu in a Norwich Ball room" is copied:—

A sterling *Beauty Longe* displays,
 And manifests a truth,
 By shewing in her elder days,
 What she was when in youth.

Possibly "Mrs. Smyth" carrying an "age that melts in unperceiv'd decay," misled the poet. She died, as is believed, when only about thirty years of age (22nd December 1711). According to an affidavit signed by Mr. Whaites, she was buried "in woollen" in St. Nicholas' chapel (30th December).

Anne Long maintained a correspondence with Dean Swift, who acknowledged the receipt of letters from Lynn, "that vile country town," on the 30th October, the 12th November and the 10th December 1710. In her last communication, written the 18th November 1711, she thus describes her position:—

Forgive the dulness of my apprehension, and if telling you that I am at Linn will not do, I will print it, however, inconvenient it may yet be to me for I am not the better for the old lady's death [a relative] and am in hopes of being easy at Christmas; however, I shall still continue to be Mrs. Smyth near St. Nicholas' church in the town aforesaid.

Her acquaintances included a couple of divines, two aldermen, a custom house officer and—Dr. Inglis. Of the gay part of the town, she confessed she knew nothing, although for the honour of the place she supposed there were good poets, about whom, however, she never inquired. She found Lynn, as Madame D'Arblay afterwards said, "a tittle tattle town," and as if to appease the curiosity of the inquisitive, she banteringly implored Swift to concoct a pedigree for her. Pretending to belong to the family of George Smyth of Nitley, she cautiously refrained from saying too much for fear she might betray herself. To this exiled beauty, who died in seclusion, how stale, flat and unprofitable the *bon ton* of Lynn!

(3) THE PHILANTHROPIST.

Thomas Buckingham, born towards the end of the 16th century, is believed to have been the son of Henry Buckingham who as "miller of the town" was in charge of the Corporation corn mill, which was driven by the waters of the Mill fleet.* Holding this municipal appointment, he was precluded from making his apprentices freemen without the express consent of his masters—the Mayor and Burgesses. Subject to this condition his—own freedom was conferred (1615).

Of the miller's family, Thomas Buckingham claims attention. Enrolled with the freemen, he is termed a mariner and doubtless owned one of the craft engaged in the coasting trade. He purchased his freedom (1664). Later in life, he describes himself as a merchant. Living beside the water in Southgate Street, his house was assessed at £8 in 1669; when, however the special rate was laid (1687), his assessment stood at £10. Buckingham amassed considerable property. Besides the house in which he dwelt, and the one adjoining, wherein starch is said to have been made, he possessed six other messuages, that is one-fifth of the tenements in the whole parish. He likewise owned land in Gaywood, Hardwick, Downham, Upwell, Stoke Ferry, etc. In one of the houses, assessed at £2 10s., lived Humphrey Bucking-

* See Richard's *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. II., pp. 883-6.

ham—the master of the *Pelican*, who claimed his freedom by virtue of an indenture of apprenticeship (1671). He perhaps “served his time” under his brother Thomas.

Except in a few minor particulars the will of Thomas Buckingham, signed in 1702, was not to take effect until after the death of his wife Martha, by whom he had a daughter. Several relatives are mentioned. To his brother Humphrey, who seems to have been somewhat improvident, he bequeathed the profits accruing from his share in the *Philip and Mary*; Thomas, a nephew was to have 7-16th of a ship, either the *Matthew* or the *Pelican*; another nephew, Daniel, was to receive 3-16ths of one of the vessels just named, whilst small legacies were made to a third nephew named Stephen, and a niece, Catherine. The lands demised were subject to a peculiar stipulation—that if ever any were sold one-half of the proceeds was to be forfeited to the poor of the parish.

Though a stanch and consistent member of the Society of Friends, Buckingham was held in high estimation by his neighbours. Of this no doubt need be entertained, because in those days of religious intolerance and persecution, he was repeatedly chosen to act as overseer of the poor. After receiving on each occasion (1676, 1680, 1681, 1693 and 1698) the assent of the mayor and justices of the peace, which was then necessary, he discharged his onerous duties in a satisfactory manner. He attended the vestry meetings and his neat autograph appears many times in the churchwardens’ book. Humphrey signed the minutes two or three times, but the signatures of the two brothers never occur at the same time, because in all probability they did not sail in the same vessel. Thomas Buckingham was appointed common councilman by royal mandate (1st June 1688).

In 1777 a controversy, respecting the right of certain non-residents to graze cattle on the South Lynn common, induced the wardens to draw up a list of tenements having “commonable rights.” To this source we are indebted:—

Tenement No. 37 was in 1695 occupied by the owner *Thomas Buckingham*, but in 1777 it is found in the hands of “Quaker Trustees,” namely, John Bennett, Daniel Catlin, Thomas Goddard, and Robert Purseglove—an eccentric miser, who died worth £10,000 in 1811.

Tenement No. 43 was also owned by *Thomas Buckingham*, but let to Rd. Trollop. In 1777 this house was also vested in the above trustees and a Mr. Crisp.

It is to be regretted, that no definite information respecting the Buckingham Trust—which includes the substantial row of houses known as Buckingham Terrace (London Road) is forthcoming. The income derived from the ground rent of these and other houses is used for the advancement of the Friends’ Society in Lynn and the neighbourhood. The administration is in the hands of local trustees. The “Terrace” was built in 1825 and the leases of 99 years expire the 16th of March 1924.

Thomas Buckingham died early in 1704, and was buried in a leaden coffin at Downham. On the 20th of April, the wardens of All Saints’ received £14 from the widow, which her husband desired to be expended in apprenticing two poor children. In accordance with

the testator's wish other small sums were paid, for example £2 to the poor, £20 to seamen's widows in Lynn, and £20 "to the poor of the quakers" at Stoke Ferry, Upwell, Hilgay, etc.

PASTORALIA.

The parochial records contain particulars of glebe lands, messuages, portions of tithes and other emoluments belonging to the vicarage of Allhallows or All Saints, as exhibited at "the primary visitation" of Charles Trimmel, Bishop of Norwich (18th May 1709). Omitting a minute description of the vicarage, the terrier, "renewed according to ye old Evidences and Knowledge of ye Antient Inhabitants," reads (with amended spelling) thus:—

(1) THE VICARAGE HOUSE.

There is neither pasture nor other glebe lands belonging to the Vicarage House. All tithe, hay, and corn is paid to the impropiator, who hath a right to take them in kind. The profits of the Vicarage arise from an immemorial customary tithe of one shilling per acre for the after-feed of every acre that is mown. There belongs also to the Vicarage some other small tithes, likewise a mortuary for every person dying worth £40 &c. as by law. There is yearly paid to the Vicar the sum of £3 6 8 out of a parcel of land called by the name of Bayly End Marsh, lying within the bounds of Old Lynn. The value of the Vicarage is uncertain because the feeding and mowing is so, but *communibus annis* it is better worth than three score and ten pounds.

The mortuary or soul-present was brought with the corpse into the church, and was at first voluntarily given to the minister, as a kind of expiation for the payment of neglected tithes (*soul-scot*). Subsequently, however, it was enacted that for every person, who did not leave goods to the value of £6 13s. 4d. (10 marks) nothing could be claimed, but that 3s. 4d. might be demanded upon goods valued between £6 13s. 4d. and £30; 6s. 8d. between £30 and £40, and 10s. if above £40 (21st Henry VIII., c. 6).

(2) THE PARISH CHURCH.

The rents of the lands pertaining to the church were received by the wardens and expended upon the up-keep of the edifice and in defraying other incidental charges.

Two acres of land, lying within the bounds of the parish, abutting on the west upon the lands of Mr. Henry Bell, Alderman, and on the east upon Hardwick Green. [*Terrier.*]

This has reference to Goole (otherwise Goule) bank or dyke, a piece of pasturage, containing 2ac. 3rds. 37pls., situated to the south of Goderott's House on the bank of the Setchy river; it extends "upwards to Sir Henry Bedingsfeld's stile." The yearly rent varied greatly—25s. in 1605 (the lowest); £7 10s. in 1775 (the highest). Though now known as Crowe's bank, it has also been called Cooke's bank and most appropriately, the Church bank.*

Five acres of land within the parish of Wiggshall St. Germans, abutting on the west upon the land of Mr. Beals, and on the east upon the land of Hatton Barners, Esq., and on the north upon the lands of Mr. Hart. [*Terrier.*]

* Sometimes confounded with Cooke's Bank in the vicinity of Cooke's Creek, where the Coke Ovens stood. This bank formed part of the Common.

In 1633 an order exemplified under the Great Seal of the Court of Chancery was made directing a certain sum probably about £40 (the principal £20 with the interest, bequeathed by Thomas Valenger in 1611), then in the hands of the wardens, be "put out to interest," until lands could be purchased to provide for the poor of the parish. Apparently an opportunity for permanently investing this money did not occur before 1642, when the principal and interest amounted to £66 1s. Five acres of freehold land were then bought for £61 5s. in the parish of Wiggshall St. Germans. In 1876 about half this land was sold to the Ouse Bank Commissioners for £460, which was invested in three per cent. consols (£479 15s. 10d.). The rest of the land, 2 ac. 13 pls., is still let.

In money £15 in the hands of Mr. Stringer. There are belonging to the parish four Alnshouses, abutting on the highway south (Finkel Row), on the lands of Mr. Baron North—the gift of Mr. Valinger formerly town clerk of Lynn, now in the occupation of Jane Watson, Mary Ward, Margaret Springall, and Elizabeth Ashly, widows. [Terrier.]

In attestation of the truth of the above statements, the signatures of Henry Wastell the vicar, Robert Watson and William Taylor the churchwardens, and others are appended.*

(3) LOTTERIES.

The earliest state lottery in England happened in 1569, when the government issued 40,000 tickets at ten shillings each, so that money might be raised to repair certain harbours. Other lotteries followed; the principal agents in London appointed sub-agents in every important town. The newspapers at the beginning of this reign teemed with tempting advertisements, for private lotteries succeeded the venture started by the government. Articles, otherwise unsaleable, were easily disposed of. Sometimes these alluring chances were baited with captivating verses:—

Only Five Thousand Numbers compose this fine scheme,
And Four Twenty Thousands amongst them do beam—
With other large *Prizes*! we may safely say,
So many were ne'er drawn on ONE DAY. [The Agent.]

"Illicit" lotteries were suppressed "as public nuisances" (1712), yet parliament, in order to raise a million pounds, issued 80,000 at £13 3s. each, as late as 1803.

The managers of lotteries generally subscribed to the local charities, etc. Hence it was agreed that the £8 left by Gabriel Barber, the master of the lottery here, should be spent in purchasing books for the new library at St. Nicholas' chapel (24th January 1619). The Corporation paid the money to the chapel-reeves, whose acknowledgment appears in their "accounts" thus:—"Itm they Charge themselves with the receipt of viij li upon a beneuolence from the towne towards the furnishing of o'r library with books . . . 8:0:0. Itm with 4 li. 10s. rec. of diuers p'ishoners . . . 4:0:0." Later the "Royal Oak's Lottery" absorbed the attention of the speculative,

* In lieu of an annual payment of £87, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners granted the Incumbent of the Vicarage £190 yearly—the appropriate tithe commutation rent charge upon land in the parish (1803).

especially during "the Mart season." Contributions towards the support of the poor were duly entered in the governor's Book of the St. James' Hospital. For example:—"1701. feeb.—By a fine of ye master of ye oaks Lottery for several disorders comitted, £10:15:00," and again in 1702: "To cash of the Royal oak Lottery at the mart, £5."

John Goodwyn (1672-1763), four times mayor (1721, 1728, 1738 and 1749), purchased a lucky ticket in the State Lottery, which secured a prize of £20,000. What a *good-win*, indeed!

* * * * *

Queen Anne expired on the 1st of August 1714, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. She was amiable and gentle in temperament, but too easily influenced by her female associates.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Rendering of the Dues.

GEORGE I. was fifty-four years of age, when he ascended the throne (1714). He married his cousin Sophia Dorothea, daughter of the Duke of Zell, whom he imprisoned in the Castle of Alden because of a supposed intrigue with Count K nigsmark (1694). She remained a captive thirty-two years, and never coming to England, died there (1726).

Soon after the King's accession a congratulatory address was forwarded by the Corporation. Nothing of local importance, however, marks this reign.

* * * * *

"In the early part of the 18th century, society was in a state of corruption—bribery was the means of government, and speculation was its reward. Four-fifths of the seats in the House of Commons were notoriously for sale in one shape or another." Professor Huxley's declaration, as will be seen, was clearly exemplified in the history of our borough.

The new ministry, with one solitary exception—Daniel Finch Earl of Nottingham—was composed of Whigs, and as the two most influential members of the administration were Norfolk men, the county representatives enjoyed, of course, the luscious fruits of office.

KITH AND KIN.

Sir Robert Walpole, the distinguished member for Lynn, was prime minister, chancellor of the exchequer and lord-lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, whilst his brother-in-law Charles, second Viscount Townshend, high steward of Lynn and member for Yarmouth, was Secretary of State, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

In the bestowing of lucrative appointments, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State good-naturedly remembered their neighbours. Sir Jacob Astley, bart., a county member (1715-22) was made commissioner of trade with a salary of £1,000 a year; Sir Thomas Coke of Holkham, another knight of the shire (1722-8) was

constituted vice-chamberlain of the king's household with £600 a year "over and above the other ancient profits;" he was, moreover, created Baron Lovel of Minster Lovel, Oxfordshire (1728) and Earl of Leicester (1744). Horatio Walpole, senior, member for Yarmouth (1722-34), accepted £1,000 yearly, as receiver general of customs, whilst Horatio Walpole, junior, pocketed £500 per annum, besides "all other fees, profits and advantages," as surveyor and auditor general of His Majesty's revenues in America. Sir Charles Turner, member for Lynn, was appointed commissioner of the Admiralty; Horatio Townshend, son of Viscount Charles Townshend—director of the South Sea Company; the Hon. William Fielding, member for Castle Rising—clerk of the green cloth; and lastly, Charles Churchill, another member for Rising—colonel of dragoons, governor of Chelsea Hospital and groom of the prince's bed-chamber.

ANCIENT LANDMARKS.

In the days when there were no ordnance maps and when professional surveyors were rarely encountered, it was easy for covetous, unprincipled persons to remove important landmarks, and effect serious encroachments upon the property of others. To counteract this tendency in adjoining parishes, the inhabitants made periodical perambulations to more thoroughly impress upon their own minds, and especially upon those of the younger generation, the limit and extent of the parish to which they belonged.

Early one bright May morning, for the ceremony was undertaken in Rogation week, a throng of villagers, in holy day attire, are assembled upon the "Green," close by Allhallows' church. Something intensely interesting must be about to happen, if glances of suppressed excitement are indicative, and mysterious hints now and again overheard count for anything. What a representative gathering! The young and thoughtless, rejoicing in the hey-day of their strength, are eager for the fatigue awaiting them; the aged and thoughtful, depressed with the cares of a far-spent life and weighed with an immovable burden of infirmities, must at least see the others set out and welcome them back too, though unable themselves to share in the rough merriment of the day. Ah, what bounds have *they* not beaten; what inconceivable sport have they not enjoyed? Could you but listen to *their* adventures—fifty, sixty, aye seventy years ago, it would indeed take the conceit out of you, for never methinks could any excel, what those modest patriarchs have done!

The vicar passes through the respectful crowd, which follow with demure faces into the church. The service is short and suited to the occasion. At its conclusion, we hear a clear, sonorous voice reciting an exhortation, from the *Book of Homilies*, made and provided for the event:—

We have occasion given us in our walks to-day, to consider the old ancient bounds and limits belonging to our township and to other our neighbours' bordering about us, to the intent that we should be content with our own and not contentiously strive for others', to the breach of charity, by any encroaching one upon another or claiming one of another further than in ancient right and custom our forefathers have peaceably laid out unto us for our commodity and comfort.

Then the villagers, headed by the vicar, churchwardens and other officials begin their peregrination, which is enlivened by improvised amusement and—*inter ambulandum*—with prayers and sacred songs. Memories (proverbially like sieves) were known to retain nothing permanently except perhaps a recollection of outstanding debts; hence the necessity of assistance. The newly-chosen warden has his head stuck in a miry hole, whilst his corpulent structure is battered with a dirty shovel; the smiling schoolmaster is soused in the Nar, whilst his grinning pupils are encouraged to jump unjumpable ditches, or are tenderly rolled in beds of verdant nettles.

Near the lichen-stained cross, at the intersection of the roads, the merry procession halts to partake of refreshments, provided by the wardens. Here, at these spots, which were regarded as next in sanctity to consecrated ground, those excluded from holy rites were piously buried. After a while the wayfarers resume their journey. As they tramp along, the boys with white, newly-peeled willow wands, beat the banks, and stiles, and hedges; but when they arrive at the dole-stones or dole-posts, the men, armed with pliant saplings, beat *them*, so that when they—the boys—wearied with walking, attempt to rest in a posture mid-way between standing and lying, they flinch in their nether garments and remember the bounds!

As early as 1336-7, payments were made *pro pulsatione libertatis*, or "for beating the liberties." Sometimes the incidental expenses were divided, the churchwardens and chapel-reeves contributing equally (1671); at other times, the expenses were wholly defrayed by the town chamberlains (1760).

(1) ALLSAINTS.

1747-8. MAY 28.

Paid to Able Min	[for beer]	...	...	...	...	£2 : 0 : 0
do Richard Tippling	"	...	...	...	...	1 : 16 : 0
do Jeremiah Wilkerson	"	...	...	...	...	0 : 14 : 0
do Thomas Carter	"	...	...	...	...	0 : 7 : 6
do William Walker for meat	...	...	...	...	...	0 : 10 : 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
do Mr. Stortt for baef	...	...	...	...	...	0 : 7 : 11
do the Boys for being wipt at ye <i>Dewels</i>*	...	...	...	...	...	0 : 0 : 11

1755-6 PAID AT YE RAMBLATION.

At Mary Richmonds	[for beer]	...	...	...	...	2 : 0 : 0
" John Pain	"	...	...	...	...	2 : 0 : 0
" Thomas Collyers	"	...	...	...	...	0 : 14 : 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
" Jer. Wilkerson	"	...	...	...	...	1 : 6 : 4
Paid for whipping ye Boys ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0 : 1 : 0
" Beef	...	...	...	...	...	0 : 15 : 3
" Bread & Veal	...	...	...	...	...	0 : 4 : 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

1780: MAY 20.

Beef & Rowles at Jas. Abbots, 12/6.

Beef and Veal for Dinner at Dickison's, 25/6.

Pudding, Bread, Cheese, Greens, Cooking and Serving, 20/-.

Beer and Tobacco, 25/8.

Punch, 16/2.

Whipping the Boys at the *Duels* &c., 2/-.

* *Dole* or *dool*, a boundary stone; often a loose post, which was termed a *dole-post* in Norfolk (Forby). Repeated references are made to the whipping of boys at the *Dewels* or *Duals*—a vernacular expansion of *dole*.

(2) ST. NICHOLAS.

1641-2. Itm, paid for bread and beare . . . amongst the Whole company that went to viewe the bounds upon assencon Daye, 00: 10: 00.

1644. paid the 19th sbeby to the widowe Yarway att the kyngs hedd for somuch spent vpon per ambolacon daye, with those that walked the Circuit flyve shillings and for 16 pottels & three pynts of muskedyne for Communion wyne, in totl, 02: 09: 0.

(3) ST. MARGARET

Perambulation 1760 [*Chamberlains' Account*].

Cross wettings, paid to

John Norris for wine at the Cross [way]	2: 0: 0
Robert Fysh	2: 0: 0
Eliza Speed	16: 8
William Bowers	17: 2
John Morris	19: 0
John Lithier (for beer)	10: 0
John Bagge	1: 10: 0

£8: 12: 10

Perambulation, May 29th. 1779.

Barrel of Beer	1: 10: 0
Plumb cakes J. Hemington 7/9, W. Smith 6/-, C. Crawley 6/-	19: 9
John Lantaff, White rods	5: 0
Wm. Harker for pots	2: 2
4 men 10/-, Singers 2/6 no receipts	12: 6
Brandy & Water 3/6, use of a boat	4: 6

£3: 13: 11

The above extracts, with one exception, are copied from the Churchwardens' books.

After the abrogation of the church ritual, no ecclesiastical judge could compel the wardens to carry out these perambulations; if, however, they did so, the incidental expenses were allowed. The last perambulation in South Lynn, which cost £40 7s., appears to have been in 1818.

It was customary also to beat the maritime bounds occasionally, if such an expression be permissible, so that royalties and liberties, conferred by

Charters, won and guarded, by the sword
Of ancient honour,

might not lapse through forgetful negligence. The Mayor and "a good company went by land [to St. Edmund's Ness], then by sea and up the rivers," for that purpose (1681).

From a survey made by William Newham in 1809, it was found that the Corporation possessed an income of £3,171 9s. a year, of which £399 5s. 6d. was derived from messuages, etc. and £2,772 3s. 6d. from 1,416 acres 2 rds. 32 pls. of land situated in the borough. West Lynn. Gaywood. Wiggshall (SS. Peter, Mary and Germans). North Runcton. Middleton. West Winch. Seech. Snettisham and Ingoldisthorpe. *

THE PREACHER'S MODEST MANSION.

Referring to the scarcely remembered Vicarage in South Lynn, Mackerell observes: "This house is situated in, and always did belong to the parish of St. Margaret's, and as such was accordingly liable to all Parochial Taxes there; but once upon a time by an unanimous consent and mutual agreement between both (parishes), the Inhabitants for avoiding and removing some disputes and difficulties, which often arose between them, it was upon due consideration settled and annexed to this parish (South Lynn) for ever, free from any imposition or incumbrance whatsoever of the other."

After quoting this passage, the late John N. Chadwick proceeds in his *Memorial of South Lynn Vicarage House*, to demolish Mackerell's statement by trying to prove that for five centuries the site in question was in Allsaints' and not St. Margaret's parish. Assuming the reader to be familiar with the argument used, let us endeavour to show how untenable is the position.

In a "true terrier" exhibited at the first visitation of Charles Trimnel Bishop of Norwich (1708), the church estate is described as under:—

Imprimis, One Vicaridge House consisting of a lower and upper Floor, having five Rooms below and four above, besides closets and other Conveniences both above and below stairs. There is also an upper Garrett all at present in good repair.

Item, one stable belonging to ye said House in good repair.

Item, one orchard behind ye House and two little Gardens before it. The whole premises containing near half an acre, all enclosed with a high Brickwall.

A paper manuscript, entitled *A^o 1676 South Lyn All Saints, etc.*, in the possession of the rector, throws considerable light upon this subject. It consists of 55 leaves ($3\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches), 89 pages of which are covered with extracts from the overseers' books and other parochial documents. Having compared many of the memoranda with the original sources from whence they were copied, there need be no hesitation in pronouncing the manuscript reliable.

In order to prove that the Vicarage was in the Stonegate ward and that the vicar paid rates to the parish of St. Margaret, the reader must be troubled with a few quotations from the *St. Margaret's Poor Rate Book, dat. 13 Ap. 1711, ends 15 Ap. 1724*:—

Mr. Wastle *Stonegate Ward* [not *Southgate Ward*] assessed to poor rate at £2 [Henry Wastle, vicar, 1689 to 1718].

2 l.	Ap. 14, 1708	XVIII d.	Rate	0 : 3 : 0
	Jul. 14, "	XII "	" "	0 : 2 : 0
	Oct. 14, "	XVIII "	" "	0 : 3 : 0
	Jan. 12, "	XVIII "	" "	0 : 3 : 0
2 l.	May 5, 1709	XV "	" "	0 : 2 : 6
	Aug. 3, "	XII "	" "	0 : 2 : 0
	Nov. 7, "	XVIII "	" "	0 : 3 : 0
	Jan. 27, "	XVIII "	" "	0 : 3 : 0

Church Rate; Stonegate Ward.

2 l.	Ap. 25, 1709	IX d.	Rate	0 : 1 : 6
	Ap. 21, 1712	XII "	" "	0 : 2 : 0
	Ap. 6, 1713	XII "	" "	0 : 2 : 0

The vicar continued paying the church rate to St. Margaret's parish up to the 6th of April 1713, but declined paying the poor rate at the beginning of 1710, possibly through the dispute to which Mackerell adverts.

A meeting of the inhabitants of both parishes was held, in order to come to an amicable arrangement "touching the several matters hereinafter mentioned" in the agreement, signed by a number of parishioners on both sides, and registered in the church book of each parish (14th April 1714).

(1). That the Mayor and Burgesses, or their tenants of a piece of pasture land to the west of the river Nar, shall keep in repair the river bank, from the Long Bridge (Gas Works) to the stile or gate of their pasture to the south.

(2). That the inhabitants of S. Lynn should hereafter disclaim all rights to the Friars Field, except the use of a footpath leading across the field; that whenever the drain or fleet [Whitefriars' Fleet] towards the north end of the "Fryers" needed scouring the tenant or farmer should pay one-third and the occupiers of the tenements or ground on the north side should pay the other two-thirds of the charges.

(3). That the inhabitants of S. Lynn shall forthwith and hereafter, when necessary, repair the road lying between the parish church and the Vicarage House, from the end of Crooked Lane to Cockle Dike.

That is the road leading from Coronation Square, through Providence Street, along a new path—the "*Cockle-shell Walk*" and on to the old *Cockle* dike at the Windsor Road entrance of "the Walks."*

In 1686 the parish was fined £30 at the quarter sessions, St. George's Hall, and £100 the next year at Swaffham, because of the dangerous and disgraceful state of the roads.

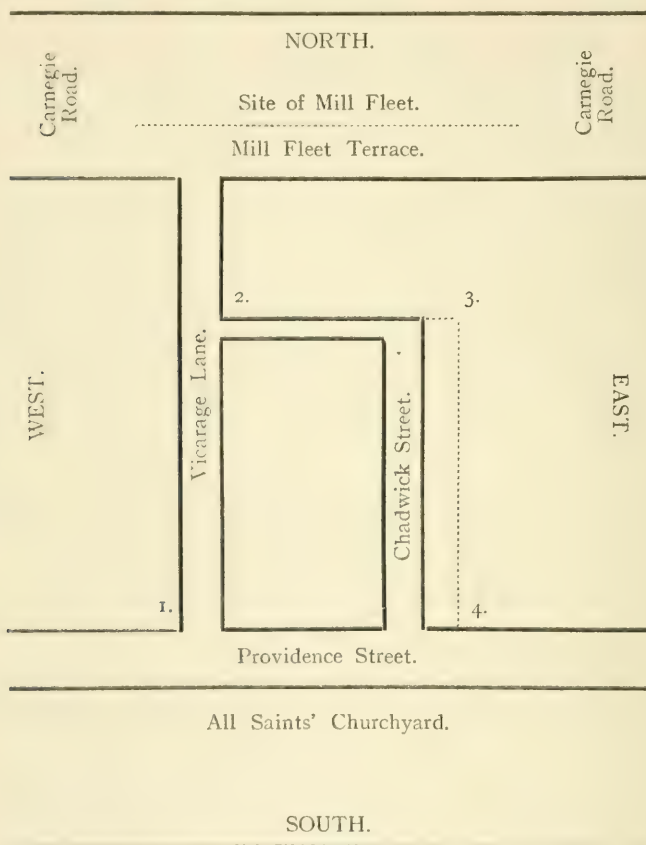
(4). That the Vicarage House of South Lynn shall at all times hereafter be freed & exempted of & from all manner of rates & assessments whatsoever to the Church, Poore or Constables of the parish of St. Margaret aforesaid.

Here, then, in the last clause of the parochial agreement is convincing evidence that among "the differences and disputes" mentioned in the preamble, was one relating to the payment of rates towards the maintenance of the poor and the constables of St. Margaret's parish. That this might not be forgotten the first page of the Overseers' Book, No. 3, begun in 1791, contains this precaution, written at a later date by Mr. Lionel Self:—"Mar. 31—1803. Take notice whenever you perambulate the bounds of the parish, that you go round the Parsonage house and garden, they being within the bounds of the parish."

Instead of traversing the road leading from the corner of Crooked Lane to the Walks Gate (Exton's Road) the procession must turn to the left and beat the "bounds" of the three sides of the oblong half-acre containing the Vicarage and its grounds. More-

* What an inexplicable coincidence! *Cockle* dike and *Cockle-shell* walk or alley. Being of cockle shells, the "walk" was thus named, but what is the derivation of *Cockle* dike? As the *Prophani* drain (Hardwick bridge) was named after Henry *Prophani*, viscount of Norfolk (1050), may not *Cockle* dike be a variant of *Copledike*, a Norfolk family? Sir John Copledike (1108 also 1479).

over, as if to ratify this compromise, three of the four stone wall-plates of a later date, may be seen :—



(1). South-west corner of "Vicarage" or "Parsonage" Lane—*St. Margaret*, 1822. *A.B. W.L.*

(2). North-east, near the passage in "Vicarage" Lane—*S. Margaret*,—20 (1820).—*B.*

(3). North-east of boundary wall, parallel with Chadwick Street. There was undoubtedly a stone at this angle, but it is now hidden by buildings.

(4). South-west of boundary wall; seen in Providence Street—*St. Margaret*, 1829. *E+E, I.P.S.*

A GHOSTLY OCCUPANT.

An air of gloomy mystery pervaded one apartment of the old Vicarage; it was reputed to be the haunt of some perturbed spirit.*

* From the inscription "proceeding from the mouth of a religious person," upon the carved oak spandrels of the Vicarage door, *Johnes Norris: hanc domu: fieri fec: an. dni. m iiii lxxvij.*, we learn, that the house was built by John Norris, vicar in 1477.

The gable fell in 1846, and the dwelling with the garden (1,730 sq. yds.) was sold by auction (1850). See *Memorial of S. Lynn Vicarage House* (1851) by John N. Chadwick.

The Rev. John William Greaves used to relate a gruesome discovery, made, when he, a lad about fifteen years of age, was living at home with his father, the Rev. Thomas Berkeley Greaves (vicar 1811-1850).

Having made up his mind, if not to unravel the mystery, at least to thoroughly explore the uncanny chamber, the young psychologist carefully sounded the walls from floor to ceiling, and after judiciously removing one or two bricks, found a large cavity, containing a skeleton. The rusty framework of a wreath was dangling upon the skull, whilst amongst the dust and rubbish there was a curiously worked robe and a female's high-heeled shoe (1825).

How strikingly this queer story reminds one of the fascinating tradition—the *Mistletoe Bough*. A slight stretch of the imagination is needed; instead of the humble parsonage—a baronial castle; instead of a mural niche—an oaken chest; call the damsel Ginevra, and all the painful circumstances, connected with the mysterious disappearance of Lord Lovell's fair daughter flit before the memory like the scenes in a terrible tragedy!

PAROCHIAL ETIQUETTE.

In the clergy was vested the power of selecting the parish clerk. Now, on the death of Thomas Ashley the clerk at St. Nicholas, the vicar the Rev. Thomas Littell, D.D., chose William Taylor and publicly announced "the election during the time of divine service," as was then the custom (3rd June 1722). Ignoring their minister's action, the aggrieved parishioners summoned a meeting, not because they objected to William Taylor personally, but because they determined to enjoy the privilege of choosing for themselves. The reverend gentleman strongly protested, describing their procedure as "a pretended election" (11th June). A few years later, Thomas Hartup was chosen by the vicar and declared clerk "canonically, in the time of divine service" (27th April 1728). After the event, duly recorded in the burial register, an anonymous person surreptitiously wrote:—

N.B. Jeremiah Socket, who officiated as clerk before Hartup, was only deputy to Mr. William Taylor, and after his decease, was forceably and tumultuously put into ye place and connived at by Dr. Littell.

This elicited from the vicar a reassuring statement:—

Mem'dum. Upon Sunday being 27th April 1728, Dr. Thomas Littell, Curate to ye Dean and Chapter of Norw'ch, of King's Lyn did chuse and appoint Thomas Hartup of King's Lyn aforesaid, to be clerk of ye chapel of St. Nicholas in ye s'd parish of King's Lyn, and declare him to be so chosen & appointed in the time of Divine service upon the Sunday aforesaid.

Ita testator THO; LITTELL.

The obstinate parishioners continued to thwart their minister. During a temporary absence from home in 1729, they formally elected the same person; again on Easter Tuesday the 31st of March 1730, they aggravatingly enacted the same rôle, the vicar as firmly as ever objecting to their absurd conduct. The office, held by the clerk, was not a yearly appointment, nor was it dependent on an annual election. The present clerk, as he insisted, was legally vested with

power two years before, therefore the steps they were taking were illegal, null and invalid. Once appointed, the office was terminable by him and by him only.

The Rev. John Man, the vicar of Allsaints, met with similar opposition some ninety years prior to this, when he chose a weaver named John Springall for parish clerk. Already, during a ministry of forty years had he exercised this right by virtue of a custom which had continued "without interruption, time out of mind," wherefore he did it again, coolly announcing his decision to the congregation on Sunday the 5th of December 1641, and explaining the circumstances in the *Church Booke* which he signed, as also did the wardens—Thomas Lillye and James Butler, as witnesses.

TOLLS AND DUES.

It was the prerogative of the Corporation, as conservators of the river and admiral of the port, to preserve the harbour, by removing all wrecks and obstructions impeding the navigation within their chartered jurisdiction. To do this and other necessary work, they were empowered, not only to charge toll upon merchandise, but also to levy dues, namely, Beaconage, Anchorage, Stakage, Ballast and Bulkbreak, upon all vessels entering the port. The tolls, including town dues, wharfage, etc., constituted a large item in the income of the borough. Wholly derivable from shipping and merchandise the amount varied of course considerably: the average income for six years (1827 to 1832) amounted to £2,521 per annum. As the cargoes were classed, so were the dues calculated, freemen paying at a reduced rate upon Beaconage and Stakage only.

(1) THE TONNAGE RATE

applied to all goods, except corn and grain. Unprivileged vessels alone paid "the foreign rate;" those, in fact, belonging to countries with whom treaties of reciprocity had been effected, were charged the "unfree rate." The difference between that charge and "the foreign" was paid by the Trinity House. Beaconage and Stakage (the same as the *inward* rate) were only charged upon *outward* bound vessels.

The *inward* rates may be conveniently tabulated:—

	Free ships.	Unfree ships.	Foreign vessels.
Beaconage	$\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ton delivered.	1d. per ton delivered.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ton delivered.
Stakage.	Half the <i>Beaconage</i> with $\frac{1}{2}$ th of the <i>Beaconage</i> added, if the vessel delivered her cargo at or above the Boal.		
Anchorage	nil.	6d. per vessel, payable for the voyage in or out,	

	Free ships.	Unfree ships.	Foreign vessels.
Ballast.	nil.	4d. for 3 tons	8d. for 3 tons.
		If the ballast however was taken from off the ground <i>below</i> the town, no charge was made.	
Bulk break.	nil.	3s. 4d. for every vessel not belonging to Lynn, arriving from a foreign port.	

(2) THE GRAIN RATE

covered corn, grain, malt, flour, etc. *Lastage*, otherwise *Lovecop*, that is one penny per quarter, was charged on all grain not belonging to freemen, shipped outwards. If, however, any freeman sold and shipped a quantity of grain to a merchant at another port, the due was chargeable; but shipped as the "property and adventure" of a freeman, the cargo was not liable. Of the due on grain, one-half was retained by the borough; the other was paid to the Duchy of Cornwall.

	Free ships.	Unfree ships.	Foreign vessels.
Beaconage.	1d. per quarter.	2d. per quarter.	3d. per quarter.
Stakage.	Half the <i>Beaconage</i> with $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the <i>Beaconage</i> as in the <i>Tonnage</i> rate.		
Anchorage.	nil.	6d. per vessel.	
Ballast.	nil.	For vessels bringing in grain and taking ballast away, the weight of the grain was calculated and this due was charged as shewn in the <i>Tonnage</i> rate.	
Bulkbreak.	nil.	3s. 4d. per vessel not belonging to Lynn, on arrival from foreign ports.	

(3) THE COAL RATE

was calculated upon coal, cinders, and culm, or coal dust, used in the production of coke. As the pioneer railway companies were not allowed to make smoke, coke was consumed in their locomotive engines. At a later period, an extensive range of Coke Ovens was established near the Wisbech Road. Coal money or groats, that is fourpence per chaldron charged upon coal, etc., delivered by vessels not belonging to Lynn, formed no part of the borough revenue, but was strictly paid to the Guardians, for the maintenance of the poor. This tax was apparently first imposed in 1545; for several years it brought in between £40 and £50, but the average income for six years (1827 to 1832) amounted to £453 a year. The bellman too might demand fourpence per vessel (not belonging the port), when "crying" coals for sale, but no more. This payment is spoken of as the *Bellman's Groat*.

	Free ships.	Unfree ships.
Beaconage.	1d. per chaldron of 25 cwts.	2s. per score chaldron of 25 cwts.
Stakage.	Half the <i>Beaconage</i> with $\frac{1}{4}$ th added, if the cargo were discharged at the Boal.	
Anchorage.	nil.	6d. per vessel each voyage.
Ballast.	nil.	5d. for every 3 chaldron delivered.

The Town Council decided to cease collecting these dues, which were considered detrimental to the commercial development of the port (1st January 1889).

(4) PETTY DUES.

Outwards: The amount derived from this source was inconsiderable; 3d. was charged upon every load of timber and 2d. for every sheet of wool, when carried outwards and coastwise. The dues might be calculated as $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per ton upon free, and 3d. per ton upon unfree vessels, and 6d. per ton upon strange vessels with coal delivered. In other respects the strange vessel would be on the same footing as an unfree vessel.

A new table of petty tolls, taken by water and at the gates, was ordered to be delivered to the wharfingers, and hung at the entrances

of the town. All noblemen, knights, esquires and clergymen were thenceforth to be excused payment (24th November 1701). About 1833 these dues averaged £156 yearly.

Inwards: The up-river tolls, otherwise known as the *Tolbooth*, constituted part of the revenue pertaining to the Duchy of Cornwall, which, including the *lastage*, was ear-marked as the heritage of the sovereign's eldest son, the Prince of Wales. In 1824, the gross revenue of the Duchy had fallen to £22,000. Owing, however, to the astute management of the Prince Consort, it rose to £70,000 in 1872, £98,000 in 1898, and reached £121,299 in 1902. The contributory Tolbooth at Lynn was leased to the Corporation, at a yearly rent of £200. In 1834 these tolls, though said to be worth £75 a year, were, notwithstanding, let at an annual rent of £8 13s. 4d. The average net profit for five years ending May 1861 did not exceed £190 (*lastage* included); of this one-fourth was paid to the Duchy. The petty dues only amounted to £3 16s. 4d. in 1889. The opening of railways greatly reduced the transport of goods *via* the river, so much so, that for the years 1896 and 1897 the Duchy received only £29 4s. 11d. and £17 17s. 8d. respectively. By virtue, therefore, of the King's Lynn Conservancy Act, 1897 (section 47), these unprofitable tolls, which acted prejudicially and prevented merchants from using the water-way, were abolished (May 1898).

The obsolete up-river charges were as follows:—One hundred deals or bundles of laths 6d., one hundred battens 3d., one load of timber or bark 3d., logs each 1d., wool per pack 3d., crates or hampers each 2d., plaster, slates, iron or stone per ton 8d., hemp or cork per ton 2/8, lead per ton 9d., wine, oil or vinegar per ton 8d., spirits, cheese or rags per ton 1/-, bottles per gross 2d., hogsheads of all kinds 4d., flagstones per dozen 4d., soap per chest 4d., nails or shot per bag 1d., sack of hops 1d., beer, tar or pitch per barrel 1d., sheep or calf skins per hundred 6d., rub or whetstones per thousand 8d., scythes, sickles, spades or slit iron per bundle 1d., furniture of all kinds 8d., salt, pipeclay or cobbles per ton 2d., and corn per quarter (half to the Duchy) 1d.

"Through Tolls," a right which existed only in a few places, as for example, Newcastle, Carlisle, Lancaster, etc., was in reality a duty, or *octroi*, on goods taken into, and brought out of, any particular town. In Lynn "through tolls" were payable upon articles brought into the borough for *sale*, and not necessarily for transport. All, with one exception, were abandoned in 1733. A nominal toll, which did not, in 1832, exceed £8 a year, continued to be charged upon flour borne hither for sale. The "Flour Toll," levied upon millers, was based upon 2-5ths of the average price of a sack of flour the preceding twelve months.

Dues.	1869.	1879.	1889.
Beaconage	£848 : 14 : 1	£1,271 : 15 : 7	£1,105 : 8 : 5
Stakage	425 : 1 : 8	636 : 11 : 3	174 : 17 : 7
Anchorage	31 : 14 : 6	226 : 14 : 4	7 : 9 : 0
Ballast	95 : 3 : 0	74 : 7 : 0	5 : 15 : 0
Bulkbreak	30 : 16 : 8	47 : 10 : 0	10 : 10 : 0
Lastage	153 : 12 : 10	28 : 17 : 6	182 : 11 : 4
Total	£1,585 : 2 : 9	£2,286 : 15 : 8	£1,486 : 11 : 4

After the passing of the *King's Lynn Docks and Railway Company's "Further Powers Act"* (1889) the dues leviable by the Corporation, and known as Stakage, Bulkbreak, Anchorage, and Ballast were extinguished in the case of vessels using the company's dock. In respect to Beaconage, one penny per ton shipped or unshipped might be levied upon ships entering the dock, a payment reducible to two shillings per registered ton yearly upon vessels *regularly* trading to and from the port.

The following dues are now payable by all vessels visiting the port:—*Bar Flat Light*, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per registered ton; *Channel Lights*, $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per ton of cargo delivered or shipped; *Estuary Dues*, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ditto; *Mooring Dues*, $\frac{1}{3}$ d. ditto; *Lastage*, $\frac{1}{3}$ d. per quarter upon all grain shipped; *Duchy of Cornwall Dues*, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ditto; *Beaconage*, 1d. per ton of cargo delivered or shipped (1901).

THE CIRCLING HOUR.

Standing aloof from other parishes, "where clocks bee to tyme," the dilatory inhabitants of South Lynn, anxious to improve the shining hour, insisted that the great bell should be rung at 4 o'clock in the morning and at 9 in the evening, except in the dark, dreary winter, when it might be run an hour later in the morning and an hour earlier in the evening. On each occasion, three score pulls were first to be given, then "after ceasing (the ringer was) to toul the number of daies of moneth." For the faithful discharge of this important duty, the clerk, if he would accept the office, was to be paid £2 a year, "out of the rent of the old (Goule) bank" (6th May 1669).

Half a century later, the clerk was pocketing £3 per annum, for a perfunctory performance of the business. Great was the inconvenience caused by the remissness of this drowsy fellow, who seemingly took "no note of time." At the vestry meeting, where serious complaints were lodged against him, an unfeeling majority determined upon "purchasing and maintaining a Church parish Clock," with the money they were in the habit of paying their neglectful monitor (26th December 1719). Nathaniel Kinderley was, therefore, instructed "to purchase and cause to be set up such a clock of a moderate price and at as little charge as well as he could;" the parishioners covenanting to pay him or his assigns £3 every year until the whole debt should be wiped off. Then a compassionate minority pledged themselves, "as they were severally and proportionately able in their circumstances," to make the dear, old, somnolent clerk an equivalent recompense in the nature of a free gift, so long as he regularly performed his other duties.

Soon after, the clock, which cost £40 12s., was fixed in the church tower; but it proved a source of vexatious disappointment. For ten shillings a year, the clerk arranged to wind up the mechanism every Sunday, and generally to lavish upon it all care "within his skill and power" (8th June 1721). Having paid £9, the parishioners agreed to pay £6 yearly in future (1723). Two years passed, and the tether of forbearance could stand the strain no longer. The Allsaints' clock proved an incurable nuisance! . . . William Scarfe, the warden, was directed to pay Kinderley £20, as a final settlement of

all liabilities, whilst the vestry gave the whilom annuitant permission to remove the apostate clock "now belonging to the Church of South Lynn." Thus, "a general discharge from all further bargains" was obtained (7th October 1725).

THE MULTITUDE OF COUNSELLORS.

The state of the harbour and the river, described as unsafe, decayed and dangerous, was the cause of serious apprehension. Although an Act had been passed in the reign of Charles II., for making the Ouse navigable to Thetford, that is, beyond the Whitehouse near Brandon ferry, nothing was as yet done. Peter Bateson described, *The Present State of the Navigation of Lynn, Wisbeach, Spalding, and Boston* (1720), but his treatise failed to arouse our apathetic Corporation. However, they afterwards engaged the "Chief Engineer of England"—Colonel John Armstrong—to advise them in the matter. His *Report, with Proposals for draining the Fens and amending the Harbour of Lynn*, was placed upon the Council table (3rd August 1724). This, Armstrong supplemented with a more pretentious work—*The History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Port of King's Lynn* (1725), etc., with maps by Thomas Bladeslade. The same year, Thomas Bladeslade published *his own* views, entitled—*The History of the Navigation of the Port of King's Lynn* (1725), and later, *A Scheme for the Draining of the Great Level and Improving the Navigation of Lyn-Regis* (1729).

After considering Armstrong's report, an application to revive the then extinct powers of the commissioners was placed before parliament (14th January 1725), and a committee appointed to devise means for raising £2,500 upon the tonnage of imported goods (3rd February). The Corporation, moreover, encouraged Bladeslade, by contributing £20 towards the publication of his first book (7th January 1725). As no steps were taken by our lethargic Corporation, Nathaniel Kinderley stepped into the arena to wrestle with this fascinating and important theme. He published a treatise, entitled, *The Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Towns of Lynn, Wisbeach, Spalding, and Boston* (1751).

A NAME IN PRINT.

The celebrated Daniel Defoe (1661-1731), who was no stranger to Norfolk, visited Lynn (1722). In *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain* (1724), he remarks:—

From thence (Walsingham) we went to Lynn another rich and populous (thriving) port town . . . greatest extent of inland navigation here of any port in England, London excepted. . . They bring in more coals than any seaport between London and Newcastle, and import more wines than any port in England, except London and Bristol: their trade to Norway and to the Baltic sea is also great in proportion and of late years they have extended their trade further to the southward.

Cruso was a common surname in Lynn; there was, besides, a *Robinson Cruso* (spelled as Defoe has it), and often has the inquiry arisen as to whether the gifted author picked up this name in Lynn, or whether the burgess' Christian name was adapted from Defoe's immortal work. Assuming Defoe to be the author of *The Life and*

*strange Surprising Adventures of Robeson Cruso, mariner, etc.,** he must have hit upon this soubriquet prior to coming to Lynn, because the book was first published in 1719. Besides, the earliest Robinson Cruso met with in our registers was "Robinson Cruso, upholder, † born 1729, died 1794," whose Christian name was no doubt taken from Defoe's remarkable work of fiction.

More than once has a tempting surname answered as a convenient peg, whereon to hang the Christian name of some celebrated personage. The infant son of the master of the workhouse, Thurlow Nelson, born three years after the death of "the Norfolk Hero," was baptized "Horatio." In course of time *Horatio Nelson* conducted a "classical and commercial academy" in King Street; he was appointed relieving officer in 1849, and died 1883. *John Bunyan*, assiduously chronicled small beer at an hostelry, yeapt the *Prince of Wales*, in Purfleet Street, and to the end of his days *Bedford Russel*, of Union Street, the sheriff's officer, was indeed a terror to evil doers.

MART ATTRACTIONS.

The following advertisement, probably quoted from a *Norwich* newspaper, is interesting:—

LYNN MART, FEB. 3. 1722: By His Majesty's Permission. This is to Give Notice to all Gentlemen, Ladies, and Others, that on Monday next at Mr. Green's in the Market Place in Lynn will be acted an excellent new play called *Dido and Æneas*, or the wonderful Prince of Troy, with the enchantments of *Circe* the Queen of Magic Arts, where you will see her drawn in her chariot by Two Dragons and how she flew away with the wondrous Prince of Troy. Likewise a Young Woman that Dances with Swords, who turns round several Hundred Times together with incredible Swiftmess and carries Quart Pots and tankards on the hilts of the swords with the Points in her Mouth to Admiration. Also a Dance performed by an Italian Scaramouch and Harlequin called Hoop'd Petticoat Dance with several other Entertainments too tedious to mention here. Also the noble wax work, performed to a greater Curiosity than ever was before, represents the Court of Queen Eleanor and Fair Rosamond, the figures as large as men and women. And lastly several live creatures which tumble and show you a Variety of Comical Actions at the Word of Command. Performed by John Kirby, who will continue his Diversions there during the Mart. [*Norfolk Garland*].

LOCAL ACTS.

- 1723-4. Regulating the manufacture of stuffs, also the manner in which elections are to be conducted.
- 1723-4. Specifying those who are exempt from serving as sheriffs.
- 1726-7. Concerning the repair of sea-walls and bridges.

CONSPICUOUS ABSENCE.

An Act was passed requiring every Papist to forward to the clerk of the county an exact account of the estates he held (1714). The total value of the recusant estates in England was returned as £386,746 4s. 10½d., of which £11,869 19s. 2d. was registered with

* It is doubtful, whether Defoe was really the author. The tradition of the *Wharton MS.* in the British Museum suggests that Lord Oxford wrote *Robeson Cruso*, when imprisoned in the Tower, and that he gave the manuscript to Defoe, with permission to print it.

† An upholder was an undertaker, who furnished funerals.
 "Th' upholder, rueful harbinger of death,—
 Waits with impatience for the dying breath,"
 Gay.

John Houghton, clerk for Norfolk (1716). There was apparently not one property-owning Papist in Lynn; in the neighbourhood we note John Paston, of Appleton, £349 17s. 2½d., and Sir Henry Bedingfeld, of Oxborough, £1,351 1s. 2½d.

* * * * *

George I. embarked for Hanover, the 3rd of June 1727, but, on entering Osnabruck, was struck with apoplexy, and died on the 10th.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Honour and Renown.

HEARING that the King was dead, Sir Robert Walpole repaired at once to Richmond to acquaint the Prince of Wales of his accession to the throne (14th June 1727). George II. married Caroline of Anspach (1705).

Congratulatory addresses, promising unfaltering allegiance to the Hanoverian dynasty, were forwarded from almost every place of importance. Norwich, Yarmouth and Thetford, flushed with pleasure, availed themselves of the opportunity, and the inhabitants of Lynn “not only consciously acknowledged the King’s rightful and lawful title,” but candidly expressed their conviction “that no other family upon earth could defend them against Popery and Arbitrary Power.”

* * * * *

A FALSE ALARM.

A serious rebellion in favour of Prince Charles, “the young Pretender”—a grandson of James II., broke out in Scotland (1745). On leaving Edinburgh, the insurgents numbered eight thousand (October). Lancaster, Carlisle and Manchester, having surrendered, they boldly advanced towards Congleton, as if to engage the forces of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland—the King’s brother. Suddenly turning off, they marched into Derbyshire (4th December). An untoward report, that a descent upon London was intended, caused the greatest consternation in the metropolis; the public funds suffered a sudden depression, whilst an alarming “run” threatened the security of the Bank.

Lynn shared in the general panic. The inhabitants were quite convinced the rebel army would stealthily enter the borough by the South Gates. Five nondescript regiments were hastily formed and astute officers selected, whilst the ordinary townsmen, copying the example set by the clergy, went about their business armed to the teeth. For the safety of the community, the bridge at St. Germans and those above it, were to be cut down, if any Jacobites succeeded in crossing the fens. In this terrible emergency, the town must be strengthened with new out-works. Headed by the valiant mayor Philip Case of Gaywood Hall, the members of the Corporation and the *élite* of society, unhesitatingly turned out with spade and pickaxe

to assist the workmen, fearfully regretting there was no "strait path," so that, like Horatius and his comrades, they might go forth and "hold the foe in play." Who could ever forget the streaming faces of the begrimed patricians, or their bewildered looks, when a greyhound chasing a hare, bounded lightly over the impregnable barrier, raised with such toilsome ingenuity! * A prolonged display of patriotism was luckily unnecessary. As soon as news of the rebels' retreat towards Scotland was authenticated, the wearisome work was suspended, and the amateur navvies sought rest from their labours.

As in the mean time considerable military preparations were being pushed forward at Dunkirk and other French ports, a landing upon the Norfolk coast was feared. The lord lieutenant of the county was urged to frustrate the attempt at any cost. Parliament voted liberal supplies and summoned the militia for active service. John, the first Lord Hobart (created Earl of Buckinghamshire the next year) reported upon the defenceless condition of eighty miles of sea-board. After praising the people at Lynn and Yarmouth for doing all they could to defend their position, he observes: —

They have some arms, which they have taken out of their ships, but they are in great want at Lynn. The gentlemen of that place (he continues) sent to London for 300 stand [of arms] but could not procure any from private hands. . . . If the government would trust me with one or two thousand stand of arms, I would readily give my own receipt either to return the arms or to pay the value if they should think fit. (18th December, 1745)

THE PITILESS STORM.

On Tuesday the 8th of September 1741, a storm of unusual violence swept the town and surrounding district. It began at noon, and lasted about an hour. The steeples of St. Margaret's church (193 feet high) and St. Nicholas' chapel (174 feet high) were blown down, whilst the vane of Allsaints' church was carried away. Middleton Tower, and barns at Tilney (Henry Whiteman's) and Outwell (Thomas Chick's) were considerably damaged. Many trees too near Downham and Lynn were uprooted. The wind being in the south-west, the steeple of St. Margaret fell towards the north-east, thus demolishing the two western arches and other parts of the nave. The old materials were sold and contributions solicited for the rebuilding of the church. His Majesty gave £1,000, Sir Robert Walpole, the High Steward £500, Lord Walpole £100, Sir John Turner, knight, £100, Edmund Bacon £100, Hon. Thos. Coke £21 (created Viscount Coke of Holkham and Earl of Leicester, 1744), Mr. Keene £50, and Mr. Taylor £50. The contributions were, however, insufficient, hence an Act was obtained (18th George II., 1745-6) sanctioning the levying of a rate to repay the interest on sums advanced and secured by annuities. The interest amounting to eight per cent. "would ruin any office doing business on the same terms" (Beloe). The nave and aisles were built by Bartholomew Brettingham of Norwich, from his own designs. "The new church represents fairly one of the 15th century erected in the 18th century." (Beloe.)

* This comic incident is said to be commemorated on the carved corbels of the South Gates.

Although the rate was spread over the whole parish, there was not enough for the repair of the chapel of St. Nicholas, hence the inhabitants were compelled to raise money on the chapel estate, which consisted of plots of land beyond the East Gates (then in the parish of Gaywood), and various tenements in Chapel Street, St. Nicholas Street, Broad Street (now absorbed by the Cattle Market) and Pilot Street. The block of buildings in Ravenshaw's yard, Chapel Street included the *Lattice* public house.* William Newham, who surveyed the estate in 1834, gave 17 acres 15 perches as the area of the land. Every piece can be traced as far back as 1618, in the chapel-reeves' book, where the area is roughly estimated at 15½ acres. The various messuages, however, cannot be identified owing to the meagreness of the description. How well this estate has been managed of late years is evident, by comparing the figures in the annexed table of income :—

Rent, etc.	1618	1776	1876
Land	£51 : 19	£47 : 2 : 0	£152 : 0
Houses	21 : 13	5	186 : 10
Annuity	2 : 0	2 : 0 : 0	2 : 0
Total	£75 : 12	£49 : 2 : 5	£340 : 10

In 1742 for "a consideration sum" of £320 10s., the house property was leased in five lots for 99 years, each lot paying a nominal acknowledgment rent of one penny per year. When the lease expired in 1841, some of the property was again unwisely leased at an insufficient rental for 60 years.

THE BURNEY FAMILY.

The literary ability displayed by the members of this family is remarkable. Charles Burney (1726-1814) resigned his appointment as organist at St. Dionis Back-church, London, in Easter 1751, and acting upon medical advice, sought employment in the more bracing atmosphere of the eastern counties. Through the influence of our member Sir John Turner, he obtained the organistship at St. Margaret's, towards the end of 1751.† This position he retained until the 29th of September 1760.

During his residence in Lynn, Burney lived in two houses; the first, described as being "pretty and convenient," was in the North End ward, and was rented at £12. Mr. J. J. Coulton, by means of deeds which have passed through his hands, has identified the residence as that now known as "St. Augustine's," in Chapel Street.

* The *Lattice* is another name for the *Chequers*, the arms of Fitz-Warren, who in the 14th century was invested with the power of licensing vintners and publicans. When licensed, houses notified the same, by displaying the Fitz-Warren arms—chequy or and gules.

"Where the red lattice doth shine

"Tis an outward sign,

Good ale is a traffic within."

Christmas Ordinary (1682).

For some occult reason, the old chequer sign was removed to give place to the present representation of a neatly draped window.

† The poetical epistle addressed to his wife was dated the 19th of December, 1751. (*Memoirs of Dr. Chas. Burney*, 1832, vol. I., pp. 91-2.)

After a while, Burney moved into High Street; this is conclusive not only from a letter copied by the churchwardens, but by an advertisement in the *Norwich Mercury* (Saturday, 11 September 1757):—

Lynn Regis, Norfolk. On Tuesday there will be a performance of Sacred Music in St. Margaret's church, which will begin precisely at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and in the evening there will be a Ball at the Town Hall. Tickets to be had at Mr. Burney's House in *High Street*.

To locate this house is not difficult. In 1753, Burney's name figures in the Chequer Lane ward, which in High Street is bounded by the houses running from the Purfleet Street corner to the Tuesday market-place. Among the assessment entries we find:—

Thomas Goskar	£5	:	13	:	4
Charles Burney	10	:	13	:	4
John Heard	7	:	6	:	8

Starting from the *Bull* public house, now the *Earl of Beaconsfield* (numbered 68 in 1845), as a landmark, and counting southward as per register, we find that Burney's neighbour Thomas Goskar, a painter (whose name occurs in the church accounts), lived at No. 83. For three generations the Goskars occupied the same premises, and were succeeded in business by the late Mr. Thomas Chadwick. Burney lived next door, where Mr. Thomas Green recently conducted a clothier's business. According to the assessment, Burney's dwelling ought to be larger than those on either side, and such is the case. Whether Burney tenanted the whole of the building seems doubtful, because in 1759-60, we find him no longer assessed at £10, but at £7, and we note, moreover, the interpolation of the name of a new tenant, who subsequently pays upon £4 10s. To relieve his, by no means, affluent circumstances, Burney perhaps agreed with Sarah Powlett to share the tenement with him.

Before coming to Lynn, Burney married Esther Sleepé. Three children were born in London—Esther, who married her cousin Charles Rosseau Burney, James the admiral born 1750 and Charles who died young (16th June 1751). Six children were born in Lynn, three of whom survived:—

Frances (born 13th June) baptized 7th July 1752, attested by the Rev. Thomas Pyle (St. N.)

Charles buried 12th October 1752 (St. N.)

Charles „ 5th January 1754 (St. N.)

Susanna Elizabeth baptized 31st January 1755 (St. M.)

Charles baptized 2nd January 1758 (St. M.)

Henry Edward buried 10th May 1760 (St. N.)

[*Parish Registers.*]

Though living in the Chequer Lane ward in 1754, Burney's second son Charles was buried on the north side of St. Nicholas' chapel, because it was necessary through "overcrowding" to close the graveyard at St. Margaret's from 1754 to 1756. So serious was the outbreak of smallpox at this time, that the hours for burial were extended from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m.; although funerals were conducted elsewhere, the tolling of the small bell at St. Margaret's was insisted

upon; and it was decided to recover payment for the observance by applying, if necessary, to the Spiritual Court.

THE SNETZLER ORGAN.

From the Reformation to the reign of Charles II., scant information can be gathered respecting church organs. Under the Puritans the work of unpardonable destruction reached its climax. As in scores of other places, our organs were sold and the money spent upon the ecclesiastical structures (12th November 1565). Finding no employment in organ-building, the old artisans turned their attention to cabinet making and carpentry. At the Restoration, men grew more and more desirous of improving the musical portion of the church service; the trouble and hardships of the past were indeed forgotten, but the art of organ-construction was almost obsolete. Four organ-builders remained, namely, Preston, Loosemore, Thamar and Dallans. To obviate this difficulty, foreign experts were offered high premiums to settle in England.

For aught known to the contrary, William Beton a local organ-maker, who purchased his freedom in 1519, may have built our early organs. The churches were nevertheless without organs from 1565 until near the end of the 17th century, when there was much opposition to erecting one in St. Margaret's church. In the faculty granted by Bishop Antony Sparrow, his lordship emphatically declares: "We forbid the wardens . . . to presume by their rash boldness to offer any impediment to the said erectors of the said organ, but command them and either of them, as much as in them lies, to assist and protect them," that is the erectors (17th August 1677). As specified the instrument was placed in the middle aisle of the nave, "near the third pillar two arches distant from the pulpit at the west part of the pillar or thereabouts," facing the east. The pedestal and loft or gallery upon which it rested was presented by Sir John Turner (1679). The organ was, however, afterwards fixed between the chancel and the nave, upon the Jacobean screen facing the west (1697), when it was repaired by Christian Smith of St. Giles in the Fields, Westminster. He added a trumpet stop (£20) and agreed to tune the instrument for 20s. a year. The Corporation paid him £45 the same year. Mackerell mentions a payment of £164 3s. 5d. about 1689 (but query 1697). In 1710 the pipes were gilded.

A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1752) mentions how several *moving* figures formed part of the ornamental organ-case at Lynn, some of which beat time. To similar mechanical devices, Dr. John Donne alludes in the lines:—

As in some organs puppets dance about
And bellows pant below, when they do move.

Nevertheless, from Mackerell's description, it must be inferred that the carved adornments here were not automatic. He says:—

It is adorned (1737) with proper figures as King David with his Harp at the Top, a little lower two Angels on either Side, one playing upon a Cornet, the other with a Musick-Book lying before him, his Hand elevated as keeping Time

in that Science; on each side of these is placed an Incense Pot, and along the Front on the Gallery are the four Evangelists, the King's Arms in the middle with some agreeable Paintings and other Embellishments.*

Conflicting statements are made concerning the organ Burney found on coming to Lynn. It is said to be an old one removed from one of the colleges in Cambridge; it was built by Ralph Dallans (Grove), or was partly the work of one of the Dallanses and partly that of an earlier maker; it was moreover either the gift of John Tinner (Hopkins) or was obtained by voluntary subscriptions. (Mackerell.) But "the fine instrument" to which the organist sarcastically refers was then in such a state of worm-eaten decrepitude, that some of the pipes crumbled to pieces when removed for cleaning. Was not this enough to try the patience of a musician, without permitting his meagre stipend of £30 a year to drift into arrears? Lynn was not a musical town, as Burney assures us, and the inhabitants perhaps felt he ought to render gratuitous services for the privilege of earning a living by teaching in their midst. Disgusted with the organ and dissatisfied with the emoluments received, Burney tendered his resignation, a copy of which, preserved by the churchwarden, we transcribe:—

High Street: 1st Feby 1755.

Gentlemen,

The subscription being expired which has induced me to reside in this Town and my success in other respects falling short of my Expectations, the organ salary is too inconsiderable to retain me in your service.

I am therefore obliged to inform you that I shall resign my Place as Organist at Michaelmas next, or sooner, if you can meet with a person to your satisfaction to succeed me. And here permit me to acquaint you that the Fine Instrument in your Possession requires great Time and Pains to keep it in Order, from the multiplicity of its stops, the chief whereof I can faithfully assure you will soon become useless, if neglected in this particular, and give me leave further to add that the Tuning of an Organ is no where understood to be a part of the Persons Business, who performs upon it & the less so as very few Organists are qualified for the Undertaking.

I thank you for the Honour conferred upon me by my Election & am
Gentlemen

Yr most Obedient

and most Hble Servant

CH: BURNEY.

At a meeting of the parishioners it was agreed that £60 be paid the organist for the two years' stipend in arrears, and, moreover, it was resolved: "That an advertisement be Inserted in the Dayly Advertiser and General Evening Post as often as the churchwardens think proper, that an Organist is now wanted at the Salary of thirty pounds, and that any Person who can come well recommended is desired to come over & play upon the Organ and if he be approved of by the Parishioners he shall be admitted to the office immediately" (31st March 1755).

After some persuasion Burney was induced to retain the position, and, being a yearly appointment, he was reelected at the same miserable salary (12th September 1755). Three years later the

* The illustration, given in Taylor's *Antiq. Lynn* p. 31, scarcely coincides with this description. Other carved figures were perhaps subsequently added

Corporation undertook to pay Burney £20 a year, "as an encouragement for him to remain and teach music in the town." The consoling subsidy, paid from Michaelmas, was "to continue during the pleasure of the House" (29th August 1758). For the comfort and accommodation of his family, the august and benevolent Assembly ordered five stools to be placed in the organ-loft, "at a charge not exceeding £3." Notwithstanding these specious seductions, the wardens were again advertising for a successor (1760), and Peter Helendaale was engaged at £30 per annum (12th June). He commenced his duties on the 29th of September, and stayed two and a half years.

To Burney, the town is greatly indebted, because he succeeded in inducing the Corporation to provide a new organ from his own specifications. The rivalry between Schmidt and Harris, two foreign workmen of recognised ability, who settled in England, is illustrated by several anecdotes. Each erected an organ in the Temple church, and it was a matter of difficulty to decide between their respective merits. But the ingenious "Father Schmidt," by inventing new stops, the vox humana, the double bassoon and others, obtained a favourable decision from Chief Justice Jefferys, who was the arbitrator. Hence Harris' organ had to be removed. Apropos of this incident, Burney observes:—

Harris' organ, after its rejection at the Temple, was part of it erected at St. Andrew's, Holborn, and part in the cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin; but Byfield having been sent to repair the latter, he prevailed upon the Chapter to have a new instrument, taking the old one in exchange. Soon after this, having an application from the Corporation of Lynn Regis to build them a new organ for St. Margaret's Church, he wished very much to persuade them to purchase the one made by Harris, which had been a second time excommunicated; but being already in possession of an old organ, they determined to have a new one, and by the advice of the author of this book, they employed Snetzler [Johannes Snetzler, London] to construct one, which he did very much to his own credit and their satisfaction, consisting of 30 stops, three rows of keys and full compass. One of the metal stops called the bourdon is an octave below the open diapason, and has the effect of double bass in a chorus. It was in the Lynn organ, that the builder introduced that sweet stop called the dulciana, which he and Green have so happily introduced as a solo stop in their chamber organs. Part of the old organ at Lynn had been made by Ralph Dallans, the rest by some more ancient workman. Upon the churchwardens asking Snetzler what the old instrument would be worth if repaired, he said, that if they would lay out £100 upon it, perhaps it would be worth £50. [*The History of Music.*]

It is greatly to be regretted, Burney did not record the specifications of this unique instrument. He mentions three stops—the open diapason, the bourdon and the dulciana, and incidentally in a letter to Dr. Callcott another—the French horn, "a louder and coarser kind of hautboy." Of the thirty original stops three were "borrowed." (Taylor.) Burney was perfectly satisfied with Snetzler's work and in his final letter of resignation advised, that the care of the instrument should be entrusted to a suitable person. The present organ is *said* to contain the following Snetzler stops:—In the great organ, the first principal (4 feet), the fifteenth (2 feet), the twelfth (2 $\frac{2}{3}$ feet) and the cornet (3 ranks); in the choir organ, the

open diapason (8 feet), the dulciana (8 feet), the German flute (8 feet), the stopped diapason (8 feet), the flute (4 feet), the octave dulciana (4 feet), the principal (4 feet) and the fifteenth (2 feet).

Out of the money raised by the Corporation "for the new organ, gallerying and finishing the church, paving with cobbles and enlightening the Saturday market" (12th October 1752), £700 was set aside for Snetzler. The Corporation also agreed to defray the carriage by land, provided the cost did not exceed 3s. per cwt. (14th September 1753). For the carriage Mr. Bidwell received £36 19s.; the organ, with its case weighing 164½ cwt., arrived in December. It was originally placed in the new west gallery, * next in the north aisle and lastly under the lantern, where it was repaired, etc., by Messrs. Wordsworth of Leeds (1894-5).

The old organ was advertised for sale, but no purchaser was found until 1766, when Mr. Holmes, of Norwich, secured the wheezy instrument, with its magnificent case, for £33. After completing the Lynn organ, Snetzler constructed a chamber organ for the Duke of Bedford (1756), which is now in Hillington church.

Mackerell furnishes a copy of the faculty for the erection of that "execrably bad" instrument to which Burney refers; here is a copy of the faculty for its sale, and the erection of another:—

THOMAS [Moore] by Divine Permission BISHOP OF NORWICH. To our beloved in Christ Jesus, James Fysh and Edmund Elsdon Churchwardens of the Parish and parish church of Saint Margaret in King's Lyn in the county of Norfolk and our Diocese of Norwich. GREETING, whereas it has been represented unto us by a Petition under your Hands, that the Mayor Aldermen and Common Council of the Borough of King's Lyn aforesaid have presented the same parish, to be set up in the church of St. Margaret aforesaid (lately rebuilt) a new ORGAN. That the parishioners, pursuant to a public notice, met together, At which meeting you the said Petitioners were directed to apply for our Licence or Faculty for the taking down and selling of the Old Organ now erected in the said Church. WHEREFORE you the said petitioners have accordingly desired our Licence and Faculty to take down and sell this old organ and to Erect the new one at the west end of the said church. Now Know yee that We the Lord Bishop being fully satisfied of the Truth and reasonableness of your said Petition Do (as far as by Law we may) Give and Grant unto you our Licence and Faculty to take down and sell the said Old Organ and to erect a New One at the west end of the said church Hereby strictly enjoining you to render an Account to us or our Vicar-General when lawfully required of what money shall arise by the sale of the said old organ and how the same shall have been applied and expended.

GIVEN under the Seal of Office of our Vicar-General in Spirituals (which in this case we use) this eighth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand and seven hundred and Fifty three

HEN: FIELD, Dep. Regr.

[C.W.A., St. M.]

Dr. Burney's greatest literary achievement was *The History of Music from the Earliest Ages with a Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients*, which was published in four quarto volumes (1782-89) with illustrations by Bartolozzi, from designs by Cipriani. As most of the material for this exhaustive work could only be gained by a personal examination of the libraries of Europe, Burney visited most of the Continental cities for that purpose. That the work was

See illustration in Holzer's *Our Churches*, p. 111. There seems to be no corroboration, that a Snetzler organ was removed from St. Nicholas' chapel to the church at West Tofts.

conceived and partly elaborated during his stay in Lynn is obvious from the author's confession. He says, the book occupied his attention for thirty years in meditation, and twenty years in writing and printing.*

The first Mrs. Burney (*née* Esther Sleepe) died in 1761. The eminent musician married for a second time the charming widow of Stephen Allen, a Lynn wine merchant (1768). Mrs. Elizabeth Burney was the possessor of a dower house, which stood "*exactly* opposite the great church door," that is the west entrance to St. Margaret's.†

(I) FRANCES BURNEY (1752-1840),

whom Dr. S. Johnson called "Fanny," but better known as Madame D'Arblay, was born in Lynn. As a child, she was peculiarly shy and backward in learning. When eight years old she did not know her letters, yet she soon began to exercise herself in writing short stories. She persevered in these literary attempts, especially whenever she was in Lynn; to which place after her father's removal the family paid annual visits, staying always with Mrs. Stephen Allen. Shutting herself in an old summer-house termed "The Cabin," the young authoress concocted many a startling plot and secretly unburdened her imaginative mind. When fifteen years of age, feeling disgusted with what she had done, she suddenly burnt all her romantic manuscripts, resolving in future to write nothing but a *Journal*. Notwithstanding this decision, she became suddenly famous through the anonymous publication of a novel—*Evelina* (1778), which is said to be the first realistic production by a woman, in which characters were sketched with vigour and fidelity. *Evelina* started a new era in fiction, for Fanny Burney had no forerunner in the field of literature, which was soon, alas, crowded with vapid imitators. This novel, written in secrecy, because her stepmother burnt one of her stories, telling her "to mind her needle instead of scribbling," occupied her from her 18th to her 26th year. It "took the world by storm," and the fact of the authorship gradually leaked out. Burke sat up all night to read her story, whilst Dr. Johnson, Sheridan and Gibbon greatly admired it. Four years later, she issued *Cecelia or the Memoirs of an Heiress*, which Macaulay describes as one of the classical novels of England. Two thousand copies of this elephantine romance—five volumes! were sold in three months. In 1795 *Edwin and Elgitha*, in 1796 *Camilla*, in 1814 *The Wanderer or Female Difficulties* and lastly in 1832 *The Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney* appeared.

For five years Miss Burney acted as maid of honour to Queen Charlotte (1786-91). She married Comte P. D'Arblay, a French refugee (1793), who served as adjutant-general to M. de Lafayette. She, with her husband, who was present at the battle of Waterloo, returned to England. Two years afterwards Comte D'Arblay died (1817).

* Charles Burney, Doctor of Music (Oxford, 1769); F.R.S. (1773); Member of the French Institute *Classe des Beaux Arts* (1811).

† The dowers of married women were affected by "Usages and Ancient Customs" similar to those in vogue at Yarmouth. See Blomefield's *Hist. Norf.*, Vol. XI, pp. 332-342.

Madame D'Arblay enjoyed the friendship of Dr. S. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mrs. Thrale, Dr. Oliver Goldsmith and other distinguished persons. Her *Diary and Letters*, 1778 to 1840, edited by her niece, were published in 1842 (seven volumes), and an *Earlier Diary*, 1768 to 1778, in 1889 (two volumes). These journals constitute an extremely curious record—the amplest and at the same time the most unique of certain departments of society, during the latter part of the 18th century.

(2) REAR-ADMIRAL JAMES BURNEY (1749-1821),

the eldest son of Dr. Charles Burney, was born at London, before his father migrated to Lynn. As Dr. Burney remained nine years in Lynn his sons unquestionably received their education at the Free (Grammar) School. James is said to have been a pupil of the famous Eugene Aram; he joined the navy at an early age, and after much service rose to be rear-admiral. He accompanied Captain James Cook on his last two voyages.

In December 1773, the *Adventure* put into Tonga Bay, New Zealand. As ten of the crew, who went ashore, did not return, Lieut. Burney and several men were sent to search for them. On the shore a piece of flesh was picked up and several shoes, one of which was known to belong to one of the midshipmen.

I still doubted their (the natives) being cannibals. But we were soon convinced, (writes the Lieutenant) by most horrid and undeniable proof—a great many baskets (about twenty) lying on the beach tied up. We cut them open. Some were full of roasted flesh and some of fern-root, which serves them (the natives) for bread. On further search, we found more shoes and a hand, which we immediately knew to have belonged to Thomas Hill, one of our forecastle men, it being marked T.H. with an Otaheite tattoo-instrument. . . . I then searched along at the back of the beach, to see if the cutter was there. We found no boat, but instead of her such a shocking scene of carnage and barbarity as can never be mentioned or thought of, but with horror; for the heads, hearts and lungs of several of our people were seen lying on the beach, and at a little distance the dogs were gnawing their entrails.

Another expedition was equipped in 1776 to explore the Pacific Ocean—to determine the exact position and extent of the west side of North America, its distance from Asia and the practicability of a northern passage to Europe. The *Resolution*, again commanded by Captain Cook, carried 112 men, and the *Discovery* (300 tons), under Captain Clerke, associated with whom was Lieutenant Burney, numbered 80 men. At Owhyhee the intrepid Captain Cook was unfortunately slain by the natives, and the command of the *Resolution* devolved upon Lieut. James King. After a short stay in Kamtschatka, the return to England was made *viâ* Java, China and the Cape of Good Hope (1780).

James Burney was the author of *The History of the Buccaneers of America* (1816) and a *Chronological History of the North-Eastern Voyages of Discovery and of the Early Navigations of the Russians* (1819).

(3) CHARLES BURNEY (1757-1817)

was born at Lynn. He became renowned as a classical scholar and critic of the highest reputation. His marvellous erudition was first displayed in the *Monthly Review*. Few Greek scholars could compete with him. Among his publications are an *Appendix to Scapula's Greek Lexicon* and the *Choral Odes of Æschylus*. The government purchased his valuable collection of books for the British Museum.

(4) CHARLOTTE ANNE BURNEY,

Fanny's sister, who married Clement Francis of Aylsham, published a tale called *Trials* (1824), and one or two smaller works.

(5) SARAH HARRIET BURNEY (1770?-1844),

the only daughter by Dr. Burney's second wife, was also a novelist. Her first work *Clarentine* (1796) was published anonymously, then followed *Geraldine Fauconberg* (1808), *Traits of Nature* (1812), *Tales of Fancy* (1815) and the *Romance of Private Life* (1839).

(6) THE REV. STEPHEN ALLEN

of Lynn was a stepson of Dr. Burney. The sister of the second Mrs. Burney—"Patty" Allen—married Arthur Young, renowned as a writer on agricultural subjects.

GEORGE VANCOUVER.

With an area of 14,000 square miles Vancouver Island constitutes a significant portion of British Columbia; it derives its name from a noted navigator, whose Flemish ancestors settled in Lynn. A few facts concerning this family, culled from parochial sources, deserve to be preserved in these pages.

George Vancouver, the son of John Gaspar and Bridget Vancouver, was born in our borough (23rd of June 1757) and was baptised by Dr. Charles Bagge in St. Margaret's church (16th of March 1761). "Widow Vancouver," George's grandmother on the father's side, resided in the Sedgeford Lane ward (1752-8) and was rented at £2; her name subsequently appears in the Stonegate ward (1758), where she was rented at £1. The house is marked "empty" in 1759, when the name ceases. John Gaspar Vancouver, the father of the great discoverer, was somewhat diminutive in stature, as we learn from "Dick Merryfellow," who refers to him more than once. He was deputy collector of customs under Sir Charles Turner. Ridiculing a memorial delivered to the commissioners, complaining of an unjust seizure at our port, the irrepressible rhymester exclaims:—

While little *Van* his happy stars shall bless,
And not one soul shall wish him to be less.

In 1752, he also lived in the Sedgeford Lane ward, being rented at £5 6s. 8d., where he continued until 1755, when he removed to the New Conduit ward, and was rented at £10 (1755-77). In this house, his son George was born. "John J. Vancouver," evidently the same person, appears in the same ward assessed at £8 (1777). John (G.) Vancouver and Richard Raven, substantial burgesses,

"other than quakers," were chosen to collect the church rate in the same ward (1759-60); and he with Sir Charles Turner was appointed surveyor of the highways in the parish of South Lynn (1750). After the 12th of January 1773, when the wardens received 8s. for a peal of the Bell Margaret for "John Jas. (Gaspar) Vancouver," the name is seen no more.

Of the children of John Gaspar Vancouver, five at least were baptised in St. Margaret's church, namely, Sarah the 16th April 1752, Mary the 13th January 1753, Charles and John the 11th November 1756, * and finally *George* the 16th March 1761, under which entry Dr. Charles Bagge has written "born 23 June 1757."

The bold signature of "J. Vancouver" often occur appended to the vestry minutes; for example, when Burney was reëlected organist—a process to which he submitted every year (12th September 1755), when it was resolved to advertise for another organist (12th June 1760) and when the spendthrift parishioners agreed to invest in a new gallery (21st September 1761).

With Captain James Cook, during his voyage in 1771-5, James Burney served as second lieutenant on board the *Adventurer*, and George Vancouver was classed as an able seaman on board the companion vessel the *Resolution*. Both were familiar with the streets of Lynn, though the first was two-and-twenty and the second thirteen years of age. Possibly the Burney and Vancouver families were intimate during the organist's stay in Lynn. For the next expedition (1776-80), the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* were engaged. James Burney was appointed master-commander of the second vessel and rose to be rear-admiral. Vancouver, it is thought, played a part in this voyage. Eleven years after the murder of Captain Cook by the natives of Owhyhee, Captain Vancouver received instructions to ascertain whether any communication existed between the North Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. He accepted the command of the old sloop of war—the *Discovery*, whilst the *Chatham*, an armed tender, was entrusted to Lieutenant W. R. Broughton (1790).

The island, which bears the name of the intrepid "Vancouver," was originally called Nootka. Though discovered in 1774, it was first circumnavigated by our gallant townsman (1792), who transplanted many a name, familiar to us as household words, to the distant shores of British Columbia and Alaska. There is the *Lynn* Canal, named as he tells us from "the place of his nativity," and Holkham and Berner bays, besides a cluster of suggestive "points" or promontories—as, Townshend, Styleman, Windham, Hobart, Walpole, Coke, Wodehouse and Anmer—and Point Bridget too in memory of a beloved mother. There is moreover Port Camden, and Port Snettisham and *Port Langley*, which, deserving special attention, shall be italicized.

With George Vancouver was a young man, also a native of "the ancient and loyal borough," named John Langley (1771—3rd Oct.

* Charles Vancouver (d. 1813), engaged by Sir John Sinclair to write reports on the state of agriculture in different parts of England, and who gave particular attention to the drainage of the Great Level, was an American, distinguished as the "Vancouver of Philadelphia."

1856), who rose to be sergeant of marines in the Royal Navy. After spending the greater part of an eventful life upon the bounding main, John Langley (the grandfather of Sergeant-major Langley) settled as recruiting sergeant in Lynn, where for several years, he "kept" the *Bird in Hand*, Norfolk Street. *Port Langley* near New Westminster was named after him.

Laborious exertion wrought havoc with Vancouver's constitution, and it was obvious on his return to England, that his days were numbered (1795). His brief term of life was devoted to preparing an account of his discoveries. He died in 1798, having corrected the proofs of all but a few pages. His brother John completed the work, which appeared in three quarto volumes (1798), entitled *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World, in which the Coast of North-west America has been examined and surveyed* (1790 to 1795). In the National Portrait Gallery is a portrait of the famous circumnavigator.

It is remarkable how the names of Burney and Vancouver are linked together!

REV. THOMAS PYLE, M.A.,

the descendant of a family long settled in Norfolk, was born in 1674. When twenty-four years of age, he presented himself for ordination. His examiner, William Whiston, chaplain to Bishop Moore, specially mentions him. Mr. Pyle was appointed vicar of Thorpe Market, Norfolk (1698), and acted as curate at St. Margaret's, Lynn, until 1701, when on marrying Mary Rolfe—a lady belonging to an affluent Lynn family, he was selected by the Corporation as "lecturer" for St. Nicholas' chapel. He was rector of Bexwell (1708), Outwell (1709), Wallington (1710), and vicar of St. Margaret's, Lynn (1711). Later livings were held at Tydd St. Mary and Gedney. Bishop Hoadly collated him a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral (1726).

Those principles which led to the expulsion of the Stuarts, Thomas Pyle boldly enforced in his *Political Sermons* (published in 1706, 1707 and 1715); he was also the author of *Paraphrases on the Historical Books of the Old Testament* (2 vols., 1715 and 1727), the *Revelation of St. John* (1735) and several volumes of *Sermons on Plain and Practical Subjects*. He was "one of the most admired preachers of his time." He resigned in 1755 and died the 31st of December 1756, and was buried beside his wife in Allsaints' church.

REV. EDMUND PYLE, D.D.,

the eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Pyle, was born in the minister's house at the corner of Black Goose Street opposite the entrance of the graveyard (1702); he entered Corpus College, Cambridge, under Dr. Samuel Kerrieh (1720). In 1729, he is supposed to have had charge of a parish near Wisbech. The bye-fellowship at Clare Hall was surrendered, when he succeeded his father as "lecturer" at Lynn (1730). He was appointed chaplain to the King, probably on taking his B.D. degree (1740). When not in waiting, Edmund Pyle resided at Lynn during the winter, where he tarnished his fame by cruelly

persecuting the quakers. He succeeded to the archdeaconry of York (1751), and became companion to Bishop Hoadly. Being then domiciled at Chelsea, he gave up his Lynn preferment (1752); he was moreover, promoted to a prebend at Winchester (1756). The royal chaplain died at his prebendal house at Winchester (1776). His mural tablet adorns the nave of the cathedral.

REV. PHILIP PYLE, B.D.,

the youngest brother of Edmund Pyle, was born at Lynn; he entered Corpus Christi College (1742) and became a fellow. The living he held in Wiltshire was surrendered for that of Castle Rising (1755). He became also, rector at North Lynn (1756).

SIR BENJAMIN KEENE,

born at Lynn (1697) was the son of a merchant—Charles Keene (mayor 1714-5) who married Susan Rolfe, sister to the mother of Edmund Pyle. Young Keene, one of the many Norfolk men who came to the front through the paternal influence of Sir Robert Walpole, was appointed British consul at Madrid (1724) and Minister Plenipotentiary (1727). Owing to his remarkable diplomacy a pacific convention—the Treaty of Seville—was signed, as suggested by William Stanhope, afterwards Lord Harrington (1729), which temporarily averted war. The insulting arrogance of the English at last goaded the Spaniards into hostilities. Sir Benjamin was recalled (1739), and sat in parliament from 1740 to 1748. In 1746, he was sent as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Portugal to bring about peace with Spain. He resumed his position at Madrid (1748) and concluded a Treaty of Commerce (1750).

Walpole describes Sir Benjamin, as "one of the best kind of agreeable men, quite fat and easy, and with universal knowledge." Through our unwilling townsman, who believed the government insane, Pitt's offer to restore "The Rock" was made. In 1754, Sir Benjamin was created a knight of the Order of Bath. Three years later, when about to retire with the prospect of a peerage, he died at Madrid (16th December 1757). His remains were brought to England, and buried in the north-east corner of St. Nicholas' chapel, where a monument of white marble marks the ambassador's grave.*

EDMUND KEENE, D.D.,

the younger brother of Sir Benjamin Keene, was also born at Lynn (1714); he graduated B.A., in 1734, M.A. in 1737, became fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1739, and master from 1748 to 1754. He was rector of Stanhope in the county of Durham from 1740 to 1770, and was successively Bishop of Chester (1752) and Ely (1771). He died at London (6th July 1781).

SIR WILLIAM BROWNE, M.D., F.R.S.,

the son of a physician, was born in the county of Durham (3rd January 1692); he matriculated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, as a pensioner (5th of July 1707), proceeded to his B.A. (1711-2), his A.M.

* See Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. II., pp. 166, 71.

(1714) and his M.D. at both universities (1721). Before completing his academical career, he was introduced to our borough through the courtesy of the Turner family. Whilst a resident here, he treated the members of the Corporation with unmerited disdain. His conduct became so unbearably obnoxious, that the Council ordered the town-clerk to write a letter of remonstrance, plainly setting forth their "resentment of the undue precedence he assumed and persisted in" (29th August 1723). This had no effect. "He took a foolish pride in his old age, in his alert and youthful appearance, and seems to have had the knack of both giving offence and making himself ridiculous" (Hartshorne). As a doctor he was highly popular with the plebeian section of the community, but was "treated with contempt by the Faculty" (Edm. Pyle). Foote cleverly caricatured him in his farce—*The Devil on Two Sticks*. Acquiring, after thirty years, an ample competency, Sir William removed to London and settled in Ormond street, a district where doctors and lawyers predominate. There he resided up to the time of his death (10th March 1774). He was placed in the family vault at Hillington, with his Elzevir Horace beside him, as he wished.

Sir William Browne (knighted 1748) was the author of many learned works, one of which—*A Particular Account of Microscopes and Telescopes*—was published at Lynn. He became fellow of the Royal College of Physicians (1725) and was elected president of that erudite body (1765-6). At the great contest, when William Ffolkes, son of Martin Ffolkes, solicitor general 1695, opposed the return of Sir John Turner (1747), Sir William played a prominent part, which resulted in an enduring intimacy between himself and William Ffolkes, who ultimately married as his second wife Mary Browne, the physician's daughter and sole heiress (January 1748). Barbara Kerrich describes the bride's costume: "She was Married in a white Sattin Sack, ye Apron part flounced with silver fine mecklin, laced fly-cap & Hodd, and Tippet, and Ruffles ye same; a Pink colour'd Sattin fly-Petticoat, with a deep Silver Fringe at ye bottom & a broad open lace above it." The issue of this marriage was Sir Martin Browne Ffolkes, F.R.S. (created a baronet in 1774), who espoused the daughter of Sir John Turner, from whom are descended the present representatives of the family.

In his will, dated the 11th of February 1770, Sir William Browne charges his estate, first with a perpetual yearly rent of £21, to found a classical scholarship, tenable for seven years, and secondly with the cost of two gold medals each worth five guineas, for the best Greek ode and the best Latin ode written by undergraduates. By a codicil, dated the 21st of July 1773, he arranges to defray the cost of a third medal of the same value to be given yearly to the undergraduate, who should compose the best Greek and the best Latin epigram. The will was proved in 1774, and the medals first awarded the next year. A statute dated the 4th of December 1857, and approved by the Queen in council, authorised a division of the prize into two medals of half the original value should the epigrams not be written by the same person. However, in order that each medal

might be of the uniform value of five guineas, the Earl of Powis conveyed £200 to the University.

The Lynn physician stipulated, that in case of failure of issue from his grandson Sir William J. Martin Browne Ffolkes, all his manors, messuages, lands, etc., should be given to the University to found two physic scholarships. *

GEORGE KIALLMARK,

or Kilmark, a musical composer of repute, was born at Lynn (1781). His father John Kiallmark was an officer of the Swedish army, who married Margaret Meggit, a Yorkshire heiress, at St. Nicholas' chapel (4th October 1775). Shortly after the birth of George, the father, who had greatly impoverished their fortune, disappeared and died. Whereupon the widow consoled herself by marrying Pottle, her butler. In consequence, George was adopted by his mother's family. Marrying Mary Carmichael, cousin of the Countess of Rothes, he settled in London, where he died (1835).

THE FAMILY CIRCLE.

The Mall or New Walk extended, as we are told, from the bars of the Old Workhouse to the Arch or Gannock Gate. On either side of a path, eleven yards wide and bounded by quick-set hedges, alternate lime and chestnut trees stretched for 340 yards. "Upon a gentle slope on the right is a plantation and shrubbery laid out in pleasing taste by the late Charles Turner Esq., at the bottom of this winds a pretty lively stream of water, which after passing through Lady bridge empties itself into the Ouse." (Beatniffe.)

The first avenue was planted in 1753, the "Extension Walk" being laid out at a later date.† The beauty of this sylvan retreat, so dear to every Lorenzo and Jessica of the past generation, was greatly enhanced by William Mixon (mayor 1752), who lived in Stonegate Street, in the house where Mr. H. C. Allinson, Medical Officer of Health, resides. On the Gallows or Mill Hill, he planted a group of elms, known as the "Seven Sisters" (1760); the next year he fenced in the shrubberies near the Red Mount. As a slight acknowledgment, the Corporation voted him £2 19s., and £7 11s.

Now it was considered both "right and proper" for our forefathers to meet the damsels, whom they were anxious to take for better or worse, under the umbrageous shelter of the "Seven Sisters," and there in the gloom and solitude of the night to reverently pledge their troth. Was not this the survival of an ancient British custom, the beginning of which belonged to the Romans? Hills of peace, supposed to be the abode of beneficent genii, were common in the Highlands, and were generally situated on the boundaries separating different clans. No marriage was believed to be complete, if the parents and friends of the contracting parties neglected to meet on

* See Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. II., pp. 1932-9.

† The "Subscription Walk" was planted in 1817 (Munford); the gate on the bridge between the Walks and Sayer's Marsh was removed; the entrance lengthened 30 yards and the whole long avenue thrown open (1845). The iron-work strengthening "The Arch" bears the date 17 - 92 (1792).

the hillside, to commemorate the happy event by imbibing sundry draughts of whisky. The Irish, too, practised a similar observance, said to be a variant of the Roman *sponsalia*. The mystic number *seven* frequently occurs in the boundary lists of Saxon charters, as the "seven oaks," the "seven thorns," etc., and may have been perpetuated in the "seven elms," termed the "Seven Sisters" at Page Green, Tottenhill, and also at Lynn. With the transplanted name was associated the curious custom.

After an eventful life of 132 years the "Seven Sisters" succumbed to the woodman's axe (1892). The mayor, Mr. W. S. V. Miles and his family planted seven trees to take their places (24th February 1894).

LOCAL HISTORIANS.

The earliest essay towards the compilation of a history of our borough was made by Guybon Goddard (1613-71), a sergeant-at-law. When at the suggestion of parliament, our recorder Miles Corbet undertook certain duties in Ireland, Goddard accepted the recordership, agreeing to reside in the town (1651). Having sold his residence at Brampton, he purchased the manor of Flitcham, where most of his leisure was spent, rather than at Lynn. To this "great antiquary," Blomefield acknowledges indebtedness. Favoured with exceptional facilities Goddard proposed writing a local history and diligently sought materials for the undertaking. "His collection for a history," says Richards, "is supposed to have been very complete and excited for a long while very high expectations among his contemporaries. But they were all sadly disappointed for it never was suffered to see the light, and though the Corporation after his decease endeavoured to procure it from his son [14th February 1677-8] and offered (£21)—what must have been at that time a handsome gratuity, yet it does not appear that they were able to obtain it." In a letter to Mr. Bishe, Sir William Dugdale (the recorder's brother-in-law), mentions how Mr. Goddard intends writing "something of that towne (Lynn) but whether or when to make it publique he knew not" (17th November 1658). This manuscript, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford is entitled *Commentarii Lennenses, or the History of Lynn Regis, by G. Goddard, recorder of Lynn*. The dedicatory epistle is in Goddard's own hand; the rest, no doubt, is a copy of his papers made for him. In the same library are *Discourses on the History of King's Lynn, consisting chiefly of speeches delivered at the election of mayors (1650-1657) by G. Goddard, recorder of the town*.

At a later period a young man, named Delamore, issued a prospectus, and endeavoured to obtain subscribers for a history of the borough, which he purposed writing; meeting with scant encouragement, he abandoned the task and soon afterwards left the neighbourhood.

The late Rev. W. B. Dalby, vicar of Wiggenshall St. Mary Magdalen (1865), was the owner of a manuscript history of Lynn, compiled by his deceased brother-in-law, George Sayle, surgeon and town coroner (died 1857). The manuscript, "in a forward state for publication," was unfortunately lost.

(1) BENJAMIN MACKERELL,

the Norfolk antiquary, was the second son of John Mackerell alderman of Norwich, and Anne the daughter of Elias Browne of the same city. At one time, Benjamin accompanied a brother, when on his rounds as receiver general of the county; afterwards from 1716 to 1732 he acted as chief librarian of the Norwich City Library. He married in 1723 and had several children; he died in March and was buried the 1st of April 1738, in the chancel of St. Stephen's church, Norwich.

In 1732, *A New catalogue of Books in the Public Library of the City of Norwich*, which he compiled, was published, and just before or after his death *The History of Lynn* appeared (1738). Mackerell was a persevering and creditable worker in his own literary domain; he left to posterity several valuable manuscripts, which shew he was not the dependent, unscrupulous plagiarist subsequent writers would have us believe. Of his manuscripts the following are extant, *The History of Norwich*, two quarto volumes, acquired by Hudson Gurney, Esq., of Keswick Hall (parts of which) *An Account of the Company of St. George* and *The Arms in the Norwich Cathedral*, were published in 1851; * *A Brief Historical Account of the Church of St. Peter of Manscroft* (1735-6) now in the British Museum, also another copy in the possession of a Mr. Turner; and two duodecimo manuscripts, namely, *Notes on Norfolk and Norwich Churches with inscriptions and Copied Inscriptions and Coats of Arms in St. Stephen's Church*. Two small volumes from the library of J. Ives were sold at the Strawberry Hill sale to T. Thorpe for £7 17s. 6d., viz., *Monumental Inscriptions, Fenestral and other Arms in the Parish Churches of the City of Norwich*, collected in 1723, and *An Account of the Churches, Monuments and Fenestral Arms of the different churches in the County of Norfolk*.

Of the private life of Mackerell nothing is known. A letter, written about September 1737, and addressed to Mr. Bell the antiquary, shews how Blomefield, then publishing his *History of Norfolk* in monthly parts, did not relish the idea of another would-be historian intruding upon the literary claim he had staked out for himself. Mackerell, writing in defence, says:—

Mr. Blomefield is Angry because I undertake to Write the History of Lynn, which I had some thoughts of doing long before I Ever knew him and for him to say what he has of me is shameful. But as I have told him, he has Enough to do in Norfolk without Lynn and Norwich, for he has cut out Work for himself for more than twenty years as is Evident by what he has already Done. . . . As my brother was Receiver-General for this part of the County, with whom I always went his Rounds (I) must be Allowed to know somewhat of the County as well as he. . . . Some Years Ago I published a *Map of Norfolk* After Corbridge had done One, and Notwithstanding his boasts of his Actual Survey I that sat in my closet could take a much better Survey than he did when he Left Out Many Towns, mine was Published on Elephant Paper without my Name, Only to be Sold by Goddard or Chase. . . . And I Really think that a Clergyman should not altogether Leave his Studies as he is Obligated to do to turn Printer. [*Gentleman's Magazine*, Sept. 1842.]

* The late W. W. Robinson, Esq., H.M. Coroner for Central Oxford, possessed Mackerell's *Account of the Fraternity and Gild of Brethren and Sisters of St. George, Norwich, until its Dissolution in 1731-2.* (4to MS.)

Undeterred, Mackerell published the *History of Lynn* in 1738, the preface being dated "Norwich, 5 November 1737." As he died in March 1738, it is reasonable to conclude that "the copy" for the *History of Norwich* was then already completed.

Seventy-four years after Mackerell's decease the Rev. W. Richards, the author of the *second* published history of our borough, goes out of his way to besmirch his predecessor's literary fame. Before deciding whether these strictures are reasonable, let us first read what Mackerell has to say, respecting the compilation of his work.

And very luckily (he begins) a Manuscript, I happened of, gives an Account of what is contained in each Church; which, by its being devoted, and in so grave a Manner dedicated, I presume the Author intended as a Present to St. Margaret's church to be there repositied. The Dedication runs thus: *Ex pio Affectu erga Templum Sanctæ Margaretæ in Linnensi & Defunctorum ibidem qui cum Laude vixerunt Memoriam, C.G. Monumenta illorum posteritati consecrare voluit MDCCXXIV.* I have since been informed this Person died soon after he had done; but there have been more Grave-Stones laid since than there were for a much longer Time before; all which are here added to the present Year 1737. This Book very accidentally fell into my Hands, and may be of Singular Benefit to such as will make a right Use of it.

The dedication is thus translated:—"From pious love towards the church of St. Margaret in Lynn, and to the dead in the same place, who have lived with credit (that is—led creditable lives) C.G. wished this memorial to be consecrated to posterity 1724."

Nor does Mackerell disguise the fact, that he is quoting this writer. On p. 67 he says—"The following (epitaphs) in St. Margaret's church being taken since the former [manuscript ends] must come in here." Of St. Nicholas' chapel (p. 147) and Allsaints' church (p. 167) he writes—"The following (epitaphs), being taken since, are added here."

Concerning Mackerell's plagiarism and the publication of what we purpose calling "the C.G. manuscript," Richards indignantly observes:—

About forty years after the death of Guybon Goddard [that would be in 1717, according to Richards' calculation]* another attempt was made to produce or compile a history of the town by a nameless person, but evidently a learned, ingenious and industrious man. . . . It (the manuscript) forms a moderate folio and is now (1812) in the possession, or at least in the hands of Mr. Thomas King, for we are informed, that Dr. Adams is the real owner of it.† There are at the end of it some curious documents relating to divers ancient customs and occurrences, of which the compiler of the present history (Richards) has in some measure availed himself. The volume was finished in 1724, and the author it seems died soon after. . . . Within a few years of his death, the work fell into the hands of Mr. B. Mackerell, who making a few paltry additions actually published the greatest part of it verbatim under his own name, and it constitutes the bulk of that volume, which has ever since been called Mackerell's History of Lynn. This act or achievement is disreputable to Mackerell's memory, but the plagiarism has been scarcely known or noticed till now. He makes in his preface some slight, obscure mention of the MS., but deigns not to tell the author's name, though it must have been well known to him.

* Richards states, that Guybon Goddard died in 1677, whereas Blomefield, who examined his coffin plate at Brampton, gives the year as 1671. (*Hist. Norf.*, Vol. VI., p. 138.) The recorder's signature may be seen attesting the minutes of the parish meeting up to 1671, when Henry Ferrour fills his place.

† Query: Dr. Adams, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford. (See *Dr. Johnson and the Fair Sex* by W. H. Craig, M.A., 1895, p. 85.)

(2) THE MYSTERIOUS LETTERS.

Now there is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, an interleaved copy of Mackerell's work relating to Lynn with a bookplate—"Francis Blomefield, rector of Fersfield," and with notes throughout. At the foot of the first page, we read, "The chief of this History was wrote some years since by Mr *Charles* [altered by the same hand to *John*] Green, whose original manuscript I have by me and have compared it . . ." [The remainder of the note is cut off in the binding.] In the preface, too, where Mackerell acknowledges his indebtedness, the C.G. is altered to J.G., whilst in the margin "*Charl. Green*" in writing is altered to "*John Green*." Thus because of the resemblance between the *first* printed history of Lynn and a manuscript (1724-5) attributed to John Green [also in the Bodleian Library: MS. Gough's *Norfolk*, 21] it was concluded that C.G. was a misprint for J.G. This questionable correction, writers have up to the present accepted.

Mr. Gordon Goodwin in a biographical sketch of Benjamin Mackerell (*Dictionary of National Biography*), remarks:—"Just before or after his (Mackerell's) death, appeared his *History of Lynn*, 8vo, an abridgment of John Green's manuscript collection. The manuscript is now in the possession of Mr. E. M. Beloe of Lynn. *One* manuscript in *two* places! Mr. Beloe, however, in referring to this manuscript, *correctly* terms it "the Cooper MS.," observing that "Mackerell copied a great portion of it." (*Our Borough: Our Churches*, 1899, preface iii.) Hence there are two extant sources from whence Mackerell might have copied; moreover C.G. has as much right to stand for Joseph Cooper, as for John Green. The engraving of the Trinity Hall was done by J. Basire from a drawing by "J. Cooper." There is no secrecy about this, and if Mackerell had had access to the *Cooper MS.*, he must perforce have acknowledged his indebtedness, because Joseph Cooper, who was town chamberlain, was then living, as is apparent from the list of borough officials given by him (p. 279). Again, as neither of these sources contains the dedication or traces of its excision, let us regard Mackerell as dealing honestly in the matter.*

But who was the author of the lost *C.G. manuscript*—the original from which two, and perhaps more manuscripts, were directly or indirectly copied? Mackerell did not know, or he would have said. Writing in the third person Richards, however, observes: "Since the above was sent to press the author got sight of a curious old book, which belonged to a former town chamberlain, Joseph Cooper senr" (vol. ii., p. 1,185). Seeing that there was no dedication in the manuscript, we ask why Richards himself did not ascertain whom Joseph Cooper and Benjamin Mackerell reproduced—the first in writing and the second in print, for he could not fail to notice the similarity, in the two productions?

Through the courtesy of Mr. E. M. Beloe, we have examined the *Cooper MS.*, which is bound in calf; the red morocco label, with

* Gaydon Goodlad's *Commentarii Lennenses*, in the Bodleian Library [Tanner's Collection, MS. 289 o. 22-110] is an entirely different work.

"Thomas King, Lynn," in gilt letters, was subsequently placed upon the front cover, because it overlaps the blind tooling. The paper (12 by 7½ inches) is of the same make throughout, bearing the watermark, "Pro Patria" with "C. & I. Honig." The writing is in two hands. The title page contains neither the author's name nor date, but on p. 44, at the foot of a sketch of the Two Tables of the Ten Commandments in St. Nicholas chapel, may be observed the words, "Jos. Cooper, Painter 1721, Delt." It would therefore appear that Cooper's copy was executed in 1721, whilst Green's copy has the date 1724. Two extracts from the *Cooper MS.* strengthen the impression that the writer endeavoured to bring the compilation up to date:—

Addenda: Benefactions Put up in St. Margaret's chancell, collected by Joseph Cooper, Painter, Anno Dom. 1734 [pp. 123-126, the hand writing differing from that of the preceding part].

I have put the Ensigns Armorial above, in their proper colours as they appear upon the Monuments, also those that follow. [St. N., p. 20.]

The *Cooper MS.* was held successively by the undermentioned persons:—Joseph Cooper, town chamberlain 1737 (whose daughter married Stephen Allen, common councilman 1737, and who was niece to Thomas Allen; she is said to have written part of the manuscript); Thomas Allen, alderman 1737; Rev. John Rastrick (died 1727); Mrs. Bailey, his married daughter; Rev. William Warner (who left Lynn in 1801); "Thomas King 1794, William King 1832, John Wingate Aikin 1860, Edward M. Beloe, Anno dni 1893, æt 67." (Autographs in the MS.)

(3) CHARLES GIBBON.

We believe the "*G.C. manuscript*" was compiled by Charles Gibbon (or Guybon), "a miscellaneous writer" who flourished towards the close of the 16th century. He was a member of the Cambridge University, although there is no record of his having graduated; he was probably in holy orders and "appears to have resided at Bury St. Edmund, London and King's Lynn" (Alsager Vian in the *Dictionary of National Biography*). Among the six works he published (two in the British Museum) between 1594 and 1604, attention must be given to—*The Praise of a Good Name; the Reproach of an Ill-name, with certain pithy Apothegues very profitable for this age*: 1594, 4to. This book, dedicated "to some of the best and most ciuill sort of the inhabitants of St. Edmond's Bury," seems to have been written in answer to some calumny, under which the author was smarting. Probably Charles Gibbon left Bury St. Edmunds at this time, and after staying awhile in London (pamphlet 1594 was published in London), he removed to Lynn (pamphlets 1596 and 1604 published by John Legat, printer to the Cambridge University).

The work published in 1596 is entitled—*A Watch-woorde for Warre. Not so new as necessary: Published by reason of the disperced rumours among us, and the suspected crossing of the Spanyard against us. Wherein we may learne how to prepare our selves to Repell the Enemie and to behaue our selves all the tyme of that*

trouble. *Compendious for the memorie, comfortable for the matter, profitable for the tyme. . . . The terrors of the sword shall be upon my people: smyte therefore upon thy thigh. Ezekeiell xxj. 12.* On the second page under the Royal Arms there is an acrostic verse—*Elizabeth Regina*. The author signs himself C. G., as in his other works; he speaks of many kindnesses received from our Corporation, and gratefully dedicates his effort—"To the right Worshipfull the Mayor of the borrough of King's Lyn and to his Associats or Brethren the Aldermen of the same Towne."*

The Guybon or Gibbon family occupied a high social position in Norfolk; one branch, entitled to bear arms, being intimately associated with Lynn and the neighbourhood for nine generations. Stephen Guybon owned land in North Lenne (1434), Robert Gibbon, who was attainted, possessed marshes in Clenchwarten, a ferry right in Bishop's Lenne and a messuage in South Lenne (1480), Thomas Guybon represented our borough in parliament (1503-9), William Gibbon, a recusant, who refused to attend St. Margaret's church, was ordered to provide a well accoutred lance (1577). Thomas Guybon was admitted a free burgess to the liberties of Bishop's Lenne and the Company of Merchants because "of kindness and good affection" towards the town, and so, moreover, was his brother Gregory (1604). When the safety of England was threatened by the Spanish Armada, the brothers William and Humphrey Guybon subscribed £25 each towards the defence of the country (1588) and eight years later C. G. (Charles Gibbon), fearing a recurrence, issued *A Watch-word for Warre* (1596). By suggesting that Charles Gibbon was the writer of the C. G. pamphlets, we follow the course adopted by the compiler of the *Catalogue of Books, printed before 1640, in the Library of the British Museum* (1884).

Quitting Bury St. Edmunds, Charles Gibbon, we are told, settled in Lynn; † here he probably compiled his manuscript history, which, after being copied by others, was at length, in 1724—the very date in Green's copy—furnished with the dedication already quoted. Would the author, had he written this himself, have used *voluit*—past tense, third person?

A list of the vicars of South Lynn was compiled by Thomas Tanner, D.D., chancellor of the diocese from 1700 to 1730, when he was created Bishop of St. Asaph. In this list, it will be seen that the Rev. Henry Thompson, buried the 15th of November 1601, was succeeded by *Gul. Gibbins* (*Guybon* in Parkin), *S.Th.B.*, to whom the living was apparently presented by the Bishop of Ely (4th March 1604). William Guybon was in turn succeeded by John Man, the 20th of August 1604 (query). Chadwick questions whether William Guybon was ever really vicar; if so, he contends it must have been for a very short period. His opinion is corroborated by the fact, that at the appointment of John Springall as churchwarden, the Rev. John Man incidentally mentioned how he had then (5th

* Printed in the *Harleian Miscellany* (1812), p. 469.

† "1654, 30th Oct., Mr. Yaxley elected minister of St. James' (Bury St. Edmunds) in place of Mr. John Gibbon deceased." (14th Report *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Appendix, Part III., p. 144.)

December 1641) been vicar forty years. (C.W.A., A.SS.) Possibly Dr. Tanner, whose lists are in places somewhat inaccurate, intended to have written *Charles* instead of *William*. Be that as it may, the advent of a "Gibbon" at this juncture, whether he be the author to whom Mackerell owed his indebtedness or not, must not be overlooked.

NEITHER HERE NOR THERE.

In April 1748, an ineffectual attempt was made to discover a message, given by the late John Halcott to the chapel of St. Nicholas. The chapel-reeves possessed a deed, shewing how the benevolent townsman, during his life, transferred this property to eight trustees (2nd August 1676). The rent was to be expended, after Halcott's death, in purchasing bread, which was "to be given to thirty poor people on the Sundays following next after Allsaints' day at the rate of five shillings every Sabbath." They also held a written paper, signed by six of the trustees (1st November 1679), which proved not only the death of the donor, but that they were in actual possession, having received £6 for nine months' rent; moreover, how it was mutually agreed to repair the tenement, and how two of their number were chosen to act as collectors.

The exact position of the house in Checker (or King) Street is clearly given in the Indenture appointing trustees. It stood "between a common entry on the north part and the message of—on the south and abutting on the said Checker Street on the west and on the yard late William Howlett on the east." Notwithstanding this description, Henry Partridge (recorder), Philip Case, Esq., and the reeves could not identify the premises (1748). After sixty years, the inquiry was renewed. The report concludes thus:—"The Committee therefore despair of discovering the estate at present, though it must now in all probability be of considerable value; but they think it right to mention these facts by way of caution to the parish and its officers in future" (19th April 1808).

THE WAY OF THE TRANSGRESSOR.

At the General Quarter Sessions (January 1750), Charles Holditch, a young man of 25 years, was arraigned before the mayor John Goodwyn, the recorder Henry Partridge and several justices of the peace on a charge of robbing and attempting to murder his own father, Adam Holditch. The prisoner, the son of respectable parents, was a native of Lynn; he had been well brought up, but the principles of virtue and honesty inculcated during his boyhood were thrust aside. By robbing his father, forging a note for a guinea and then absconding, he started upon a downward career. He made several voyages, during which he robbed many with whom he came in contact. After being lodged in the Bridewell at Lynn and other places, he joined a gang of roaming thieves. The wanderer would sometimes return, and then, after spending a few weeks in his father's office, suddenly decamp, taking money and goods with him. His last visit was just after he had been discharged, for lack of evidence, from the watch-house at Poultry Compter, for stealing two gallons

of cinnamon water. "I then," he says in his confession, "set out for Lynn, and begg'd all the Way down; I came into Town about 8 o'clock at Night, and between One and Two I got into my Father's House to my Sorrow. So no more from your Dying Friend." During the night, he attacked his parent with a case-knife, which was found covered with blood stains, but was prevented from murdering the old man by the presence of a child, who was sleeping in the apartment.

Holditch, though subject to violent seizures throughout his imprisonment, was apparently much better on the morning of the execution. Quitting the gaol, he mounted a cart in waiting without assistance, but "fell into a surprizing Fit, and had six before he got to the Gallows." After prayers were read, and the Lamentation for Sinners sung, the minister asked whether he wished to say anything. Sitting in the cart, the culprit fervently exhorted young people to take warning by him. With the rope round his neck, whilst standing upon his coffin, he repeated the same counsel and implored the spectators not to forget the excellent sermon preached by the Rev. Dr. Pyle on Sunday morning at St. Margaret's church, from the words, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil" (Jeremiah xiii. 23). For a considerable time he continued praying in a loud voice; he then dropped his handkerchief and sprang forward, when the cart was dragged away. After being suspended the proper time, the body was cut down, placed in the coffin and conveyed to St. Margaret's graveyard, where it was immediately buried (14th February 1750). The parish register contains no mention of this interment.

THE HERO OF THE HOUR.

An expedition was sent against Quebec in 1759; the command of the land forces being entrusted to James Wolfe, who had been promoted to the rank of major-general. On the night of the 12th of September he landed his troops above Quebec, and favoured by the darkness ascended the Heights of Abraham, which commanded the city. In the course of the engagement, the intrepid Wolfe was slain and Monckton severely wounded. The command then devolved upon George the fourth Viscount Townshend of Raynham, who led the valiant British grenadiers against the shrinking regiment of Montcalm. After an ineffectual stand, the French gave way; five days later, Quebec surrendered to the gallant commander-in-chief, and Canada was lost to the French.

George Townshend had served under the King at the battle of Dettingen and was present at Fontenoy, Culloden and Laffeldt. The hero's return was heralded by an outburst of excusable excitement; the ex-mayor Benjamin Nuthall compiled a congratulatory letter, asserting how the great and useful services which the general had finished for his country would ever speak of and for him with distinguished honour in this and future ages. The burgesses conferred upon him the freedom of Lynn (29th August 1760), he

was appointed Viceroy of Ireland and advanced to the dignity of Marquis Townshend (1786).

Pity that when old, old as I am now (sighs the father of George Borrow), he should have driven his son mad by robbing him of his plighted bride : but so it was : he married his son's bride. I saw him lead her to the altar ; if ever there was an angelic countenance, it was that girl's ; she was almost too fair to be one of the daughters of women. [*Lavengro.*]

18TH CENTURY TOKENS.

In 1754 the Government suspended the issue of copper coins, because nearly two-fifths of the half-pennies and farthings were forgeries (Snelling). After twenty years, however, it authorised the issue of copper pence, half-pence and farthings by private persons. The earliest of these tokens bore the date 1792, and the latest 1797. A corn factor named Cook availed himself of this privilege and struck a local penny :—

Obverse : LYNN . PENNY . TOKEN. 1798—AC.

Reverse : A . COOK . CORN . FACTOR . NORFOLK—A plough and harrow.

Edge : I PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND THE BEARER ONE PENNY.

LOCAL ACTS.

1745-6. 18th George II. For enabling the parishioners of St. Margaret's to raise money by rates for restoring the church.

1751-2. 24th George II. For making the River Nar navigable from Lynn to Westacre.

Letters Patent were issued 25th February 1754 (and again 30th March 1761) appointing Philip Case, controller of the customs.

* * * * *

George II. died at Kensington the 25th of October 1760. His death, which was sudden, was immediately due to the bursting of the right ventricle of his heart.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Rumours of War.

GEORGE III., the son of Frederick Prince of Wales, succeeded his grandfather the 25th of October 1760.

* * * * *

With our early kings, it was the practice to select from among the influential gentry some upon whom might devolve the duty of calling men together, when the country was threatened with war. The responsibility of forming "musters" was, as a rule, entrusted to those experienced in military affairs. When this custom became general, a permanent officer was appointed in each county ; he superintended these important defensive operations, and was termed the Lieutenant of the County. Prior to the Revolution our nation possessed no standing army ; there were nevertheless three ways for providing against an invasion of the realm—(1) the knight's fees were bound to furnish a certain number of armed men, (2) the whole male

population, from 15 to 60 years of age, might be called upon in every county to serve under the guidance of their own shire-reeve, and (3), if necessary, the services of foreign adventurers might be engaged. Feudal or mercenary troops could be sent into Wales, Scotland or to the Continent, but the *posse comitatus*—those under the shire-reeves—could not be compelled to leave the kingdom, or, except in urgent cases, the county to which they belonged. During the 16th century, our internal defences as a nation were greatly improved by the systematic organisation of the militia, by the holding of general musters periodically at intervals of three or four years, by carefully-conducted surveys of all creeks and landing places, and finally, by directing attention to the increase and breed of horses in the parks of the nobility throughout the kingdom. Commissioners certified whether these measures were carried out or not. Besides, every gentleman was compelled to have in readiness one man-at-arms for every £500 of his income.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

As in other towns, the inhabitants of Lynn were liable at any moment to be called upon to face the foe, for if we exclude a few spasmodic efforts, it was not until 1779 that the volunteer movement became recognised as an integral part of our national safeguard. Several causes then conspired to arouse the dormant spirit of national patriotism. The country was engaged in an iniquitous war with America, and the great European Powers evinced scant sympathy with what we were doing; the Revolution in France menaced the safety of our kingdom, and Ireland, from whence troops had largely been withdrawn, was seriously threatened with invasion. War and rumours of war stagnated trade; our ships were waylaid and captured, and the alarming press-gang was again in full swing. The sailors at Lynn and other ports were chased like wild animals, struck with bludgeons and bundled on board vessels ready to put out to sea the next tide.

Previous to being called out for active service, the West Norfolk Militia was reviewed by the Earl of Orford on Sayer's Marsh (1759). Twenty years later, "Armed Associations" were inaugurated at Hull, Yarmouth, Lynn, etc. (1779). Although several Acts were passed with the avowed object of providing for the efficient administration of discipline, and for the encouragement of the volunteer movement, yet each company was disbanded immediately the crisis, for which it was established, had passed. Distinct corps were formed (1) during the American war, (2) at the time of the French Revolution, and (3), when the English were at war with Napoleon.

The *first* of the Lynn Armed Associations, which numbered one hundred, was commanded by Thomas Day, a man of superior military attainments, who was greatly respected by those under him. The volunteer movement had not, however, wholly superseded the infamous press-gang, because the gentlemen of the town gave an amateur performance of the *Clandestine Marriage* at our Theatre, "for the benefit of the wives, widows and families of the impressed

men for his Majesty's Sea Service, belonging to Lynn and the Environs." On this occasion Richard Gardiner wrote the prologue and epilogue (22nd March 1779).

A few extracts, from the private journal kept by the commandant, deserve to be rescued from oblivion.

June 18th 1780. By a confirmation of the surrender of Charles Town to Gen. Clinton by the Americans, we fired eleven guns by order of Maxey Allen Esq. the mayor.

August 6th. Being St. Ann's Day (old style) with leave from the Mayor, we fired the morning gun at sunrise; which we propose doing annually with his worship's leave.

September 29th. Being Michaelmas Day, we hoisted our ensign. I personally attended as guard to our regimental colours, the company being informed.

November 16th. Our true English-spirited Brother, Samuel Hill, being the first that bought regimentals at his own expense, for the defence, honour and glory of the British Empire under our Most Gracious Sovereign, in justice to such a worthy of English felicity, we have obligated and invested and gazetted him an *extra captain*, in lieu of an uxorious, absent captain, who dare not step forth in public for the service of his bleeding country, without his modern wife's leave, who would rather linger away a tedious life in misery and poverty than enjoy the British right to plenty of roast beef, plum pudding and good Sir John Barleycorn, which will enable us to bring up our children—ornaments to this mighty empire and land of liberty.

Well is it, that the name of the captain, so inexcusably subservient to his wife and so heedless of the ornamental appearance of the rising generation, does not transpire. We are thus spared the ignominy of perpetuating his memory.

In studying the literature of this belligerent period, the reader is tempted to believe our constitutional supremacy was based upon beef, plum pudding and beer—especially beer! Here is a verse from that patriotic ballad, *The Jolly Tars of Lynn*, written by the parson-poet Richard Gardiner and sung with extravagant *éclat* at the old theatre (16th April 1781). The convincing eighth stanza runs thus:—

Old Vernon we honour for giving us grog
To heave up our anchor or heave out our log,
But what's to compare with a can of good nog?
Oh the strong beer of Old England,
And O! Old English strong beer!

The dispersion of the valiant troopers, constituting the *first* association, happened in 1785. The militia then numbered 39,333, our county contributing 1,230, which was divided into 18 companies; the two companies from West Norfolk were volunteers. The western division (683) was under the command of the Earl of Orford, whilst the eastern (547) was under Sir John Wodehouse (1st March 1782).

A county meeting, over which the high-sheriff, John Richard Dashwood, presided, was held at Norwich (12th April 1794), to consider the importance of supplementing the regular army and militia with volunteer corps, and to devise efficient means for repelling an invading force, which everybody was fearfully anticipating. The sum of £6,000 was at once subscribed; which towards the end of May amounted to over £10,000. A similar meeting was convened

here, under the presidency of Edward Everard, junior, our patriotic mayor (24th April). Promises for £850 were at once given, which in a few days increased to £1,000, whilst one hundred volunteers for active service were enrolled members of the association. Several troops of yeomen cavalry were also formed. The borough was well equipped, for one of the first acts of the new chancellor—Alexander Wedderburn, first baron Loughborough—was the issue of commissions to Henry Bell, William Case, Collier Matland, John Harwood and Robert Whincop, junior (12th February 1793). Our volunteer force comprised infantry and cavalry, landsmen and marines, as well as blunt and sharp shooters. The command was entrusted to Major Edward Everard—a position retained until the 11th of June 1802. The Lynn Loyal Volunteers, and the Downham contingent, were reviewed by William, Prince of Wales, who dined with the mayor and accepted the freedom of the town (27th April 1797); and again by Major-general Loftus at Wootton (24th October 1800). A severe “press” for recruiting the navy greatly alarmed the inhabitants (30th and 31st May 1798).

The lumbering approach of the stage-coach *Lord Nelson* was never more welcome than on the morning of the 10th of October 1801. It was the bearer of glorious news—a cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and France. Throughout the day the bells were rung, whilst the evening witnessed a grand illumination. Negotiations were opened, and peace definitely settled at Amiens (27th March 1802). The general proclamation (6th May) and the national thanksgiving followed (1st June).

At the last parade of the *second* association on the Tuesday market-place, Major Everard addressed the corps. After eulogising the unselfish zeal of the brave volunteers, he read the thanks accorded them by both Houses of Parliament for such meritorious services. They were about to be discharged, he told them, with a reward of the most gratifying nature—their Sovereign’s sincere approval (11th May 1802). In lieu of a public entertainment, the non-commissioners, officers and privates each received a pecuniary donation.

War having been declared against France, the association was reestablished the next year, when Lord Townshend reported the following offers of voluntary service—Diss 160, Fakenham 150, Swaffham 150 (including 50 riflemen), Yarmouth 435, Old Buckenham 134 and—*Lynn* 532 plus *South Lynn* 120, chiefly through the exertions of Edward Everard (17th August 1803). A few days later, 200 men from Terrington were accepted; their assistance was, however, refused, because of their supreme insubordination. By the end of September, Norfolk had contributed its full quota; the number of volunteers being six times that of the old militia. The Lynn corps, called the 1st Norfolk Volunteer Infantry, wore a red uniform with black collars and cuffs. The hundred of Freebridge Lynn contributed 233 men—the three companies being commanded by Anthony Hamond.

The well-meant proposal that the ships of Wells might be armed for the service of the country was declined, because small vessels



REVIEW OF THE LYNN ASSOCIATION ON SAYER'S MARSH (1782), FROM A WATER-COLOUR PAINTING BY T. AVISS,
IN THE POSSESSION OF S. A. GURNEY, ESQ.

could not advantageously carry guns between decks. The owners at Lynn offered to have their vessels fitted with *deck* guns, "if it should be approved by the government" (August 1803). The fear that the French were meditating a descent upon the Norfolk coast was so great, that John Gurney, the famous Norwich banker, always kept four carriages in readiness to convey his family to Ely, which he regarded as a city of refuge. Miss Priscilla Gurney says, when writing to Miss Fry:—"My father intends to write out directions for every individual member of his family, so that there may be no confusion or bustle, whenever the moment of danger arrives, if it ever does arrive."

The pay list of the Lynn corps or *third* association extends from December 1802 to the 13th of August 1806, when the Marquis of Townshend announced his Majesty's acceptance of its resignation.

But the climax of national apprehension was reached when the redoubtable Napoleon threatened the country. The landing of the French at our threshold seemed imminent. Where was there a stretch of coast so singularly exposed, and offering such tempting facilities for the landing of the foes beyond the silver streak? How insistently the couplet, attributed to the omniscient Mother Shipton, flitted through the minds of the simple villagers:—

He who would old England win,
Must at Weybourn Hoop begin.

Surely ominous enough was the prophecy, but ere long a more terrifying version was concocted:—

If the French do England win,
They will at Weybourn Hoop begin.

Another armed association was formed, comprising cavalry, artillery, rifles, sea-fencibles or pike-men, and the Lynn and South Lynn volunteers. To the navy, Norwich contributed 264 volunteers—Yarmouth 506, *Lynn* 193, Wells 50 and Blakeney 26.

As soon, however, as Napoleon renounced the empire and retired to Elba, Colonel Taylor disbanded the volunteer corps at Hardwick. The day of thanksgiving was commemorated by an engraving, entitled "The Representation of the Festival for the Return of Peace, on the Tuesday Market place" (22nd July 1814).

During the war, Lynn was one of the depôts, at which the regiments, transferred from place to place, were temporarily stationed. To the disgust of the townsfolk, their stay was often unduly prolonged. The schooner *Active* from Dundee arrived, with 160 recruits for the 90th Regiment of Foot; the men were lodged at the Guard House, previously used by the Norfolk Light Dragoons, whilst the Meters' Office adjoining was converted into a Guard House (31st January 1795). The recruits left the 5th of February. A serious dispute arose between three privates belonging to the 38th Regiment of Foot (lately returned from active service on the Continent) and certain of our sailors. The windows of the *Town Arms* public house were shattered and several innocent spectators wounded (18th July). Captain Whitaker of the Norfolk Light Dragoons died here and was buried with military honours in St. Margaret's graveyard (1st

July). General Johnson reviewed the Lynn volunteers. The 38th departed on the 19th and 20th.

The next year, the East Yorkshire Militia were found in Lynn; they marched to the camp at Brighton (14th June 1796). In 1797, the townsfolk were honoured with the presence of the Cornwall Light Dragoons, then by the 1st Regiment of Light Dragoons (17th June), in turn released by the Somerset Fencibles (11th and 12th August). The Ayrshire Light Dragoons were the next to arrive (14th October); then came the Fifeshire Fencibles (14th November); three troops departed on the 28th of May 1798 and the rest the 22nd of October 1798. The burgesses were next introduced to the Queen's 4th Dragoons (24th October), who, leaving about seven months later, were succeeded by the Royal South Lincoln Regiment (28th May 1799). The Essex Militia, for some time billeted here, left on the 19th and 20th of December 1799.

(1) SEDITIOUS SOCIETIES.

The masses, disgusted with the selfish conduct of those who were supposed to defend their interests, vainly clamoured for a change. Hence, when the Revolution broke out in France, many in this country sympathised with the agitation, although at a later period, alarmed at the reckless plundering and insane murders which followed, they refused to countenance the movement, democratic though it might be. As, however, parliamentary reform was absolutely necessary, political organisations of a semi-convivial character, and some too with the avowed object of bringing about a revolution in England, were secretly formed in various parts. In the autumn of 1793, the government became alarmed at the rapid development of these "seditious societies," fearing that under the influence of violent partisans, the spreading perturbation might become uncontrollable. "In this county in particular," wrote the Marquis of Townshend, "vigilance is necessary, as upon any sudden decline of the Norwich manufacture, or upon a rise in the price of provisions, riots have followed, and our magistrates . . . have sometimes been intimidated to inaction or disgraceful compliance." As a specimen of the literature then in circulation, we quote an inflammatory placard, addressed "To the sons of Liberty" in Norwich:—

Friends, Further news of Joy we've heard! The Prince Cobourg is defeated! with the loss of 9 Thousand Men! Ostend and Newport [Nieupoort] is taken! And the Numberless Successes which our brave Friends of Liberty, the French, have gained over the Combined Tyrants are inconceivable! The Tyrants of England have offered £200 for the discovery of our last Seditious (as they call it) Handbill. But we are, Friends, too good to Blow one another—and this I have put up to shew, that we mind not their Threats and all their Petty Punishments! But! mind what follows! Ninety Thousand Guineas taken out of our Pockets every week for the Expence of this Cruel, unjust and destructive War! Oh, ye Sons of Liberty, why will you suffer it? haste and Revenge your Wrongs. Let us all join and Rebel. Down with the Present Government! Off with King George's head! and a Republic in Great Britain. Huzza!

A secret society—"The Friends of Liberty," probably Jacobites, who favoured the "Young Pretender"—existed

here as early as 1745, when the town was refortified. Of their doings we know nothing, but we can well imagine how they were snubbed and persecuted by loyal townsfolk. Observe the monument of one of their number, which stands near the western entrance of St. Margaret's church, and ponder well the inscription:—

ABOVE IS LIBERTY!

Here lies POOR SPARKS who hopes to be forgiven;
Mercy not found on earth abounds in heaven.

A MONUMENT

of Joseph Sparks, Brewer and Victualler.
His friends were many and constant
His enemies few but bitter,
His heart once sincere and brave,
But borne down with more than man could bear.
Died October 12th 1752. Aged 50 years.
Erected by the Friendly Society of Freemen.
Restored by a few friends of liberty 1831.

After the issue of the Royal Proclamation for the prevention of tumultuous meetings and seditious writing (21st May 1792), counter associations were formed. Reeve's Association at Lynn was inaugurated expressly "for preserving liberty and property against republicans and levellers" (21st November). The members, who met at the *Crown and Anchor*, were in close touch with the ministerial agents, secretly delegated to watch the dissatisfied sections of the community. A detestable system of espionage was encouraged; the whole country swarmed with dissimulating spies, who reported irregularities, sometimes of their own invention, to the Treasury.

David Fisher—father, son (1759-1832) and grandson—were for many years connected with our theatre. The son, complying with the Act (39th George III.), "for the more effectual suppression of societies, established for seditious and treasonable practices," was registered as the owner of a printing press and types, with which he purposed printing play bills for his different theatres in North Walsham, Wells, Dereham, Swaffham, Thetford, Aylsham, Newmarket, Sudbury, Woodbridge, Eye, Halesworth, Lowestoft, Beccles, Bungay, etc. George Fisher, another son, was a schoolmaster at Swaffham; he published a remarkable book of reference—*The Companion and Key to the History of England* (1832); therein he describes himself as "late of the Norfolk and Suffolk Company of Comedians." David Fisher, the second, was lessee of the Lynn Theatre (1829-1830).

(2) JOHN WILKES (1727-97).

Suffering from an attack of hectic patriotism, our Corporation, with inexplicable celerity, changed into the most fanatic admirers not only of Liberty in the abstract, but that redoubtable champion of political salvation, whose release from the King's Bench prison was the source of frenzied rejoicing (18th April 1770). "For his Constitutional Spirited and uniform Conduct in support of the Liberties of This Country," the freedom of the borough was thrust upon him (30th October). Wilkes, however, was not sworn until the

14th of February 1771, when, at the express invitation of the Corporation, he visited Lynn and was magnificently entertained. Not here alone, but at Downham and other places, was he received with tokens of respect and adulation.

Illustrative of this remarkable event is a paragraph in the *Salisbury Journal* (27th February 1770):—

We hear from Lynn Regis in Norfolk, that a subscription is opened there, and in many other places in that county, for the purchase of 137 gold medals to weigh five guineas each, a device and inscription being already wrote and approved of; and we also hear from the same place, that as soon as the news arrived in town of a certain late event, the bells in all the churches were immediately muffled, and a dumb peal rung, expressive of the concern of all ranks of people, inhabiting that loyal and patriotic borough.

To what does this refer? What was “the certain late event,” for which a muffled peal was rung? Already had John Wilkes, the member for Aylesbury, been expelled from the House, through publishing the infamous 45th number of the *North Briton* (19th January 1764). As soon, however, as the sentence of outlawry, passed against him, was reversed, he appeared at the general election and was returned for Middlesex, whereas Sir William Beauchamp Porter was discarded, after representing the county more than twenty years. Wilkes was expelled a second time, when the bells of Lynn bemoaned his fate; but a few days later the headstrong voters returned him once more.

To celebrate the rescinding of Wilkes’ outlawry, the mob at Lynn insisted upon an illumination of the town, although the anniversary of the King’s birthday was not considered worthy of the slightest attention. Every householder was ordered to place lights in his windows; non-compliance resulted in painful measures—the smashing of glass. Wilkes was expected in a few days. Our patriotic gentry styled the mad frolics of a drunken mob—the love of liberty. The events connected with the expulsion of Wilkes bear a striking resemblance to what occurred here, when Sir Robert Walpole was persistently returned, even when committed to the Tower (1712). The remembrance perhaps awakened sympathy for a similar political martyr. Trevelyan recounts the welcome our borough bestowed upon “the father of his country,” as well as one of the political tributes inscribed to the hero:—

*Johanni Wilkes, armigero :
Qui reipublicæ restituit rem :
Patri Patriæ :
Coronam hanc necti gratias,
Jussit Apollo.*

“Such,” exclaims Trevelyan, “are a few choice morsels from a hash of prose and verse, stolen from various periods of Latin literature, with which Wilkes was flattered, as a politician, and must have been considerably diverted as a scholar, during his visit to King’s Lynn in 1771.” (*Early Years of Charles James Fox.*) This visit led to the publication of *Verses addressed to John Wilkes on his arrival at Lynn* (Lynn: 1771), also *A Political Epistle to the Author of Verses, etc.* (London).

(3) AN UNREHEARSED FARCE.

Slowly, almost imperceptibly, a change came o'er the enchanting dream in which the body corporate was indulging. Two decades were gone, and the millenium was not appreciably nearer, yet their political eyes were opened, and they found all things were not exactly what they seemed. The mayor Edward Everard was constrained to report a veritable monster of iniquity in the guise of an inoffensive lad. This yokel, when in a state of inebriety, foolishly and perhaps unconsciously uttered certain expletives, which were regarded as treasonable. For this, through mayoral instrumentality, the youth suffered six months' imprisonment, and was forced to give security for a year's good behaviour, himself in £100, and two friends, each in £50 bonds. Incidentally, we learn from the report of the chief magistrate, that there were then no clubs of a seditious nature within his jurisdiction. As a conclusive proof of the loyal sincerity of the burgesses, he pointed out how 129 had just volunteered for public service, and how the inhabitants continued to offer themselves freely (28th January 1793).

There were, however, some, who, if not out-and-out "Levellers," still clung to the traditions of democratic emancipation. In the front row of the dress-circle at the Checker Street theatre sat William Curtis, a highly-respected burgess, surrounded by friendly acquaintances. Close by were Major Partridge, Captain Henry Powlett, aide-de-camp to General Meadows, and other military officers. Whilst the performers were chaunting "God save the King," Mr. Curtis remained seated. Whereupon the major commanded him, "in language not perfectly congenial with the habits of a gentleman, to rise from his seat and pull off his hat." Perhaps this breach of martial etiquette was intensified by the knowledge that the delinquent had the year before published *A Sketch from Life*, entitled *Diabolus Dozy* (pp. 12, 4to, London). As the insulted author quietly ignored the threatening order, the headstrong major proceeded to enforce it. Whilst locked in a fond embrace, the civilian holding the fuming son of Mars "by the proboscis," Captain Powlett ardently belaboured the victim of their displeasure, whom they threatened to hurl into the pit.

The culmination of this amusing incident was a trial at the Quarter Sessions, where Captain Powlett was charged with assaulting and wounding Mr. Curtis and his son, a lad of seven years. The jury returned a verdict of *Guilty*. The irascible captain was also arraigned on another indictment, that of carrying a challenge to Mr. Curtis. Although the second charge was proved to the hilt, the sentence was deferred until the next sessions (1793).

Subsequently the prosecutor published a pamphlet, descriptively entitled, *A Narrative of an Assault and other Outrages on a Peaceable Individual by a set of Military Heroes, at the Theatre at Lynn Regis* (8vo, pp. 20; 2nd Ed. pp. 16, London, 1794). William Curtis was moreover the author of *Observations on the Operations of the New Corn Bill, with a few Salutory hints to the promoters of*

that impolitic measure, humbly dedicated to the President of the Board of Agriculture, and most earnestly recommended to the attention of both Houses of Parliament (1804: W. Turner, Lynn; 8vo., pp. 24).

(4) JOHN THELWELL (1764-1813).

How different the reception awaiting John Thelwell, who visited Lynn twenty-five years after Wilkes, to promulgate the principles of political liberty and genuine patriotism. After an imprisonment in the Tower, with Thomas Hardy and Horne Tooke, Thelwell continued boldly denouncing the government, whilst lecturing in the provinces. He was cordially welcomed in some of the large centres, but at Yarmouth he narrowly escaped capture by the subordinate press-gang (August 1785); whilst at Lynn and Wisbech mobs were hired to prevent him being heard. Our Corporation was now in a different humour. The glorious Gospel of Politics, according to St. Wilkes, was quite eclipsed by the more popular doctrines enunciated by William Pitt.

Thelwell published a narrative of his adventures in West Norfolk, entitled *A Particular Account of the late Outrages at Lynn and Wisbeach, Being a Postscript to the Appeal to Popular Opinion against Kidnapping and Murder* (8vo, pp. 19, London, 1796). He also printed a pamphlet describing "the atrocious proceedings at Yarmouth" (1796).

(5) THE ORANGE FARM.

When the French republicans led by Dutch exiles took possession of Holland, the Prince and Princess of Orange escaped, and landed at Yarmouth (1796). The Prince was entertained by Baron Feagle, a refugee, at his farm in Terrington St. Clements. In 1813 the French were in turn expelled by the Dutch, aided by the Russians and Prussians, whereupon the Prince (son of William V., the last stadtholder, who died in exile, 1806) returned the 30th of November 1813, and was proclaimed King of Holland under the title of William I. Baron Feagle was the bearer of the Prince's letter to the Hague, announcing his return (27th November).

The windmill, at the *Orange Farm*, which obtained its appellation from the royal guest, was erected by the Baron upon German lines. The estate was purchased by Lord William Bentinck (1816) and now belongs to Mrs. Frances Walker.

(6) PRISONERS OF WAR.

Several causes, upon which we must not descant, contributed to involve our nation in hostilities with France, which gradually developed into the greatest war our country ever waged (1793). To carry on the deplorable enterprise, which dragged on for several weary years, the government was compelled to augment the taxes. The consolation, derived from the contemplation of military achievements, however brilliant, was of no avail, when a hungry populace were clamouring for food; and little pleasure was manifested, when bread so necessary for the support of themselves and their children was

consumed by 25,000 ravenous prisoners, for whom the government of France refused to provide.

A great number of captives were lodged at Plymouth and Portsmouth, but more were escorted to Yaxley and Stilton—places near Huntingdon, where they remained until the new barracks at Norman Cross were completed. At the junction, where the Great North Road (Ermine Street) is cut by the road leading from Peterborough, the government purchased 40 acres of land (1796), and erected sixteen huge wooden buildings, as well as barracks for the militia and houses for the officers. Lofty iron palisades surrounded the whole block. As soon as finished, six thousand prisoners were drafted thither, many of whom had been landed either at Lynn or Yarmouth.

The notes appended, apropos of this subject, are culled from three sources—the diary of the late Mr. Francis Aldrich, the *Stamford Mercury* and *Fenland Notes and Queries*, vol. ii., p. 200 :—

1797. April 2nd : Six sail of transports arrived in our harbour with 900 French prisoners, who were sent in lighters to Stilton barracks (April 9th and 25th, and May 8th and 12th).

May 12th : Early on Tuesday 800 or 900 French prisoners went through Wisbech from Lynn, bound for Yaxley. [Possibly a detachment of the first 900.] The French captain escaped from the Purfleet.

June 19th : Attempts were made to seduce the guards from their allegiance. The soldiers raised £105/4 among themselves, which was handed to Colonel Humphrey Sibthorpe, as a reward to any who would give information.

June 21st : Guarded by a party of Inniskillings, a regiment of dragoons and a detachment of the Oxford militia, 180 French prisoners arrived from Yarmouth.

August 3rd : The 1st regiment of dragoon guards and a party of the Oxford militia brought 190 more from Yarmouth.

September 20th or 22nd : Another batch of 141 arrived from the same place. The captain of a French privateer made good his escape, whilst lodged in Norwich Castle.

1798. March 2nd : Another consignment of 100 entered the town on their way to Yaxley.

August 10th : Dutch prisoners, numbering 250, from and to the same place, passed through Lynn.

1799. Four transports under convoy of H.M. gun vessels, the *Wrangler* and the *Manley*, entered the port with French prisoners.

The captives were temporarily lodged in an old warehouse on the north of the King Staith, which was recently rebuilt by Messrs. Vyne and Everitt. They used to beg bones, knuckle bones being greatly prized. From these, a variety of knick-knacks were carved; they also made ornamental boxes and toilet articles, some being beautifully inlaid with bits of straw. The straw-plaiting of hats was carried on so successfully at Norman Cross, that those engaged in the industry made serious complaints.

(7) FAMINE IN THE LAND.

A repetition of the bread riots of 1740, when troops were despatched to Lynn, occurred in 1792. The causes were the exceptionally high price of provisions and a stagnation in the labour market. Several hundred sailors at Yarmouth, who demanded higher wages, helped to swell the disturbance, so that in the end the authorities found it necessary to summon the King's Dragoon Guards.

Similar dissatisfaction was exhibited in Lynn, where as soon as the demands of the seamen were met, the quay porters insisted upon double pay, before unloading the cargoes waiting in the harbour. Hence the mayor Joseph Taylor requested the attendance of the gentlemen-merchants and tradesmen at the Town Hall, to consider the propriety of "advancing the wages paid to certain descriptions of the Labouring Hand" (30th October 1792).

The effect of a poor harvest in 1794 told disastrously the next year. The price of the quartern loaf in Lynn rose from 6d. to 1s. 1½d. in December 1795, 1s. 2d. November 1799, 1s. 6d. May —1800, and to 1s. 7½d. in March 1801. The price, however, dropped to 10½d. in January 1802. In purely agricultural districts the strain was even greater, because the labourer received only 9s. 6d. per week.

In July 1795 the famished burgesses were eagerly anticipating the arrival of 1,000 quarters of wheat. An urgent appeal for help had in the mean time been forwarded by the justices of Suffolk. This, the merchants were compelled to disregard, because all the corn they expected to receive was absolutely necessary to supply the wants of the town and neighbourhood. Towards the end of the year, the townsfolk were almost driven to desperation. Fearing the result, the Corporation placed the borough in the hands of the East Yorkshire militia. A general meeting of the inhabitants was summoned to consider the best means for reducing the consumption of wheaten bread and flour (28th December 1795). Edward Everard the mayor, who presided, announced he had been reliably informed of a dastardly conspiracy to destroy the town, and shipping in the harbour by fire. Before proceeding to business, the Assembly determined to offer £100 reward for the discovery of the persons concerned. After which, the following resolutions, engrossed on parchment, were left with the town clerk for signature:—

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, Inhabitants of this Borough, Do hereby agree to reduce the consumption of WHEAT in our respective Families; In order to effect this Reduction,

We will consume only BREAD made of the whole produce of the WHEAT, called MEAL BREAD or MIXED BREAD of which not more than two-thirds shall be made of WHEAT;

We will also prohibit in our respective Families the use of WHEATEN FLOUR in Pastry and Confectionery and diminish as much as possible the use thereof in other articles than BREAD; By these Measures or by any other which may be equally effectually and more expedient and practicable in our respective Situations, We will to the utmost of our Power insure the intended Reduction;

That this AGREEMENT shall continue in Force until fourteen days after the commencement of the next SESSION OF PARLIAMENT, unless the average price of WHEAT in the whole KINGDOM shall be reduced before that time to EIGHT SHILLINGS per Winchester Bushel; And we earnestly recommend to all our Fellow Inhabitants to adopt and strictly adhere to the same.

At Lynn and Yarmouth an embargo was placed upon all shipping.

As prices assumed a downward tendency, riots gradually ceased throughout the country. There was, however, an outbreak at Lynn in 1799, caused by a calamitous crop failure, the quartern loaf being

offered in December for 1s. 3½d. A benevolent flour merchant, named Forster, who sold below the inflated price, was badly mauled by rival tradesmen. With provisions at famine prices, the Christmas of 1800 was one of deplorable wretchedness in thousands of homes. Failing to eke out the cereal supply, a paternal government turned its attention to the produce of the sea. A report was widely circulated, that a cargo of herring, about 1,000 barrels, expected soon to arrive at Lynn, was, by order of the Committee of the House of Commons, consigned to the collector of customs. The fresh-caught fish, well-cured and suitable for immediate consumption, would be sold at cost price, and sent by land or water, as quickly as possible, to those applying for a consignment (27th December 1800). The State's experiment in fish-hawking turned out a failure, because the tempting "reasonable rate" was beyond the purchasing power of those utterly destitute.

In a good corn year, when there is free exportation, it has been said that the four Norfolk ports export as much corn as all the rest of England, which (writes Nathaniel Kent) I believe to be true, for it is seldom less than a million sterling in value, and often more; and though some of the corn comes down the Waveney out of Suffolk and some down the Ouse from two or three of the midland counties, this addition seldom bears the proportion of more than an eighth part of the Yarmouth export and a third of the Lynn, which is not more than a tenth upon the whole. [*A General View of the Agriculture of Norfolk: 1796.*]

About the time of the passing of the Corn Law Bill (1815) riots were again prevalent. A ruinous war, in which the nation embarked, made heavy taxation imperatively needful, but the masses, blind to the enormous drain upon the country's resources, thought the enhanced prices paid for bread and flour were wholly for the benefit of the farmer and to swell the rent roll of the landed proprietor.

Another serious riot originated among the Lynn sailors in a strike for wages (1814). The ringleaders were apprehended and lodged in gaol. The infuriated mob dispossessed the special constables of their staves, and procuring a huge piece of timber, they improvised a battering-ram and proceeded to charge the prison door. But the mayor Lionel Self interposed his own august person, shouting, "I have charge of this place; no one shall break these doors, except through the body of the mayor!" (Armes.) * Awed by such a magnificent display of unlooked-for heroism, our jolly tars hesitated and then grumblingly desisted. To quell the disturbance and restore peace it was, however, necessary to send for the military. The "German Legion" accordingly drew up in front of the Town Hall with a theatrical display of drawn swords; soon after the Dragoons also arrived. Instead, however, of directing their united attention to the disaffected seamen, the soldiers of the different regiments began to quarrel among themselves, so that one regiment was prudently withdrawn during the night. The imprisoned seamen were tried at the next assizes.

* The Town Clerk in his evidence before the Commissioners (1833) stated that the gaol was broken into and the prisoners released.

In other parts, as for example, at Norwich, Mundford, Brandon, Wisbech, etc., similar risings were common. The worst instance was at Downham.

Sidney Smith humorously describes the condition of the times in these words:—

The school-boy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman pouring his medicine which has paid 7 per cent. into a spoon which has paid 15 per cent., flings himself upon his chintz bed which has paid 22 per cent., and expires in the arms of an apothecary, who has paid a licence of £100 for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then taxed from 2 to 10 per cent. Large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and he is then gathered to his fathers—to be taxed no more.

(8) THE RETURN OF PEACE.

Towards the close of 1813, the Grand Alliance, as will be remembered, was organised against France. It comprised Russia, Prussia, Austria and England, as well as several secondary powers. Whilst Wellington was busy scattering the French at Toulouse (10th April), the allied army entered Paris and compelled Napoleon to sign a treaty, renouncing the empire (11th April). The Bourbon family was restored and Louis XVIII. called to the throne, whilst Napoleon, no longer bestriding the narrow world like the Cesarean colossus, was banished to Elba, where he discovered himself to be the jest of Fame, rather than an Alexandrian conqueror of the earth. At last the crushing weight was rolled from the nation, and the prospect of peace, prosperity and happiness caused her sons to rejoice with joy, almost unspeakable. Peace—glorious peace! No more French prisoners in their midst, and Lynn sailors languishing in loathsome French dungeons no longer! How their thankful hearts swelled and throbbed at the sound of the magic word. It meant not only “Peace,” but “Plenty”—bread for the children, ay, and the mothers and fathers too, and the fond embrace of the loved ones, from whom they had been severed for many a dreary month. In their calmer moments, when the delirious excitement had somewhat abated, they recalled the importunate entreaty of their good vicar, that nations might no longer lift up sword against nations and like the Apostle James, were they constrained to admit that “the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.”

With gratitude would they celebrate the event, as event had never been celebrated before! Forthwith the chancellor of the Corporation was requested to draw up an estimate of the cost of a day's entertainment, and by no means loath, he set to work. Dinner? Nothing less of course: a good substantial meal could do no harm, after such a season of privation. Put down 6,000 persons—hungry persons at 2s. each—£600. And music? Certainly; sad indeed are the hearts that never rejoice—add £30. And rustic sports? That would mean prizes for the winners—yes, say £20. And fireworks, emblematical fireworks? Quite as important as music—ye-es, £25. And tables?—£100; and table covering?—£25; and the

hire of knives and forks and spoons—yes, yes, yes ; say £10. . . . And the grand total, if you please—£810.

On Friday the 22nd of July 1814—and no better day could have been desired—the celebration was accordingly held in the Tuesday market-place, when, under the benign auspices of the mayor William Swatman and an equally benign Corporation, 5,963 persons besides attendants sat down to an abundant repast, at which 41 barrels of beer, 430 plum puddings, 430 stones of beef (eight bullocks of 55 stones each) and “ten dozen serpents” were consumed. The fiery serpents, however, should be included in the pyrotechnic programme. There were 1,000 dishes, 200 waiters and 60 ten-shilling musicians, whose harmonious discourse was as loud as long. Now our benevolent Corporation was quite ready to pay the entire cost of the festival, but to the credit of our forefathers, subscriptions amounting to £812 rendered, as we are told, any draft upon the municipal cash-box unnecessary.* Finally, lest the wonderful doings of that day should ever be forgotten, Francis Goodwin, the architect, was prevailed upon to make a faithful drawing of the scene, which, being highly approved, was multiplied by an expert engraver.†

Whilst the good folk of the parish of St. Margaret were rejoicing, the inhabitants of South Lynn were similarly engaged, demolishing heavy joints of roast meat, huge plum puddings and piles of potatoes, to say nothing of “oceans of beer.” The onslaught was conducted in a field belonging to Giles Haycock the maltster, where Buckingham Terrace now stands. How the people shouted again and again “God bless the King” and whenever they shouted they distinctly heard a subdued though pleasing echo—“God bless the King!”

MODERN JEWS.

Although the old Ghetto, the Jews’ Lane ward, is now the habitat of Gentiles, yet, at the commencement of the 19th century, a small fraternity of Jews dwelt there, whose synagogue in Tower Street occupied the site of the Wesleyan chapel. After disposing of this property, the Jews worshipped in a room, up the yard adjoining Messrs. Matsell and Targett’s shop, 9, High Street. The presiding rabbi increased a precarious income by acting as interpreter. Among the more prominent Jews, three living at this time in High Street may be mentioned—Judas Hynes, an optician, at Messrs. Winkley’s ; Mr. Jones, a silversmith, nearly opposite ; and Mr. Kisch, a clothier, in the vicinity of the Tuesday market. The memory of several prosperous burgesses, long since dispersed, is preserved in Hebrew upon the head-stones, in the Jews’ burial ground, beside the Mill fleet. This small graveyard was well cared for, until 1898, by the

* The Corporation nevertheless spent £103.

† The plate (17 by 22 inches) was entitled :—“Representation of the Festival for the Return of Peace, as celebrated in the Tuesday Market Place of Lynn Regis, on Friday the 22nd July 1814. Dedicated by Permission to William Swatman, Esq., mayor, and the Committee, who framed the Business on that occasion, by their obedient and obliged servant Francis Goodwin, Architect, Lynn.” It was republished by Mr. Charles Ibberson (1892).

late Lewis Emanuel (some of whose relatives are there interred) of the firm of Emanuel and Simmons, solicitors, Finsbury Circus, who acted as secretary to the Jewish Board of Deputies. His legal partner was the father of the Rev. F. T. Simmons, for a time minister at the Independent chapel (1896-9).

INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING.

One of the earliest productions, from the printing press of Wykyn de Worde (died 1534), was penned by a native of Lynn. The only known copy of this religious work, entitled—*A short Treatyse of Contemplacyon taught by the Lorde Jhesu Cryste or taken out the Boke of Margerie Kempe of Lyn*, and preserved in the University Library, Cambridge, is believed to be one of the 110 books issued between 1493 and 1500. Dr. Tanner describes this unique quarto of four folios as written in the form of sermons preached by Christ to devout women, and resembling in style the effusions of the Quietists and Quakers.*

The introduction of printing into Norfolk was brought about by Anthony de Solempne, one of the immigrant strangers from the Low Countries (1586). The art was, however, lost until 1701, when Francis Burgis opened a printing office in Norwich. Slowly, from this centre "the mystery" spread—to Yarmouth in 1757 (Cotton), *Lynn* 1762 (Mason), Wisbech 1772, East Dereham 1795 and to Holt in 1800.

James Hoste, M.P., of Sandringham Hall, in a letter to the Rev. Samuel Kerrich, D.D., rector of Dersingham (25th June 1743), enclosed a copy of an *Extraordinary Gazette*, reprinted at Lynn. The name of the printer is not given, but among our early printers the palm of priority must, we think, be awarded to William Garratt, who printed an 18 page pamphlet—*The Life and Transactions of Charles Holditch, etc.* . . . *hanged the 14th of February 1750*. The reader is informed how the manuscript copy in the culprit's own handwriting might be seen at the printer's. William Garratt lived in a house rented at £2 in the Sedgford Lane ward. A play-bill for 1802 bears the imprint, "*John Garrat, printer, Lynn.*" John was probably a son of William Garratt. There were other Garratts, living in the Stonegate ward at this time, viz., Silvanus and the Widow Garratt, each assessed at £2.

William Whittingham (died 1818, Harrod) was assessed at £6 in the Chequer ward (1759). He was a printer, carrying on business at No. 88, on the west side of High Street. The first notice concerning the printing of this firm occurs in 1766, when the churchwardens of St. Margaret paid W. Whittingham 12s. 4d. The Whittinghams were succeeded by George Gale.

Among other local works, the Lynn Whittinghams published Richards' *History of Lynn* (1812). Evan's *Memoir of the Life of the Rev. W. Richards* (1819) was, however, published by Charles Whittingham of Chiswick. It has been hinted, that the founder

* A notice of Margerie Kempe may be seen in *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain, who have been celebrated for their writings and skill in the Learned Languages, Arts, and Sciences* by George Ballard, 4to (1752); 8vo (1775), Oxford.

of the Lynn press was related to his contemporary namesake, the founder of the renowned Chiswick press. After patient inquiry, it must be admitted, they were in nowise related.

REV. WILLIAM RICHARDS, M.A., LL.D.

The local historian of the 19th century was born in the parish of Penrhydd, near Haverfordwest, in the year 1749. His father, a small farmer, having removed to St. Clears, Caermarthenshire (1758), determined to build a chapel upon his estate for the convenience of the Particular Baptists, to which sect he belonged. The plot was enclosed, but dying suddenly, the aged patriarch was the first to be interred in the graveyard (1768). Within a month, a daughter was laid beside him; his wife, Mary, however, survived for several years.

William received only one year's schooling, yet his thirst for knowledge stood him in good stead, where scant means for instruction existed. Setting himself to work, he studied every English and Welsh book which came in his way. When his father's wishes were realised and the meeting house—*Salem*, as it was called—completed, William ventured to preach his first sermon. After spending two years, preparatory to entering the ministry, at Bristol Academy, young Richards was sent to Pershore, Worcestershire, as assistant to Dr. Ash, a Baptist minister, and when a vacancy occurred at Lynn, the Rev. Hugh Evans, the president of the Bristol Academy, recommended his former pupil, whom he described as "a man of good character and sound principles, endowed with a good share of understanding and with a good degree of prudence." William Richards commenced his highly popular ministry the 5th of July 1776. "In person he was above the middle size, somewhat antique in his looks, but of venerable deportment. Indeed, his appearance was that of an athletic Ancient Briton, proud of the land that had given him birth. His speech" (continues his biographer) "savoured strongly of the Cambrian accent, in which he took pleasure. Independence was the darling passion of his nature." (Evans.)

In 1795 his health began to fail, and he was compelled to relinquish his pastoral duties in 1798; he, however, preached occasionally, when his enfeebled constitution permitted, in the Presbyterian church, Broad Street. He married the daughter of a respectable Welsh farmer (1803), but she died soon afterwards (1805). Five years elapsed and the bereaved husband contemplated a union with Miss Elizabeth Price, "a lady in Wales," but she died suddenly. To these sad periods of "severe domestic affliction," he tenderly alludes in his preface to the *History of Lynn*. Richards was a voluminous writer, political and religious topics absorbing much of his attention; he published, moreover, several works in his native language; he compiled a *Welsh and English Dictionary*, which was also published; the counterpart he never found time to accomplish. It is feared that a complete list of his works does not exist.

Much of the information embodied in his local history was transcribed from the papers of the Rev. C. Parkin, Blomfield's

contributor, who died the 27th of August 1765. This valuable manuscript, Richards describes as being "now in the possession of our venerable townsman Thomas Day," who obligingly favoured him with the use of it. His historical essay has been severely criticised, sometimes by those who, placed amid like surroundings, could never have produced one half as good. The style is characterised as dogmatic; the greater part of the matter is described as irrelevant and unnecessary, and the book, as a whole, is condemned because lacking historical proportion and literary finish. Notwithstanding all the derogatory remarks which have been made, after ninety years, it remains to-day the standard work. Aspiring antiquaries have specialised this, that, and the other, but none as yet have, even with a basis to build upon, given us a work which will compare with that of the unfortunate Baptist minister.*

For many years Richards lived in a house opposite the *Bird in Hand*, Norfolk Street.† Here, too, he died the 13th of September 1818, and was buried beside "his beloved spouse" in the graveyard of the General Baptists, Deadman's Lane (now Church Street), Wisbech.‡ The present Wesleyan Sunday School, built on piers, is above this almost forgotten graveyard. Around the walls of the hidden enclosure, several headstones are arranged—the latest bearing the year 1844. The one recording the death of the historian of Lynn is not to be found; the epitaph is, however, preserved in Evan's *Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Rev. W. Richards* (1819). The book also contains a portrait.

19TH CENTURY TOKENS.

Owing to a dearth of coins, tokens were again struck by private persons. This, the last batch, may be divided into three series; the first, silver tokens, struck in 1811 and prohibited in 1813; the second, two-penny pieces, pence and half-pence, which may be regarded as a continuation of the 18th century's series (none were made for Lynn), and the third, consisting of farthings and half-pence. The last Norfolk tokens were struck in 1852; since then private tokens have not been needed, the Government having supplied a plentiful issue of copper and bronze.

Silver tokens (1811-12).

- (1). O. (obverse): A £1 NOTE AND I.S. WILL BE PAID FOR 14 OF THESE BY I. HEDLEY LYNN [INNER CIRCLE] OR AT H. MORGAN'S TOKEN AND BULLION OFFICE IN LONDON in a garter on which is DOLLAR SILVER. In the field the Arms of Lynn.
R. (reverse): A wreath of oak leaves, within which is—DOLLAR SILVER TOKEN IS. 6D. Below H.M.
- (2). O: FOR THE ACCOMMODATION OF TRADE [in the field] SILVER TOKEN STAMP OFFICE, KING'S LYNN 1811.
R: ISSUED BY ROYAL LICENCE—ONE SHILLING VALUE. H.M.

* *History of Lynn*, etc., in two volumes, pp. 1216, printed by W. G. Whittingham, Lynn, was published in monthly parts: "demi 8vo" (4½ by 8¼ inches), boards £1/11/6; and royal 8vo, hot-pressed with proof impressions of plates £3/3. (1812).

† Derived either from the crest of some family—a hand holding a falcon, or from the proverb:—
"A bird in hand is better far
Than two that in the bushes are."

‡ Richards lived in two tenements, both in the Kettle Well ward; in 1796 his assessment was £8, in 1801 it was £4/16/-.

(3). A variety of the above.

R: ONE SHILLING VALUE. H.M. (four lines in the field) wreathed with leaves; outer circle beaded.

(4). O: A ONE POUND NOTE WILL BE PAID BY I. HEDLEY STAMP OFFICE LYNN FOR 40 OF THESE 1811 (in eight lines).

R: SIX PENNY TOKEN H.M. (within an oak wreath).

Hedley appears to have coöperated with other issuers at Mansfield &c.

(5). O: A POUND NOTE WILL BE PAID FOR 20 OF THESE—PAYABLE BY E. DAWSON MANSFIELD W. JERREMS GAINSBOROUGH I. HEDLEY LYNN NORFOLK & H. MORGAN LONDON 1812.

R: SILVER TOKEN FOR XII. PENCE—the Arms of Bristol surrounded by a garter, inscribed thereon—DOLLAR SILVER.

Lynn had in circulation 1/6 and 1/- (of dollar silver) besides 1/- and 6d. (silver) tokens.

Copper tokens (1839-52).

O: W. ROBERTS TEA DEALER NO. 1. TUESDAY MARKET LYNN.

R: EXHIBITION PALACE LONDON 1851. A view of the Exhibition.

THE OPEN DOOR.

In the old coaching days, hostelries at the entrances of towns were welcome acquisitions. To provide these conveniences, our Corporation leased two pieces of land conditionally at a low rental. The first, south of the East Gates (1 rood 22 pls.), was leased for 50 years to Edward Everard, brewer, of Baker Lane, at £3 per annum, provided he built thereon a substantial dwelling house, which, upon the expiry of the agreement, was to become municipal property (1800). He erected an ale-house known as the *Hob in the Well*,* which reverted to the Mayor and Burgesses in 1850. It was recently leased to the Morgan Brewery Company for 10 years at a yearly rent of £42 (1896). The second, a larger plot (3 roods 20 pls), east of the South Gates, was leased upon similar conditions to Thomas Allen, brewer of St. Anne's Street (1803), who accordingly built the *Crown Inn*; his lease expiring in 1853. This house was lately leased by the Corporation to Mr. George Archdale (1896) for 7 years at an annual rental of £47.

THE JUBILEE YEAR

of the King's reign was solemnised "with the greatest hilarity and exultation. As if," added the local historian, "the commencement of this reign had been the introduction of the millenium itself." In 1788, on the King's recovery, our town was tastefully illuminated and "exhibited the most unequivocal tokens of its joy and demonstrations of loyalty" (1809).

* Colley Cibber (1691-1757) wrote a play entitled *Hob in the Wel*, otherwise *Hob or the Country Wake* (1715), which held the stage for some time, and was occasionally produced at the Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres, at the end of the 18th century.

Mrs. Delany writes, when describing her introduction to Mr. Alexander Pendraves, her future husband,—"I expected to have seen somebody with an appearance of a gentleman, when poor, old, dripping—almost drowned Gronio was brought into the room like *Hob out of the Well*," (*Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville (Mrs. Delany)*. 1861; Vol. I., p. 23.)

A humorous illustrated poem—*Hob in the Well or the Equivarian Outwitted* (duodecimo) was published in 1790. Hob, an amorous swain, outwitted the sour guardian of some sweet Dulcinea by secreting himself in a well.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Gates of Commerce.

PARLIAMENTARY RESUME.

HORATIO WALPOLE (the eldest son of Horatio Walpole (7), the distinguished Privy Councillor, Sir John Turner, of Lynn and William Folkes, Esq., of Hillington, were engaged in a triangular contest for the two seats of our borough (29th June 1747). A contemporary writer declares the election was "as violent as any where the affair was not carried to bloodshed. . . Here were nothing," he goes on, "but men and women and children, old men especially, wallowing about the streets"—but we refrain from sullyng these pages with a description of such Hogarthian orgies.* As Walpole's return was inevitable, the contest was in reality between two of the trio. At a cost of £2,000 each, the following results were obtained:—Walpole 199, Turner 184, and Folkes 131.

After having represented the borough ten years, Horatio Walpole (8) was called to the Upper House as Baron Walpole of Wolterton, and was succeeded by his cousin, Horace Walpole (6), the 24th of February 1757, who writing to his friend, George Montagu, draws a vivid picture of his next election (27th March 1761).

Think of me (he exclaims), the subject of a mob, who was scarce ever before in a mob, addressing them in the Town Hall, riding at the head of two thousand people through such a town as Lynn, dining with above two hundred of them amid bumpers, huzzas, songs and tobacco, and finishing with country dancing at a ball and sixpenny whisk. I have borne it all cheerfully; nay, have sat hours in conversation, the thing upon earth that I hate; have been to hear misses play on the harpsichord and to see an alderman's copies of Rubens and Carlo Marat. Yet to do the folks justice they are sensible and reasonable and civilized; their very language is polished since I lived among them. . . . I forgot to tell you that my ancient aunt Hammond came over to Lynn to see me, not from any affection, but curiosity. The first thing she said to me, though we have not met these sixteen years, was, 'Child, you have done a thing to-day that your father never did in all his life: you sat as they carried you. He always stood the whole time.' 'Madam,' said I, 'when I am placed in a [sedan] chair I conclude I am to sit in it; besides, as I cannot imitate my father in great things, I am not at all ambitious of mimicking him in little ones.

In 1767, Horace Walpole, whom Macaulay estimates as "the most eccentric, the most fastidious, and the most capricious of men," addressed "a masculine epistle" to Charles Turner, the mayor, announcing his intention of retiring from parliament. In consequence of "ministerial corruption," which he feared would end in the ruin of the constitution and country, he anticipated a warm contest. During a parliamentary career of five-and-twenty years, he had never, he affirmed, asked nor received a personal favour from any minister, but had always been guided by the principle of the Revolution, which placed the present family upon the throne, and finally (anxious to preserve the peace of the town, honourably represented by him in two parliaments, without offering or being asked for the smallest gratification by any of his constituents), he now proposed

* The curious will find a vivid account of these disgraceful scenes in Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. II., pp. 248-52.

to retire into private life. Writing on the eve of the impending election to Montagu, he moralises thus:—

The comfort I feel in sitting peacefully here [in his house in Arlington Street] instead of being at Lynn in the high fever of a contested election, what best would end in my being carried about that large town, like a figure of a pope at a bonfire, is very great. I do not think when that function is over, that I shall repent my resolution. What could I see, but sons and grandsons playing over the same knaveries, that I have seen their fathers and grandfathers act. (12th March 1768.)

Thus the great virtuoso surrendered himself to the seductive influences of literature and art. Through the death of his nephew, the title of Orford—"the unwished and sad bequest of an expiring lineage," reverted to him, when he was seventy-four years of age (1791).

At the next general election Sir Thomas Walpole (9), the uncle of the retiring member, came forward, "with the approbation and consent of all his family," to accept what was regarded as an entailed seat. In an address issued the 18th of March 1767, he pledged himself to nothing; but trusted to his steady adherence to public principles for success. A contest was inevitable, the other candidates being Sir John Turner, and Crisp Molineux, of Garboldisham, near East Harling.

The legality or otherwise of "general warrants" was the political hobby-horse trotted out on this occasion. The last warrant, for the apprehension of suspected persons, without the naming of any particular individual, was that, by virtue of which Wilkes was committed to the Tower (30th April 1763) for his attack on the King's speech, as published in the *North Briton*." "This warrant is unconstitutional, illegal, and absolutely void," observed Lord Camden, when charging the jury, "it is a *general* warrant, directed to four messengers to take up any person without naming or describing them, together with their papers" (6th December 1763). Walpole and Turner,—

Who'll tell you *general warrants* are mistaken;
They're constitutional and useful things
To make good subjects and good British kings,

were in favour of such Star Chamber proceedings, whilst Molineux doggedly opposed these unjust measures. A vigorous canvass, pursued by each party, lasted from the day of nomination (8th October 1767) until the election (21st March 1768).

Now at this time there lived in the town an ex-clergyman named Richard Gardiner (1723-81), better perhaps known as "Dick Merry-fellow," who is described as "a parson, poet, grenadier, but above all things, a pamphleteer and scurrilous at that." Espousing "the country interest," he employed his leisure in promoting the cause of liberty and the candidature of Molineux. Walpole's success was a foregone conclusion, but the fate of Turner depended upon the turn of the political scales, because during the mayoralty of John Cary, copies of the obnoxious *warrant* had been publicly burnt by one section of the *burgesses* (1765).

Preserved in the *Lynn Magazine*, a collection of election literature published by Gardiner (1768), is one of the topical songs, sung by Walpole's supporters at the *Crown* tavern (25th February 1768). The imagination of the reader must conjure up the boisterous trolling of the words:—

Come fill up a bumper, and round let us stand;
 Old England's our toast, take your glasses in hand—
 May loyalty, liberty, flourish in Lynn
 And a Walpole, a Walpole for ever be in.
 Hearts of oak are we still and true honest men,
 We always are ready,
 Steady, boys, steady,
 And a Walpole, a Walpole shall ever be in!

How forcefully *Merryfellow's* forecast reminds one of the late Frank Lockwood's "Borough Steeplechase" (1881). It stands thus:—

Compare with list of horses and colours of riders which entered for the town-plate at Lynn Regis in Norfolk, on Monday March 21, 1768, rode by gentlemen:—

Mr. Walpole's pye-bald colt No-BODY.	J. D—e, rider in black and yellow	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1st.
Sir John Turner's beautiful Highland Poney GENERAL WARRANTS.	C. T., rider in black-and-all-black	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2nd.
General Molineux's bright bay horse LIBERTY.	J. F., rider in blue and orange	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	dist.

General Warrants took the lead and went off at three-quarter speed, but pulled up upon perceiving *Liberty* lying by; and *No-body* appeared to be double-distanced at first starting, having no legs to run upon; in the middle of the heat, the odds against *No-body* were ten to one, and soon after an hundred to one, when all on a sudden *Liberty* stopp'd running, suffered *No-body* to pass by him and walked over the course the remainder of the heat to the great mortification of the whole company present and the knowing-ones were completely taken in! *General Warrants*, observing *Liberty* to give up running, permitted the colt to slip by him too; the rider knowing his master as well as himself had a regard for *No-body*. NB.—Many were of opinion the winning horse owed his success to his rider only.

There were 312 voters, and the numbers—Walpole 200, Turner 174, and Molineux 159, shew the prediction was realized, for the third was out-distanced! This, we are assured, was owing to "the bribing exertions" of an eminent merchant, who spent over £2,000.

"Dick Merryfellow" gives a humorous version of Sir William Browne's speech on the day of the election:—

Mr. Partridge (the recorder) was seconded by Sir William Browne, whose rhetoric was amazing; if the Recorder's usual eloquence surprised the audience Sir William's transported them beyond all bounds. His tropes, his figures and metaphors were birds of passage, perfectly at his command; they flew and flapped and flapped and flew from bench to table, from table to bench and so round the hall; now here, now there, that everybody had them, though none could hold them: Natural interest—Liberty—Joe Sparks—now Folkes, now Turner—Such a transition! such volubility of prancing periods! such a variety of beautiful inconsistencies! such a sweet reconciliation of jarring sounds! (all true music being built on discord) such a swelling majesty of language, uttered from a voice so perfectly harmonious, and from lungs so irrepressibly strong, charmed his hearers to a pitch of exquisite delight, so that not a single Common-council-man or Alderman was free from agitation; everybody and every part of a body was in action; nods, winks, noses, fingers, toes, eyes and tongues, marking applause and admiration wonderful!

It is interesting to note how voters in the shape of freemen were manufactured whenever there were rumours of an approaching election. Five well-qualified voters were turned out in 1766, and twenty-three in 1767. During the next year, six were enrolled the 13th of February, and thirteen two days later. After the election (21st March) there was a serious decline in the municipal output. One only was admitted the 11th of June, and one only on the 29th of August. For some occult reason the Corporation refused to grant William Peacock, junior, his freedom (15th February 1768). Shall we speculate and say he, as "a friend of freedom," was averse to general warrants? The result was a mandamus, which the mayor and his coadjutors answered at the Court of King's Bench.

Sir John Turner did not long retain the position, for which he was peculiarly unsuited. At the next election, Thomas Walpole (9) and Crisp Molineux were returned (18th October 1774). A mock heroic poem, inscribed to the inhabitants, and entitled—*The Coal-heavers*, was published this year.

Another notable election happened, when the Hon. Horatio Walpole (10), Crisp Molineux, Esq., and B. P. Fountaine, Esq., of Narford, were candidates. The contest caused much vindictive feeling. Those who supported Fountaine, suffered considerably, either at the hands of the annoyed aristocracy or a spiteful Corporation, who did not hesitate to deprive the tenants, who displeased them, of their holdings. The list of freemen shews how preparatory measures were taken, by the Corporation, to secure the return of their men: in 1782 four, in 1783 eight—but in 1784 as many as thirty-nine freemen were manufactured! The bestowal of parliamentary favours was most gratifying: Fountaine was defeated! There were 207 voters, the result being Walpole 151, Molineux 136, and Fountaine 72. Walpole continued member, until summoned to the House of Lords, on the death of his father (1809).

To celebrate the return of Sir Martin Browne Felkes (18th June 1818) a grand festival was held at Reffley. A large pavilion was erected near the renowned chalybeate spring, and the entertainment (for which, the mayor, George Hogge, supplied utensils) was successfully carried out by Messrs. Andrews and Middleton. Sir Martin, owner of the soil, patron of "the Spring" and the re-elected member, was present at the rustic board, over which the loquacious Mr. Marshall presided. Huge jorums of most delectable punch were concocted with magical spring water, and whilst political perplexities were studiously avoided, "the sons of Reffley" enjoyed a "feast of nectar'd sweets." Can you not hear the harmonious rhythm of Arne's cantata "for voices and strings," and peering through the interlacing foliage, can you not see "the grand high priest" arrayed in his Druidic garb, holding aloft the massive silver goblet, whilst adown the dim aisles of that sylvan retreat floats the captivating refrain of the dedicatory recitative:—

To Reffley's bright deities swell the glad strain,
Still Reffley's delights be the theme;
Whilst Reffley flows on may that pleasure remain,
And ours be the sweets of the stream.

LOCAL ACTS.

Concerning the Eau Brink.

1795. 35th George III., c. 77. For improving the drainage of the Middle and South Levels, also the land adjoining the River Ouse; for improving the navigation of the Ouse from Eau Brink (Wiggenhall St. Mary) to the Lynn harbour.
- 1796-7. 36th George III., c. 33. To extend the previous Act.
- 1805-6. 45th " " c. 72. To explain and modify the above.
- 1816-7. 56th " " c. 38. For amending the above Acts.
- 1818-9. 58th " " c. 48. For increasing the funds for carrying out the Acts,
- 1819-20. 59th George III., c. 79. To enlarge and alter the powers of the foregoing Acts.

*Turnpike Acts.**East Gate Roads:*

1770. 10th George III., c. 86. } For repairing the road from the East Gates to
1791. 31st " " c. 113. } the north end of Babingley Lane and extending
1811. 51st " " c. 117. } it to Dersingham, etc.
1831. 1st and 2nd William IV., c. 21. The repeal of the above Acts with provisions for making a new road at Castle Rising.

South Gate Roads:

1770. 10th George III., c. 85. } For repairing the road from the South Gates to
1791. 31st " " c. 112. } East Walton, etc.
1811. 51st " " c. 117. }
1831. 1st and 2nd William IV., c. 20. The above Acts were repealed, but the latter Act was continued (25th and 26th Victoria, c. 72).
1765. 5th George III., c. 101. } Provision for making a road between Lynn and
1786. 26th " " c. 127. } Wisbech.
- 1806-7. 47th " " c. 26. }
1823. 4th George IV., c. 55. Repeal of above Acts.

General Improvement.

- 1603-4. 43rd George III., c. 37. For holding the Saturday and Beast Market in a more convenient place, and for paving, lighting, watching and improving the borough. The Beast Market in Paradise was opened in 1826.
- 1806-7. 46th George III., c. 21. For amending and increasing the powers of the above Act.
1808. 48th George III., c. 22. Enlarging the powers of the Act of 1701 for the erecting of workhouses: the limit of the rateable value of owners fixed at £8.

Navigation, etc.

- 1770-1. 10th George III. Enlarging the powers of the Act of 1751-2, respecting the navigation of the River Nar.
- 1772-3. 12th George III. For the better regulation of the pilots, and also of bridgemen conducting gangs of lighters or barges; for placing moorings and preserving the port from fires, etc.

Small Debts.

1770. 10th George III. For facilitating the recovery of small debts.

The last measure did not do much good, because during the twenty years ending 1818, nearly 2,300 persons were committed to prison in this county for debt—1,265 in the rural parts, 512 at Norwich, 292 at Yarmouth, and nearly as many at Lynn.

THE PORT AND ITS TRADE.

At the beginning of the 13th century, our town held an enviable position, paying as much as 13.14 per cent. of the entire duty levied upon traders. It was then fourth among the ports of the kingdom. London paid 16.86 per cent., Boston 15.75 per cent., Southampton 14.36 per cent. and Newcastle 3.9 per cent. (1205). From this period, dates a gradual and irresistible decline in its commercial importance. When Edward III. summoned the ports to provide a fleet to assist at the siege of Calais (1347), Lynn occupied the 10th place in the list. Of 14,956 men, Yarmouth supplied 1,095, whilst of the vessels employed in the expedition 47 were equipped at Fowey—the greatest number in each case.*

Yarmouth	1st	43 ships	1,095 men
London	4th	25 "	662 "
LYNN	10th	16 "	482 "

Later times witnessed a marvellous expansion of the nation's business; our port, however, not keeping pace, unconsciously lagged behind. Lord Burleigh included Lynn among the ports which were "manifestly decayed" (1598); and Sir Henry Spelman incidentally refers to its deplorable mercantile condition. "When I was young," he says, "there was in Lynn, some men of great worth as Killingtree, Hoe, Baker and Waters, and, *as at this day there is little shipping*, so there is not a man among them of any estimation or wealth" (1632). Moreover, writing at a much later date, Mrs. A. S. Green designates Lynn, "the city of dead merchants" (1894).

At the commencement of the 18th century the chief ports were London, Bristol, Newcastle, Yarmouth, Liverpool, Hull, Exeter and Scarborough.

		Vessels.	Men.	Tonnage.
London	1st	560	10,065	84,882
Yarmouth	4th	143	668	9,914
Scarborough	9th	100	606	6,860

But Lynn not then possessing 100 vessels, ranks somewhere below Scarborough (1702).

A similar comparison at the beginning of the 19th century places Lynn 20th among ports owning an aggregate of more than ten thousand tons (1800).

		Vessels.	Men.	Tonnage.
London	1st	2,666	41,402	568,262
Yarmouth	9th	375	2,442	32,957
LYNN	20th	119	769	12,639
Total for 26 ports:		15,356	123,977	1,682,405

* See "The Growth of our Sea-ports" by Joseph Ackland, *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. XLII., pp. 411-2. (1897).

The statistics for Lynn yield these interesting particulars :—The average tonnage per vessel 106.2 ; the average number of men per ship 6.5, and our percentage of the national tonnage 0.8. Mr. Joseph Ackland suggests that the advancing ports cultivated an ocean trade, whilst the declining ones confined themselves to coasting and fishing. The truth of this may be generally admitted ; it was not, however, entirely true of Lynn. Because, though ranking as 10th and the 20th on the list, its annual duties exceeded those of all the English ports, excepting those of London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull.

With a slowly declining trade, the princely descendants of the venturesome merchants, who settled upon this tempting foreshore, were silently passing away—to other spheres, spheres either commercial or celestial. To the graphic pen of the historian we are not wholly indebted for our knowledge of their prosperity and greatness and power, because many of the architectural beauties of their palatial residences still relieve the dull monotony of our narrow, winding streets. The massive wall of Dutch brick, with its “Flemish bond,” the expansive all-embracing roof of flat tile, the timbered gable, the over-hanging storey, the dormer window with its quaint lattice, the bold portico with its carved door and twisted pillars, leading to the cool, sequestered courtyard, even the cistern heads, the architraves of the windows and the iron scroll work of the gates are inordinately artistic and proclaim not the wealth merely, but the individuality of the forgotten owner. Peep through the main entrance and behold the lofty *belvedere* or “look-out,” from whence the freighted argosies might have been seen, wending an intricate course towards the convenient staith which flanked the spacious granary. And then what grand interiors ! No sham veneer, but throughout be it beam, pilaster, door or cupboard—solid oak ! The walls, draped with the choicest of foreign tapestries, or covered with gold-embossed leather. And the broad, open fireplaces with their “over-mantels” so chaste, and yet how ornate the design !

In their insouciant simplicity, the occupiers of these glorious mansions saw nothing despicable in what they bought or sold. Conscious were they, that coals were “dirty,” that weevils infested grain, and that tallow was offensive to the smell ; and had you mentioned these natural concomitants, they would willingly have explained how inseparable one was from the other. Unacquainted with Matthew Arnold and the Philistines of whom he wrote, and sublimely unconscious of an approaching Age of Shams, they knew they were traders, pure and simple—and they were not ashamed. Cassim’s futile invocation before the enchanted cave, was to them a powerful and effective *sesame* : let them but whisper “Open wheat” or “Open barley” and the impregnable doors of an almost omnipotent Corporation would roll back, and ere long they would find themselves complacently standing upon the topmost rung of the social ladder !

Before the advent of railroads, the Ouse constituted an admirable means of communication with the midlands. Seven counties were then indeed dependent upon Lynn for their supply of coal, salt, wine,

and various miscellaneous goods, imported chiefly from the Low Countries. Since the decline of the woollen manufacture in East Anglia and the cessation of the war in Scotland, the character of our coasting trade had considerably altered. Coal was shipped from Newcastle, wines from the Low Countries, Spain and Bordeaux, brandy from France, timber from Russia and North America, cork from Portugal, tallow from Russia, bricks and tiles from Rotterdam, and salt from Lymington, in Hampshire. In return for the goods delivered inland, the port received vast quantities of corn, produced in the surrounding district. It exported more corn than any port, except Hull. Sand from the neighbourhood was sent to Newcastle and Sunderland for the manufacture of glass.

The following tables, shewing the average number of ships arriving and discharging cargoes, compiled for seven years, ending the 5th of January 1794, are from statistics signed by Samuel Lane the collector, and Robert Jeary the controller of customs.

(1) CARGOES ARRIVED AND DISCHARGED FROM FOREIGN PARTS.

Commodities:—	Ships belonging to	
	Lynn	other ports.
Timber, deals and other raft goods:	31.0	27.4
Hemp and iron:	7.2	0.7
Wine:	10.7	1.5
Rape cakes, seeds and other miscellaneous articles:	11.1	10.1
Greenland whaleoil:	4.5	0.0

(2) CARGOES ARRIVED AND DISCHARGED COASTWISE.

Coal:	635.7	216.1
Salt:	7.5	3.1
Grocery and other miscellaneous articles by constant traders:	58.4	20.4
Corn, seeds, etc.:	4.1	41.7
Stones and slates:	1.1	15.1
Oil cake:	4.1	8.5
Brick, tiles and clay:	1.1	2.5
Iron, timber, planks, etc.:	1.1	0.5
Bottles:	0.0	0.1
Wool:	7.0	1.0

The average number of vessels belonging to Lynn, including 24 registered fishing smacks and pilot sloops (Act, 26th George III., c. 60) was 147.7; of these 56.2 were built in Lynn, whilst the other 91.5 were built elsewhere.

(1) THE CORN TRADE

was considerable, Lynn being not only the second corn port on the eastern seaboard, but the most important in all England, if London, Bristol, Newcastle and Hull be disregarded. Nathaniel Kent gives the yearly averages (for three years, ending 1795 or '6) exported to foreign parts and coastwise.

Cereals :	Quarters.	Per Qr.	Total.
Wheat	30,016	£2 : 4	£66,035 : 4
Wheat flour	3,138	2 : 16	8,786 : 8
Barley	112,944	1 : 4	135,532 : 16
Malt	10,703	2 : 0	21,406 : 0
Rye	12,298	1 : 5	15,372 : 10
Pease	3,855	1 : 8	5,397 : 0
Beans	4,708	1 : 4	5,649 : 12
Vetches	73	1 : 10	109 : 10
Rape Seed	2,425	1 : 16	4,361 : 8

The excess of linseed imported is about equal to the mustard seed exported.	}	£262,650 : 8
From which take for 4,991 qrs. of oats imported more than were exported at 17/ per quarter		4,244 : 1
		<u>£258,406 : 7</u>

In connection with the corn trade the Corporation had a serious lawsuit. Mr. Carr, of Massingham, brought an action to compel the town to scour the fleet, from Salter's sluice as far as Littleport bridge. Carr, having granaries near the bridge, had suffered through the silting up of the waterway. The Corporation, losing their case, through the perjury, as it was said, of a witness, were compelled to open the fleet (1769).

(2) THE WINE TRADE.

During the 16th century the Common Staith was greatly improved; the rotten staging was replaced by a durable brick wall, extending from the ferry steps to Pudding (afterwards Water) Lane (1545); the street in front of the *old* Custom House, in the market-place, and lane, leading to the Staith, were repaved (1580); a new warehouse was erected on the south of the Staith Yard (1582), whilst the warehouse on the north was repaired (1587); a new toll house moreover was built the same year near the river, where officers attended to receive the town dues.

The man in the street with his proverbial omniscience pursues his way totally ignorant of many a dark, vaulted passage beneath his feet. Centuries before our brewers sent beer to the Baltic ports and the Low Countries, the importation of wine was considerable; our records indeed would furnish the diligent student with a capital wine list. About 259,560 gallons were imported in 1771, and 332,560 gallons in 1801, but the quantity decreased to about 126,000 gallons in 1845.

UNDERGROUND LYNN.

Mackerell speaks of "the fine vaults for wines and liquors in the Common Staith yard" and the "spacious vaults" of the Purfleet quay. Grain and other commodities were stored in large granaries, whilst the cool cellars beneath were reserved for tuns of mellow liquor and pipes of luscious vintage. The town skirting the haven is honey-combed with underground storehouses.

Whilst workmen were repairing a drain at the bonding vault in the occupation of Messrs. Nelson and Collier, at the back of the late I. O. Smeatham's office, large cellars were discovered behind the Bank House (October 1870). Though reported in the local press, the tenants were unconscious of their existence until they were re-discovered (January 1904), when an opening was dug for a down-spout. Beneath the garden and stables are three parallel vaults, running from east to west; their respective measurements being 52 by 18 feet, 53 by 18 feet, and 37 by 18 feet. Between the first and second, and the second and third are arched doorways, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. The vaulting is of brick and the same throughout—9 feet high (radius). The total area covers 284 square yards.

There is a vault too, under the eastern end of the 14th century building in "Bank Lane," its entrance being to the left of "the triple arcade." The area amounts to about 100 square yards, 43 by 21 feet; the vaulting is of brick about 9 feet high. An arched passage, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, led either to the water or to the three cellars just described.

The entrance of the T-shaped Bonding Vault No. 5 is on the Purfleet quay, facing the south. The stem, 36 by 20 feet, runs from south to north; the branch running *eastward*, 58 by 18 feet, is connected with another cellar (14 by 15 feet) at the eastern extremity; whilst the *western* branch measures 67 by 19 feet. This gives an entire stretch of 160 feet, with a superficial area of 360 yards.

Side by side with No. 5 are two other long cellars, constituting the No. 12 Bonding Vault. The entrance, on the same quay, faces the west. The *southern* range is in three sections (42, 48 and 63 feet in length by 19 feet); whilst the *northern* range, also running from east to west, now measures 90 by 19 feet, but appears to have stretched some 50 feet beneath the house built by George Hogge in 1741. These two ranges are joined by two smaller arched vaults, each 22 by 19 feet, running from south to north. The whole area is about 586 square yards.

Other vaults might be enumerated, e.g., the 15th century vault in the Saturday market, that of the 14th century under William Clifton's House, Queen Street, and the bonding vault from the river to St. George's Hall. A bricked-up bonding vault is known to exist beneath the row of houses on the east of the King's Staith.

(3) THE COAL TRADE.

The tax upon all "sea-borne coal" caused great vexation in some of the manufacturing districts. Whilst those of the midlands escaped payment because their supply did not come through any port, the manufacturers of Norwich receiving coal *via* Lynn or Yarmouth were liable to the tax. In 1818, the coal tax increased the nation's revenue about £840,000. To this amount, Norfolk contributed £70,000. Of the Norfolk ports, Lynn stands first, paying £36,106; then follow Yarmouth £27,782, Wells £3,595 and Blakeney with Cley £3,160. The dissatisfaction was so great, that the Act was repealed.

A COMMERCIAL SIDELIGHT.

Having completed a six-year apprenticeship with William Allen, a Lynn merchant, Thomas Wale (1701-96) was sent to represent his employer in Riga (1724). In course of time, Wale became a successful merchant. Returning to England in 1776, the Anglo-Russian trader enjoyed a tour through Norfolk. From Hillington, he proceeded to Lynn. On the 29th of May he dined at home, that is, at the *Duke's Head*, where he was staying, with Edmund Elsdon (1721-93), and "young Bagge"; they drank tea with Maxey Allen and his "lady" and then after a stroll "to the post and all round by the walks," they adjourned for supper at "our inn." The next day, Wale chatted with Messrs. Robert Freeman, Sam Brown and his brother, whose vessel was then bound for Riga; he was conducted by Mr. Gamble over Everard's brewery, in Baker Lane. Wale was astonished, not only at the prodigious quantity of beer and ale, but the brandy stored in a large warehouse; he specially mentions three immense "flats" (vats) which contained upwards of 200 barrels apiece. After preliminary inquiries Mr. Everard agreed to send 50 or more casks of his pale ale—"like Burton ale, nicely good"—and 25 casks of porter to the Wale's emporium at Riga, being very pleased with the profit derived from his last year's sale. [*My Grandfather's Pocket-book*, by the Rev. H. J. Wale, M.A., 1883.]

Nine years later a much larger vat was completed. Let a contemporary diarist describe the event: "Old Everard's mash vat finished (Thursday, 8th September 1785). Thirty-seven dined in it. Two legs of mutton, a large piece of beef, two plum puddings, and all the ale that could be drunk. Loyal health and toasts. Richard Sly" [subsequently organist at St. Margaret's] "came and played several country dances. Four couples danced well, with about fifty people, all in the mash vat at the same time."

OUR CHURCHES.

(1) ST. MARGARET'S.

Considerable ecclesiastical alterations were undertaken during this reign. The chancel ceiling of St. Margaret's church was in so ruinous a state as to endanger the lives of the worshippers. Moreover, the steeple has been damaged by a terrific storm (20th June 1772), full particulars of which are preserved in a manuscript by Robert Hamilton, M.D., of Lynn ("Colman's Collection, Norwich"). Various alterations were effected. The south-west tower was raised as high as the bell tower, and pinnacles of "crocketed stone" were placed thereon, whilst the flat roof was covered with lead (1773), the work being done by Messrs. Brown and Anderson (£214 10s.). The other tower was also repaired at a cost of £70 (1778). It was also decided to erect two galleries; the north was completed first. According to a preconceived scheme, the new pews were divided into four classes—the first, excellent position and luxuriously comfortable, estimated to be worth £25 each; the second, similar attractions though in a less degree, £15; the third, equally easy, though somewhat in the shade of retirement, £8; and the fourth, like the third,

but, in one particular, more so, £7. On Monday the 13th of May 1765, the "subscribers," or to be scrupulously exact, the purchasers (for the sittings could be legally sold and assigned to those living in the parish) drew lots for the pews in the various classes. The whole amount realised was £324. A similar ecclesiastical lottery was conducted when eight new pews were sold under the arch at the east end; they were "put up for sale" at £4 each (10th November 1766). Here is a *verbatim* copy of the conditions of the next "deal."*

March 1793.
Parish of St. Margaret } A Meeting of the Parishioners on Monday the Eighteenth
in King's Lynn in } day of March 1793, pursuant to Notice publicly given
Norfolk. } in Church, on Sunday last, for the purpose—

Agreed and Ordered that the Gallery to be built on the South Side of St. Margaret's Church under the directions of the Churchwardens shall be built by subscription of the householders of the parish.

That this Gallery be divided into four classes of Seats, as the Gallery on the North Side.

That any householder, having a seat in the church, shall not subscribe to the first, second or third classes.

That any householder, who shall draw a Chance in the first class shall not be allowed to enter his or her name in the second or third class, except such class shall not be full, but may in the fourth.

That any householder, who shall draw a Chance in the second class, shall not enter his or her name in the third class, except as before, but that any householder of the parish shall have liberty to take a Chance in the fourth class.

That as soon as the churchwardens shall have ascertained the expense of the building (of) the said Gallery, they shall set the Price of each seat and give ten days' public notice of a meeting to be holden of such subscribers' drawing their Lots, And such subscribers are in the meantime to give in their names to the churchwardens.

That the churchwardens do make Application, in the proper Ecclesiastical Court, for a licence or Faculty to empower them to build such a Gallery as aforesaid.

That the churchwardens shall under the Faculty to be obtained allot the respective seats to the persons, who shall obtain them by Lot and not to any other, And that a clause shall be added to the Deed or Instrument of Allotment, that no person shall let any seat for gain, Nor sell or transfer any seat at any sum than the Original price paid for it.

Geo. Johnson } Church-
Edwd Rolfe Elsdon } Wardens.

Coll'r Matland
Charles Newman
James Jex
(etc.)

A total amount of £458 was thus obtained—four sittings at £35, four at £20, two at 15, six at £13, two at £11, two at £10, eight at £9 and two at £8 each.

A new burial ground had been for some time most urgently needed, hence the parishioners claimed a piece of ground called Paradise Garden, held by the Corporation. Harvey Goodwin the minister's warden and John Dixon were chosen to investigate the right of ownership. Their efforts on behalf of the parishioners were abortive (1803). A field adjacent to St. James' workhouse was, however, obtained, for which the parish paid the Corporation a yearly

* Two galleries were erected in 1723 on the sides of the organ loft, with projections for two particular families (Richards).

rent of £10. After an outlay of £697 14s. 2d. the new burial ground and chapel (opposite the Lancastrian school) were consecrated (1805).

(2) ST. NICHOLAS'.

As the tall, wooden spire was in "a perfect bad state of repair," it was agreed to invest in a new, though less pretentious one. The squat tower should be raised 25 feet, exclusive of parapet, wall and pinnacles. The necessary £500 was borrowed upon lives of 50 years and upwards. By arrangement, one moiety of the interest was paid out of the income from the chapel estate and the other from the rates (1770).

A piece of land (72 by 60 feet) to the north-east of the chapel, purchased of David Paxton's widow for £38, was added to the graveyard (1778). It was enclosed with a wall (£38 16s. 4d). What is termed "an extraordinary workmen's bill" (£566 4s. 7½d.) was paid for mending the leading and woodwork of the main roof (1783-4). In 1800, the whole chapel yard was enclosed at a cost of £293 11s. 11d., including William Cooper's bill of £71 14s. 4d. for iron gates, etc.

(3) ALL SAINTS'.

The tower, which contained "five tunable bells," fell towards the end of 1763. It was 82 feet high to the battlements and 112 feet to the vane; and was groined inside with stone principals, like that of St. Nicholas' at Gayton. The owners and occupiers of land in the parish were called together to consider what should be done. They met at the *Crown* on the 23rd of April and the 1st of June; at the *Fleece* on the 20th of June 1764, and again at the *Crown*, when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were present (30th January 1765).

At the vestry meeting, it was unanimously resolved that two estimates should be obtained for building a new west end, either on the foundation of the east part of the old tower, or against the west pillars of the nave. Each estimate was to include the cost of a large door, a window above, and a turret for one bell. The casings of the door and window were to be of stone, whilst the rest was to be of the best Ely bricks at 24s. per thousand (22nd May 1764). A special rate brought in £360 in three years. The material sold for £172 17s. 3d. included five bells (£152 10s. 8d.), nine monumental brasses (27s.), stone and cobbles (£51 5s. 0d.) and old iron (£15 0s. 5d.). A large window was opened in the south aisle and glazed like the one opposite; and a window, to the west in the south aisle, was removed and the place bricked up (1793).

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTIONS.

Anticipating that the Quakers were about to withstand the demand for tithes, the Bishop of Norwich, acting in concert with other prelates, made inquiries through the Rev. Thomas Pyle, respecting the number of Quakers in Lynn and the neighbourhood. He also asked for particulars concerning those who had already been sued for non-payment (November 1737). "'Tis not to be doubted," writes Edmund Pyle, "but that the prosecutions will appear so trifling, that the lenity, the Quakers have been used with, will defeat their design."

A refusal to pay the church rate caused subsequent unpleasantness. The arrears of "the passive resisters" in 1753 were paid privately by a kind-hearted burgess, known as "J. R." The following defaulters are mentioned:—Mrs. Kett, Daniel Catlin, Richard Parkinson, John Horncastle, Robert Pursglove and George Gibbs (1754-7). Chosen overseer, but refusing to act, Samuel Horncastle was convicted and fined 20s. (1776). The meeting-houses belonging to the Baptists, Methodists and Calvinists were assessed, and 2s. 3d. each was demanded (1783-4); what happened we can surmise. The churchwarden was eventually forced to write the word "bad" (debt) against each. In 1796 two "new made quakers," Matthew Archer (5s.) and Richard Hunt (4s.) refused to pay, whilst — Reynolds, W. Russell, John Watling, and James Billing, captured by the French, were excused, as was Paul Unwin, then serving on board a man-of-war.

Coming to 1815, Mr. Smeatham received £1 16s. 8d. for summoning those in arrears under the Act for the Recovery of Church-rates (53rd George III., c. 127, s. 7). A rate at 8d. in the £ brought in £792 7s. 8d. (1840-1), when several persons appeared before the magistrates. These payments were made by the wardens of St. Margaret's parish:—

By magistrates' clerk's bill	£19/14/3	cash by officers	}	£15 : 2 : 3
on account £4/12/-	...	...
Steward's account...	...	...		100 : 0 : 0
Magistrates' Officer on/ac for distress	...	...		1 : 4 : 0½
Fred Lane, Esq.	...	...		37 : 9 : 6
Poundage on Collecting Arrears	...	...		5 : 10 : 8
" present rate	...	...		20 : 4 : 0
				<hr/> £179 : 10 : 5½ <hr/>

THE RISE OF METHODISM.

There are three typical forms of civil government, viz., Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy, each supposed to be best adapted to certain states of society; there are also three forms of Church government corresponding to these, which have their advocates and defenders, viz., the Episcopal, the Presbyterian and the Congregational, and these exist in various places with several modifications. Under each of these types varieties may exist, determined by differences of opinion respecting doctrine, ritual or both. There are three distinct schools of thought amongst the Episcopalians; Presbyterians are divided into Calvinists and Arminians; and Congregationalists are distinguished into Pædo-baptists and their opposites" (Mason).

The contest between the court or political party and the Puritans commenced during Elizabeth's reign. In Norfolk as many as sixty-four ministers were suspended and thus prevented from performing their duties. Robert Browne, the son of Anthony Browne of Tolethorpe, Rutlandshire, dissatisfied with the existing ecclesiastical arrangement, determined to found a church, strictly modelled upon New Testament lines, and hearing there were men of advanced thought in Norfolk, he visited the county. The result of his visit was the establishing in Norwich of the first regular Congregational Church (1580-1). The "Brownists," as the members of the new

dissenting sect were then called, maintained that each church ought to be invested with the power of internal self-government, thus dispensing with both episcopacy and presbyteries. At the onset the members were treated with great severity, "because they did not come to church, chapel, or any place of *Common Prayer*," and were repeatedly punished for not administering the sacrament according to the Book of Common Prayer. Through this long persecution, great numbers emigrated to America, but the principles for which they suffered gained the ascendancy during the Commonwealth. The Baptists suffered likewise, for they were, in all respects but *one*, similar to the Congregationalists; they adopted the same form of church government, but different in that they practised the baptism by immersion of believers only.

(1) CONGREGATIONALISM.

Hearing the Presbyterian meeting house at Lynn was closed, a certain person wrote to the principal of the Hoxton Academy, asking for a student to *supply* the pulpit during the midsummer vacation (1802). The application was unsuccessful, but on a renewal of the request, the Academy sent a minister, and the house, which seated 300, was soon filled (1803).

At the extinction of the Presbyterians, the chapel property reverted of course to the Presbyterian Board, London, but "the Independents (that is, Congregationalists), thrust themselves in and got possession of the chapel, to which they could apparently have no more right than the other Methodists or Quakers" (Richards). By virtue, however, of the Dissenters' Chapels Act (1844), their possession was legally confirmed. A twenty-five years' continuous possession, no matter what doctrines are taught (if no special doctrinal provisions are embodied in the trust deeds), establishes the right for those doctrines to be taught in the future. Without this clause most of the present Unitarian chapels and endowments would be in danger of being transferred to the Congregationalists or Presbyterians. No length of possession can ever set aside a definite trust.

The first pastor was the Rev. John Allen, from Hoxton, who was ordained the next year (6th June 1803). In 1812 he conducted a large Sabbath school in the Presbyterian chapel. Another of the early ministers was the Rev. William Snell, who, on leaving the connexion, was ordained and licensed as curate of St. Margaret's, to the ineffable horror of the brethren (1837). After several successful years, for he was an amiable man and attracted vast congregations, he accepted a living near London, but owing to fearful injuries in a railway accident, he resigned, being wholly incapable of performing clerical work.

The present chapel in New Conduit Street was erected whilst the Rev. Robert Hamilton, who succeeded Mr. Snell, was pastor. It cost about £3,000 and is capable of seating 900 persons. The opening services were held the 7th of October 1838. A new organ, built by Mr. S. Street, of Yarmouth, was added (10th June 1852). In 1883, when the Rev. R. A. Cliff commenced his ministry, the society was burdened with a debt of £779, which, within two years, was wiped off.

(2) THE WESLEYAN METHODISTS.

When religious life was perhaps at its lowest ebb, the Wesleyan movement began to manifest itself in the eastern counties, though in a degree far less apparent than in the south and west of England. George Whitefield (1714-1770) visited Norwich more than once, but the results were depressing; and John Wesley (1703-1791), though he bestowed upon the city unwearied attention, was repeatedly horrified at the rudeness and callous indifference of his congregation. "The cold, lethargic temperament of the East Anglian people," observes Dr. Jessopp, "is not easily stirred to enthusiasm; soon roused to hatred; they are slow to love and the emotional in them seems to be reached only through their resentment." The perverse fickleness of the Norwich citizens continually excited Wesley's righteous indignation and was the theme of unavailing lamentation.

Among the first-fruits of the Revs. John and Charles Wesley's ministry at Newcastle were a pious man and woman, who, some time afterwards, settled at Lynn. Though in humble circumstances, Mr. and Mrs. Crawford ventured to ask Mr. Wesley to send his disciples to this benighted town. Itinerant preachers were, in those days, under the necessity of going from house to house for their food. Although the prospect was by no means pleasing, Wesley complied with the request, visiting Lynn several times himself. Thus poor Mr. Crawford and his wife were instrumental in bringing Methodism into our midst.

Referring to his advent, Wesley writes:—

In the evening (5th November 1771) I preached at Bury (St. Edmunds) and on Wednesday (the 6th) I rode on through heavy rains to Lynn. The people 'received the word with joy,' though few, as yet, had 'any root in themselves.' . . . Thursday, 7th: I was desired by the prisoners to give them a word of exhortation. They received it with the utmost eagerness. Who knows but one or two may retain it? In the evening, those who could not get in (the house where the service was held) were noisy at first; but in awhile they went quietly away. . . . Lynn seems to be considerably larger than Yarmouth. I believe it stands on double the ground, and the houses in general are better built; some of them are little palaces. The market-square is a spacious and noble square, more beautiful than either that of Yarmouth or Norwich; and the people are quite of another turn, affable and human. They have the openness and frankness common throughout the country, and they add to it good nature and courtesy.

Wesley preached in a house on the south side of New Conduit Street, towards the east end. It can still be recognised by a small upper window, having an arch of red brick (Armes).

Flying visits were made when Wesley was at Norwich in October 1777 and November 1779. Under the 29th of October 1783 he writes:—"Crossed over to Lynn (from Norwich) and found things much better than I expected. The behaviour of Mr. G — had rather done good. People in general cried, 'Let that bad man go, they will do better without him.' And the house was sufficiently crowded with serious hearers." On Tuesday, October 25th 1785, he drove over again from Norwich to Lynn, which he confessed "has been for a long season a cold and uncomfortable place. But the scene is now entirely changed. Two young, zealous, active Preachers" (William Palmer and Charles Bland) "strongly urging the people to

expect a full and present salvation, have enlivened both the society and congregation."

Travelling in the 18th century, it must be admitted, was extremely perilous. For instance, Wesley wanted to push on to London, but found no coach starting before Friday. After preaching once more, he hired a post chaise and entered Downham between ten and eleven. Here he was told how imprudent it would be for him to continue his journey. Not merely was the night dark, but the Ely road ran between banks and over bridges, so that the coachman must "drive to an inch." In nowise daunted, the brave evangelist hurried on, and was at his destination by Thursday.

The last entry in this interesting *Journal* must be quoted, as it relates to the young society at Lynn. Wesley conducted services at Norwich on Sunday, the 17th of October 1790, and preached as follows during the week:—At Swaffham on Monday, at Lynn on Tuesday, at Diss on the Wednesday, at Bury St. Edmunds on the Wednesday evening and the next day. He returned to London on Friday and preached at Spitalfields chapel on Sunday. Failing to procure post-horses when at Swaffham, Wesley was obliged to take a single-horse chaise. His journey from thence to Lynn was most unpleasant:—

The wind with mistling rain (he says) came full in our faces, and we had nothing to screen us from it; so that I was thoroughly chilled from head to foot before I came to Lynn; but I soon forgot this little inconvenience, for which the earnestness of the congregation made me large amends. . . . Tuesday, 19th: In the evening all the Clergymen in the town, except one who was lame, was present at the preaching. They are all prejudiced in favour of the Methodists, as indeed are most of the townsmen; who gave a fair proof by contributing so much to our Sunday Schools, so that there is near twenty pounds in hand.

THE FIRST "METHODIST" CHAPEL

was situated on the *south* side of *North Clough Lane*. Although this tortuous passage, for it hardly deserved a better name, has been swept away, the building nearly opposite the Blackfriars' Hall is yet standing. From the following lines in a *Memoir of Mrs. Beulah Bullen*, written by the Rev. W. Harvard, who was "stationed" here (1832-4), it is evident that this chapel was in existence as early as 1788.* He writes:—"After her marriage, *when a chapel had been opened* at Lynn by Mr. Wesley, she became an occasional hearer, and under a sermon by that man of simplicity and devotion—the Rev. J. Crickett—she was deeply convinced of sin." The Rev. J. Crickett was minister here in 1788.

As the congregation increased, greater accommodation became necessary; additional galleries on three sides of a building 42 feet long and 30 feet broad proved insufficient to seat the crowds who thronged thither. The old building was therefore abandoned and was turned into a school for girls; Miss Blencowe afterwards carried on a ladies' seminary in the same room; latterly it was tenanted by Mr. Brown, a liquor merchant, by Mr. W. S. Dexter, a photographer, and

* For the Trust Deeds (1786) see *Close Roll*, 26th George III., part 2, no. 16. References to the trust deeds of the other dissenting societies may be found in Rye's *Norfolk Topography* pp. 202-3.

at the present time by Mr. F. G. Piper, a plumber. A much larger chapel, sarcastically termed

“THE WESLEYAN MINSTER,”

was erected in Tower Street, on the site of the Jews' synagogue and the house once occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Crawford, wherein services were *first* held. Mrs. Crawford was living in 1817, and being then in her 103rd year, was probably the oldest member of the Methodist persuasion in the world. The premises were bought during the ministry of the Revs. Barnard Slater, Thomas Pollard and John Griffin, at a cost of between £800 and £900. A neat building, capable of accommodating 1,500 persons, was erected. It was opened in 1813, the first ministers being the Revs. Maximilian Wilson and Thomas Ludlam. Samuel Newham (1749-1816) was the architect and builder of the chapel, which cost £4,500. For many years he was an active worker among the Methodists. The building was greatly improved in 1884.

The first of our Sunday schools was opened by the Wesleyans (1797); they also established a day school (1812). Other places of worship under their auspices were erected, namely, the *old* Wesley chapel, North End, now in the hands of the Primitive Methodists (1862); the *new* Wesley chapel in Pilot Street, with 400 sittings (1883); the Sunday school east side of Tower Street (1882) and the Wesleyan chapel, London Road, which cost £2,500. The late Mr. J. A. Hillam was the architect and Messrs. Leech and Allflat were the builders (1888). A new organ (Messrs. Costloe and Sons of Isleworth) was built for the “Tower Street Chapel” (1876), superseding that made by Mr. Nicholson of Rochdale (£200) in 1852.

SECESSIONS.

1797. The great controversy throughout the Wesleyan body, respecting the powers possessed by their ministers, led to the formation of the “Wesleyan New Connexion.”

1834-5. Another disruption happened. A chapel on the *north* side of North Clough Lane was erected by the “Wesleyan Methodist Association.”

1850. The third secession occurred. A society termed the “Wesleyan Reformers” was started, which in 1854 amalgamated with the Wesleyan New Connexion.

(3) THE SALEM CHAPEL.

The spiritual equilibrium of the worshippers assembled at the Baptist chapel, Broad Street, was suddenly thrown into a bewildering state of uncertainty (1811). Even “the elders,” experienced as they were in the “ups and downs” to which congregations, no matter how staid and circumspect, are at times subject, were apprehensive of an approaching crisis. During a pathetic address, their beloved pastor, the Rev. Thomas Finch, deliberately maintained, “that men’s vices were owing to themselves and not to the influence of the devil.” Had a thunderbolt fallen in their midst, they could not have been more terrified! At first there was a general stampede in the orthodox sheepfold, then a pause whilst the affrighted flock somewhat recovered its presence of mind. In this alarming dilemma, they sought advice of a neighbouring shepherd, in whom was vested the spiritual welfare of those who were not of this fold. After a season of perplexity, he

decided to submit six crucial questions to the errant pastor, which should determine whether he was indeed a fit and proper person to occupy so prominent and important a position in the sphere of religious dissent. Preferring to rest the responsibility of their sins upon an omnipotent Father of Evil, the congregation strongly objected to dispense with a belief in Satanic influence; as honest, sensible men they were prepared to render unto Cæsar the things which belonged to Cæsar, and in so doing how could they deny the utility even of a Prince of Darkness!

At first, Thomas Finch disputed their judicial authority, but afterwards submitting, he frankly informed his inquisitors he did not regard the great John Calvin as wholly infallible, and that on certain passages he disagreed with the dictum of their favourite reformer. The result of this unpleasant conference was the summary severing of the pastoral tie between the wayward minister and the intolerant Baptists. On the 9th of May, Mr. Finch preached a farewell sermon, entitled "Scriptural Christianity recommended," etc. To the discourse, subsequently printed by Whittingham and sold at 2s. a copy, there was prefixed a narrative, stating the "views" of the deposed minister on Satanic influence, the Athanasian creed and the Calvinistic system.

To this incident the town was indebted for another place of worship. In the new movement the Rev. William Richards took an active part. After resigning his own pastorate, his connection with the Baptists grew strained, owing to the doctrinal opinions he held (1802). "In the interests of Scriptural Christianity," the Salem chapel, in Norfolk Street, was reared (1811). The name was, no doubt, accepted at the suggestion of Mr. Richards, in allusion to the chapel in St. Clears, Caemarthenshire, bearing a like appellation—the erection of which his father was contemplating when Providence called him hence (1768).

"The Temple of Liberty," seriously so-called, was opened on Sunday the 5th of January 1812, when sermons were preached by the Rev. John Evans, M.A., of Worship Street, London, and the Rev. Thomas Finch. The chapel, standing up a court on the north side of Norfolk Street, cost about £1,000; it measures 50 by 30 feet, and once owned a gallery with four tiers of seats at the east end, facing the pulpit, besides "a virgin pool," which was never used for baptismal purposes. The upper part of the building is now Mr. G. R. Oswell's printing office, whilst the ground floor constitutes an ironmonger's warehouse. Over the entrance remains the inscription, MDCCCXI: SALEM CHAPEL. UNITARIANS. The last word was added at a later date.

Inside the building, there was at one time a neat marble tablet to the memory of James Keed, the leather glove and breeches maker of High street (recently occupied by Mr. James Hayes); he was notwithstanding buried in the small graveyard adjoining the Stepney Baptist chapel.

Different views regarding the use of a liturgical or free service disunited the worshippers. Both methods were experimentally tried:

the majority decided in favour of the liturgy, used in the Essex Street chapel (1848-9). Conciliatory sermons were preached by the Rev. George Harris, at the services of the North-Eastern Unitarian Association, held in the chapel (17th September 1851). The end was inevitably approaching. Death depleted their ranks; the earnest workers of early years were passing from their midst. Messrs. Aikin, Coe, Knight, Seals and others strove to maintain the cause. At last, the few solitary adherents were constrained to prudently avail themselves of a proviso in the trust deeds. Accordingly, after an interval of twelve months, during which no religious meeting was held, and having meanwhile accepted Mr. Read's resignation, the remaining trustees formally dismissed the congregation and sold the property. The money thus acquired was, as will be shewn, devoted to religious purposes. The final entry in the Minute Book of this connexion reads thus:—"At Midsummer 1867, the services in the chapel were discontinued and the congregation dispersed. John Wingate Aikin, hon. secretary."

Ministers:—Thomas Finch 1811-17; Benjamin Treleaven 1818-21; Richard Smith 1821-2; William Selby 1824-35; John Wright 1836-42; James McDowell 1842-3; William Mountford, M.A., the learned author of *Martyria* and *Euthanasia* 1843-8; Abraham Lunn 1848-51; John Calbraith Lunn 1851-4; Robert Harris 1854-5; Archibald McDonald, M.A., 1855-6; William Henry Quinn 1857-9; Thomas Jones Read 1859-67.

HOMES FOR THE DESTITUTE.

The plans for the alteration and enlargement of St. James' Workhouse, submitted by Robert Mays and Thomas King, were approved (7th March 1782), and an additional rate of one shilling in the £ was levied in order to raise £1,500. The ship-owners living in South Lynn, although trading to and from the port, refused to pay the poor rate, assessed upon their vessels. A consultation between the inhabitants of the two parishes was held to determine the best and least expensive method of enforcing payment. It was suggested that the dispute should be settled by an appeal to the Court of King's Bench. Advice was, however, elicited from the Officer of Customs (26th August 1799).

In an essay *On Prisons* (1805), the conditions prevailing in various workhouses are contrasted. "At Lynn," observes the writer, "the children were at church morning and afternoon; their singing delightful; they were decently and uniformly clothed and properly fed (not farmed) by the parish; religiously educated and as far as my observation well attended to." (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 75; p. 891.) The reprehensible practice so common in many districts, of "farming" or contracting for the maintenance of the poor, was never, we believe, adopted here. An extract from an old Minute Book shews a proper dietary was in vogue:—

The Committee observe with regret that great irregularity prevails in this House (St. James' Workhouse), sitting down to the Dinner table, viz., not more than one $\frac{1}{2}$ attending for the purpose of dining. Also, that between 40 and 50 of them are (indiscriminately) allowed the enormous quantity of $\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce of tea each, one Herring and Bread in lieu of meat. . . . The Committee strongly recommend that the diet, ordered for each day, should be strictly adhered to by

all such poor, subject to certain alterations at the discretion of the Master, to those who may require it from sickness or infirmity. Also that the portion of food to each, if not eat, should on no account be carried out of the eating room by any of them, but be re-delivered to the Master. Also, that during the time of meals the rooms then vacated be ventilated and the bill of fare for each day to be printed and copies affixed to each room. (At a Court holden, 20th January 1851.)

The St. James' Infirmary, for 46 decrepit paupers, was erected near the Old Workhouse at a cost of £1,000 (1823).

A messuage, belonging to the Master of the Sailors' Box, already secured upon lease for 21 years, at an annual rent of £12 (7th December 1749), was converted into a workhouse to accommodate a limited number of chargeable poor in Allsaints' parish. Its position was "next the Friars on the west." The special rate of 1s. 4d. in the £ was levied in 1750. An order, that all young people, recipients of out-relief, were to become inmates, was quashed by the recorder, Henry Partridge, when it was agreed to continue parochial relief or "pensions" not only to "the ancient poor," but to those in the Valinger's almshouses (12th January 1762).

The South Lynn Workhouse degenerated into an easily accessible lodging-house where loafers resorted. The inmates were supposed to work in the town, whenever they could get employment; but so many cases of drunkenness and barefaced imposition were detected that it was thought expedient "to badge" the indoor paupers, as well as the "collectioners" who received assistance from the clergy, through the weekly offertories. None, save the old, the helpless and those abiding in the almshouses, were to be excused. All, moreover, except the boys employed at Crawford's rope-walk, were prohibited from seeking casual work in the town (17th April 1776). Nine were then receiving out-relief, and of the twelve pensioners one was paid 3s., four 2s., two 1s. 6d. and five 1s. per week each. In 1779, seven were "in the house"—a man aged 50 years, three girls from 6 to 8 years and three boys from 4 to 13 years of age. The poor-rate in 1678 was threepence in the £, whereas in 1728 and 1730 it was two shillings. In 1716 and 1746 the rate was fixed at one shilling in both parishes. St. Margaret's parish received £145 9s. and South Lynn £120; the respective assessments would therefore be £2,909 and £2,400.

In 1812 the vestry wished to lease the workhouse premises, then belonging to Lionel Self, for 21 years at £20 per annum, but a lease of 7 years only was granted (19th November).

THE DISPENSARY.

To induce those skilled in the art of healing to remember the poor in their affliction, the freedom of the borough was often conferred as a distinct honorarium. The Corporation sometimes indeed struck bargains with the local physicians.

1579. Tho: Sufflete, Phisician, admitted to ye liberties of ys town unto the C^yany of M^echants (Company of Merchants), freely of good will tow'ds Him, with't any Thing to be given for ye same in C^osideratⁿ yt He shall imploye & bestowe his Labour, practise & Connynge in Phisick & Surgery to ye Relief & curinge of such poore and nedye persons as He shall be requested to cure by ye Maior of ye Towne for ye Time beinge.

1609. Tho: Hollyday, a Surgion fr. Gratis (to the) C'py (of) M'chts in Respt. He is to cure ye Leg of one Gervys & hereaft. use ye poor reasonably in yr Cures.

1686. Everard Farthing, Junr, Surgeon by Cures o' ye poor.

1702. John Goodwyn, Surgn, for sev'l cures; poor people. [*List of Freemen.*]

Later the care of the sick poor was farmed by the Vestries, among the different medical practitioners in rotation. The result proving unsatisfactory, a judicious step towards an organised system of sick relief was taken by the establishment of a dispensary, supported by voluntary subscriptions and a parochial grant of £105 a year (1813). The house was situated on the south side of St. James' Street and is now Mr. W. H. Johnson's cycle dépôt. To this humble place, the afflicted of the town and neighbourhood flocked for medicine or advice. From 1,200 to 2,000 patients were relieved yearly. During the alarming outbreak of cholera the utility of the Dispensary was clearly established (1833).

The committee of directors comprised a president, two treasurers and twelve honorary members. There was a resident surgeon. The object of this benevolent enterprise was, as set forth in the society's circular,—“the holding out of the hand of Christian charity to those who, though poor, were not paupers, who might be sick and far from home and who, by a little timely assistance, might be kept from throwing themselves entirely upon the parish.”

The house purchased by the trustees for £150 was sold in 1838 for £300.* The net profit of £285 7s. 7d., which belonged, of course, to the original benefactors, was handed over to the West Norfolk and Lynn Hospital.

UNDER THE GALLOWS.

Joseph Beeton, the son of honest and respectable parents, was born at Lynn about 1763. After receiving a smattering of education, he was apprenticed to his uncle, Thomas Burch, a sailmaker, who neglected to check the lad's wayward disposition. Beeton was, however, rescued from the allurements of the smugglers with whom he associated, by being providentially impressed. He served for awhile in the Royal Navy, on board the frigate *Crocodile*, where he was appointed sailmaker. Tiring of a sea-faring life, he deserted, came home and rejoined his former notorious colleagues, among whom was Richard Hopkins, who continued to exercise a baneful influence over him. Being in want of money, Hopkins proposed robbing the North Mail. Aided and abetted by Beeton, the deed was easily accomplished, but disappointed with the booty and to save himself from being implicated, Hopkins sought the Post Master and gave information, which led to the arrest of Beeton, whilst in bed at his sister's house. During his incarceration he contrived to escape, but was apprehended four days afterwards near Castle Rising and was brought back to the borough gaol (7th November 1782).

At the general Quarter Sessions held in the Gild Hall on Monday the 20th of January 1783, before “the Right Worshipful

* For the Trust Deeds, see *Close Roll*, 52nd George III., part 71, no. 14.

Edward Everard, Esq., the Mayor, George Chadd, Esq., Recorder and several other of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace," Joseph Beeton stood arraigned on two separate indictments; first, for stopping Robert White, a postboy, upon the King's highway, between the toll-gate and St. Germans, and threatening his life on Saturday the 19th of October 1782, and stealing from him a leathern bag, valued at two shillings, the property of the King; and secondly, for feloniously taking away letters in which were bankers' drafts and securities amounting to £1,363 10s. Messrs. Mingay and Fielding acted as counsel for the Crown, whilst Henry Partridge, junior, was engaged by a sympathising public to defend the youthful prisoner, who pleaded "not guilty."

After a trial lasting seven hours, the recorder, "in a tender and affectionate manner" passed sentence in these words:—

You, Joseph Beeton, have been arraigned for stopping, on the King's Highway, the Post Boy carrying the North Mail from this place, and putting the Boy in bodily fear for his life by presenting a pistol to him, and threatening to blow his brains out, if he made any resistance; and afterwards taking from him the Horse and Mail, containing all the North Letters; to this arraignment, you pleaded *Not Guilty*, and put yourself upon God and the laws of your country for your deliverance, by which laws you have had a fair, candid and impartial trial. The Grand Jury, who found the bill against you, are men of known credit and integrity. The Jury who have found you *Guilty* are your neighbours, tradesmen of repute and men of character, who have fully discharged their duty to their country and to the inward feelings of their own consciences. In the bloom of youth, health and vigour, you must now be cut off from society: the enormity of your crime having brought you to a shameful and ignominious death; and as religion is the only hope from which you can receive any solid consolation, this court has allowed you one month from this time to be attended by a very pious and worthy divine, and I most earnestly recommend you to employ that time in prayer and supplications, that by a sincere and deep contrition you may be enabled to look up to heaven for that mercy that cannot be found on earth. In this commercial country your crime is of such a nature that it extends beyond the Royal clemency: therefore, hope not for a mitigation of your sentence, but prepare for that awful and dreadful tribunal which you must shortly meet. In this miserable state, it now remains for me to undergo the painful task of pronouncing sentence upon you, which is—That you Joseph Beeton be taken from thence to the place from which you came, and from thence to the place of execution; and there to be hanged by the neck till your death and may the Almighty have mercy on your soul.

From Beeton's rambling "confession," we learn how Hopkins proposed robbing the mail, to which suggestion the other answered, "With all my heart." Whereupon they agreed to meet on Lady bridge at eleven o'clock. Joined by Robert Mellows, they continued drinking until seven in the evening at the *Swan* in the Damgate. Hopkins, having no money, disappeared, but they met a friend from the country, who pressed Beeton to go home with him for a week or two. Beeton consented, and quitted the *Swan*, in order to get a change of linen from his sister, living in South Lynn. Crossing the bridge, he met Hopkins, who reminded him of the promise, he had apparently forgotten. Just then the post-horn sounded. In a moment, they were both dashing across the Friars. As hurriedly arranged, Beeton was to stop the mail, whilst Hopkins watched in

"Oliver, the blacksmith's yard," to give warning, if needed, of the approach of any vehicles.

Being in liquor, the prisoner admitted, and agreed to it and we went forward. I had got between Long Bridge and the Toll Gate, and the Boy past me and got to the Toll Gate before me, but his stopping at the Gate, sometime before it was opened for him I had got to the place appointed—and that was the Blubber House Gate, and there I stopped the Boy and asked him if he knew me, and he said no and away he run. I called him back, but he would not come so I stopped some time before I would meddle with anything. At last I cut the mail from the horse and threw it over the gate, and put the horse on Scales-hough-bank, and returned, as soon as possible I could.

As soon as Hopkins arrived on the scene, the bag was carried between them to the Blubber House, where beside a ditch they opened the letters and destroyed the covers. Hopkins secured the bills, giving his companion the letters, which they agreed to read the next morning. Hopkins, however, did not come till Monday, when he declared there was only a ten-pound Bank of England note of any use. By going to London and taking the packet to France, he could, as he explained, turn the drafts into money. Fearing that by burning the letters, suspicion might be aroused, they repaired to Allsaints' churchyard, carrying the letters tied up in a silk handkerchief. Placing a brick, pulled from the wall, inside the bundle they dropped it in a pit hard by. Hopkins then persuaded Beeton to take charge of the notes, as he was going to a dance, promising soon to call for them. Instead of this, he gave information, which led to the arrest of his misguided companion.

To E. M. Beloe, Esq., our present coroner, we are indebted for the above particulars. He has in his possession engraved portraits of the prisoner, other mementoes of this remarkable trial and the original document, from whence an interesting transcript is copied:—

Borough of King's Lynn	}	To William Haws, the Keeper of the Gaol of our Lord the King, in and for the Borough aforesaid.
in the County of Norfolk.		

On Monday the seventeenth day of February next, Deliver to Thomas Case and William Browne, Gentlemen, his Majesty's Coroners of our said Lord the King of and for the Borough aforesaid, the body of Joseph Beeton your prisoner now under sentence of Death, to be by them then conveyed to the place of execution.

Hereof fail not.

Given under our hands and seals this thirty first day of January
one thousand seven hundred and eighty three.

Edwd. Everard, Mayor

Geo. Chad,
Recorder

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Upon receipt of the prisoner. the coroners signed the appended discharge, which was written upon the same paper:—

17th February 1783.

Received of William Haws, Gaoler, the Body of the above named Joseph Beeton to be conveyed by us to the place of execution.

Thos. Case,
Willm. Brown,
Coroners.

On the fateful day, the unfortunate man, who had just attained his twentieth year, was conveyed in a mourning coach, through Bridge Street, Allsaints Street and Friars Street—then the south exit of the town—to the place of execution on the South Lynn Common. More than five thousand pitying spectators assembled at the gallows, for the prisoner was regarded as a martyr to the treachery of Hopkins, whom he thought a sincere friend. Attended by two clergymen, the Rev. Mr. Horsfall and the Rev. Mr. Merrist, Beeton appeared devoutly contrite. After praying fervently, a hymn was sung by the St. Margaret's choir, then the rope was adjusted and without any hesitancy, the condemned threw himself from the platform and died. A contemporary account concludes with this remarkable sentence: "The spirit of the prisoner, the constancy of his friends and the church parade made bright episodes in a dreadful scene."

For the delinquent the townfolk evinced great sympathy, and not only devised several risky schemes to liberate "poor Joe Beeton," but made (as is said) an ineffectual attempt to save his life by the insertion of a silver tube. Until quite recently a hawthorn, on the left side of the Saddlebow Road, at no great distance from the "toll-gate house," was pointed out as "Beeton's Bush." If tradition be credited, a white *pigeon* fluttered at the window of the room in which Mrs. Beeton was staying at the time of her son's execution. A similar story is told respecting Joan d'Arc. In the maiden's case the emblem of innocence was a white *dove*. A blackbird would have satisfied the superstitious equally as well—provided it was *white*!*

MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS.

1765. The parishioners of South Lynn signed a petition objecting to James Culham, who did not reside in the parish, being a churchwarden (15th May).

1766. The *Hanover*, (Captain Hardwick) bound for Newcastle, was driven on the Blyth Rocks. All the crew but one were lost (March).

1777. John Towne of Lynn bequeathed £10 to the poor of Gunthorpe (where he was buried) "also 25/- upon the 29th of September in every year for ever, which was to be laid out in blanketing, and distributed to the poor."

1781. The land near the town overflowed by the sea. The chapel-reeves allowed their tenant John Smith an abatement of £5 from his rent.

1784. Mr. Green, Mrs. Robertson and Mr. Whitfields' Company were at the Checker Street theatre. "The London Merchant or the History of George Barnwell," and a new farce—"An Agreeable Surprise" were produced. "By order of the Mayor, no person shall be admitted behind the scenes, nor any livery servant be allowed to sit in the pit or wait on the lobby leading to the boxes." (Playbill.) This in effect destroyed a long-standing prescriptive right.

1788. The Lynn Mail was robbed. George Stannard, who absconded from the *Swan* at Stalham, was suspected. Three rewards were offered for his apprehension—£50 from the Bank at Lynn, £50 from the Post Office, London, and five guineas by George Bowning of Newmarket.

* See *A Circumstantial Narrative of the Life and Character of Joseph Beeton who was executed at King's Lynn on Monday February 17. 1783. . . . Together with his Confession &c. Printed and sold by F. Bullen, 11, High Street, Lynn. Price two pence.* This pamphlet is a reprint of an earlier one. It contains a woodcut of the prisoner, which was apparently copied from the original aquatint "designed from life and published by R. W. Williams, Black Goose Street, Lynn. January 10, 1783."

1789. The Rev. Cock Langford, rector of Great Massingham, died whilst dancing at a civic function in our Assembly Room.

1791. Messrs. Wilkinson and Hengler's Circus visited the town. The so-called Riding School was in Mr. King's brick-yard, beyond the East Gates. "Signor Hengler begs leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen that after many years practice, he has found out a particular art of darkening the air after sunset, so as to display his fireworks in the greatest magnificence and perfection. Tickets to be had at the *Rummer*: at the same time the performance of learned dogs will be held at the *Star* inn." (Announcement.)

1791. A Society for providing the poor with bed-linen was started. In 46 years, as many as 5,566 were assisted.

1792. Philip Case, an attorney at law (mayor 1745, 1764, 1777 and 1786) died worth £100,000; his daughter Pleasance married William Bagge (1768).

1792. The mayor Joseph Taylor convened a public meeting to consider the advisability of petitioning parliament for the abolition of slavery (8th February).

1793. At the theatre *Ship* inn, Gaywood, "Richard III." and the "Waterman" were performed, also "a twiggle and a phiz, in the character of the Hunch-back barber." Prices of admission—pit 2d., gallery 6d. (7th January).

1793. Robert Bloye, a seaman in a Lynn merchant-ship, was with others seized by the press gang. He was present at Lord Howe's victory (1794), and rose to be rear-admiral. Retiring in 1846, he lived at Swaffham.

1800. Hadfield fired at George III., in Drury Lane Theatre (15th May). Two addresses congratulating the King upon his escape were sent from Lynn—one from the Corporation, and the other from the inhabitants.

1802. A subscription prize of 200 guineas awarded at Thomas William Coke's annual (1778 to 1821) sheep-shearing at Holkham, for a discovery to counteract the ravages of fly in turnips. The secret was to sow 2 lbs. of radish seed on every acre of turnip land. The radish was supposed to attract the fly, whilst the turnip "got off scot free." (5th July.)

1802. "*Globe Inn*. The Independent Free Burgesses in the Interest of Mr. Alderman Taylor are requested to meet at six o'clock this evening (3rd July) at this House. Supper on the Table at eight o'clock, J. Lee. (By Order of the Committee.)"

1804. The farmers of West Norfolk presented William Coke, Esq., of Holkham, with a massive silver vase (cost 600 guineas) at the *Duke's Head*, in recognition of services rendered to agriculture (23rd June). He was raised to the peerage as Earl of Leicester of Holkham (1837).

1806. The Lynn Benevolent and Viduarian Society met at the *Three Tuns*. It was in existence as late as 1845.

1811. Mrs. Anne Jarrad died, aged 111 years; she retained her faculties to the last.

1815. William Monson, an eccentric shoe-black, known as "Billy Boots," died (6th January). Reputed to be the illegitimate son of a nobleman, he refused every offer of assistance, imagining it might come from his unknown parent.

1815. Notice was given by Lionel Self, mayor, and other influential persons, that the reported stoppage of payment, at the bank of Messrs. Barclay, Tritton, Bevan and Co., was unfounded and malicious (20th January).

1817. Robert Green, mayor, called a public meeting "to consider an address to His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, on the occasion of the late violent attack upon His Royal Person, when returning from parliament on the opening day of the session."

1817. A petition forwarded, against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. (20th May.)

1819. Messrs. Thiodons' mechanical and picturesque Theatre of Arts occupied the large room at Messrs. Mays and Sampson's coach manufactory, Broad Street (Mart).

* * * * *

Though aged, infirm and suffering from mental aberration, the health of the King continued till November 1819, when it suddenly declined. He expired the 29th of January 1820 in the 82nd year of his age, and the 60th of his reign. At the request of the Mayor business was suspended in the town and also at the mart on the 16th of February, the day fixed for the interment of "our revered Sovereign." The Great Bell was tolled four hours; and a twenty-five shilling escutcheon was placed in St. Margaret's church.

CHAPTER XL.

The Arena of Political Strife.

GEORGE IV. was the eldest son of George III. As the new sovereign had for several years executed the regal functions, there was no perceptible change on his accession (29th January 1820). The King was already married to Princess Caroline of Brunswick.

The Royal proclamation was read and the accession celebrated at Lynn, the 3rd of February 1820.

* * * * *

FEAST OF FAT THINGS.

After an absence of five years on the Continent, the wife of the recently-crowned King (from whom he had separated) landed at Dover, in order to demand her rights and privileges, as Queen of England (5th July 1820). To commemorate the King's accession and what was termed "the restitution of Her Majesty Queen Caroline," the inhabitants of this sympathetic borough were invited to a costly feast on the Tuesday market-place. A gigantic bullock, whilst being roasted, caught fire. The fire engine was "trotted out" to quench the flames. Taking a lively interest in the *contretemps*, the excited populace pelted each other with loaves, and exultingly rolled the barrels of beer about the streets. The Corporation presented the meters with a bushel of punch, which was peacefully consumed in their office at the Common Staith. With this solitary exception, the day of thanksgiving terminated in scenes of drunken revelry (19th June).

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

On the death of Sir Martin Browne Folkes (11th December 1821), who represented the town for over 31 years, Sir Wm. J. M. Browne Folkes aspired to succeed his father. An influential section, however, nominated William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Marquis of Titchfield—the heir apparent to the Dukedom of Portland. Sir William, thinking it imprudent to oppose the Marquis, quietly withdrew from the contest, asseverating an intention of offering his services at some future

time (9th January 1822). He had not long to wait, for Horatio Walpole (10) the second Earl of Orford died the 14th of June 1822, and the consequent elevation of his son Horatio Walpole (11), the other Lynn member, to the peerage, caused a vacancy in the representation of the borough. During a period of 38 years, the burgesses proceeded election after election to return a scion of the Walpole family. On this occasion Lieutenant Colonel John Walpole (12), brother of the late member and second son of the deceased earl, came forward, as also did Sir William Browne Folkes, of Hillington, to solicit the suffrages of the freemen. The headquarters of the respective candidates were the *Duke's Head*, and the *Crown* tavern, Church Street.

When Sir William made his first public appearance, he was met at Gaywood by a large concourse of friends. On arriving at the East Gates, the horses were, of course, unharnessed from the carriage, which was drawn through the principal streets by the freemen, attended by a cavalcade of horse and foot, and an excellent band. Wherever the procession, with fluttering banners and flags, passed, the worthy baronet was hailed with enthusiasm, while the streets reëchoed with shouts of rapture. An interesting spectacle was witnessed at the nomination. Colonel Walpole and his *orange* adherents monopolised the more prominent part of the Town Hall. The *blues*, enraged because they could not more visibly support Sir William, leaped upon the council table. Jostling and fighting commenced; the rails, though stout, were broken; the massive table was demolished, whilst with the greatest difficulty the gentlemen seated around made good their escape. Robert Whincop, the decorous town clerk, had his gown unceremoniously torn from his back. As no business could be done in the Hall, the candidates proceeded in their brightly-painted sedan chairs to the hustings erected immediately in front of the Market-cross. The floor of this large booth, elevated about four feet from the ground, was divided into three compartments. The centre was really a platform, from which the rival politicians might harangue the voters; on either side was an enclosure fitted up for the poll clerks and checkers, with an opening on each side, where the freemen might tender their votes. Here, the Act against bribery and corruption was read and the nomination successfully carried through.

During the polling, which began the 27th of June and lasted several days, the greatest disturbance prevailed, aggravated if not engendered by "an address" issued by the *blues*. The placard contained an irritating quotation from *A Peep at the Peers* (1820), which reads:—

Orford E (Walpole) Colonel of Militia £1,000 a year; a son—High Steward of Lynn, Secretary of Embassy and Plenipotentiary in Russia £1,800; another son Captain in the Navy £700; another a Colonel in the Army and Captain in the Guards £700. He has a daughter married to Captain Hoste (Navy) £700. The Earl's sister married a Peyton, who has four livings in the Church £2,000. The whole amounts to £6,900 a year.

Thus far the quotation: the author then goes on—"There Freemen look at that! And say whether a Walpole can be an Independent man and a proper person to represent you in parliament!"

When about forty votes had been recorded for each candidate, a turbulent gang of navvies engaged in connection with the Eau Brink Drainage began to batter the front of the hustings with a flagstaff. In a few minutes the Walpole compartment was levelled to the ground. Having put to flight the army of alien constables, they set fire to the materials, and, with stones and other missiles, quickly dispersed the poll clerk and officials, who sought shelter in the Market-cross. Proceeding to the *Duke's Head*, the mob pulled down the "corporation flag" and tore it into shreds, smashed the windows and committed other deeds of violence. Thus impeded, John Maxey Allen, the mayor, suspended business until the next morning, when the uproar was as vigorously renewed. Precautionary measures were in the meantime adopted; a larger phalanx of constables, each armed with a heavy bludgeon, was sworn in and two detachments of cavalry were requisitioned. During the afternoon, as a troop of the 7th Dragoon Guards from Norwich, commanded by Lieutenant Everard, entered the town, the Riot Act was read. The most energetic of the ringleaders was secured and escorted to Swaffham bridewell in a post chaise guarded by a file of soldiers. Polling was resumed on the 29th, the dragoons having been withdrawn. The populace, satiated with quarrelling, were overawed with a presentiment that Sir William must lose his election after all. This cast a gloom over those, who, at the beginning, so vociferously supported him. At twelve o'clock, when every freeman had apparently recorded his vote, Sir William expressed his intention of withdrawing. The books were therefore closed; the town clerk announced the result—Walpole 156, Folkes 92. Whereupon the *first* was declared the duly elected member.

At the Norwich Assizes, where Mr. Justice Best presided, William Chandler was indicted for taking a conspicuous part in the riot and was ordered to enter into recognizances to come up for judgment, whenever called upon (31st July). Thomas Johnson and others were sentenced at the Thetford Lent Assizes by Mr. Justice Garrow to various terms of imprisonment for participating in the disturbance (March 1823).

Thus concludes (contends a writer of the period) this memorable contest, rendered so by many very unusual, nay, perhaps unprecedented circumstances. The great length of time which had elapsed without a contest; the destruction of the poll booth at the very outset of the election, and that too by persons not only without an interest in it, but who were strangers to the town; and what is perhaps equally rare, the introduction of the military at such a time, form altogether a series of events that cannot be paralleled in contests of much greater duration.

There must indeed be truth in the Frenchman's irony when he observed, that the much-vaunted freedom of the Englishman was remarkably brief in its duration: "he is *free* six weeks only in seven years, and that is at the time of the general election!"

Arising out of this ferocious exhibition of freedom was the case of *Allen v. Ayre* and another, presented at the Norwich Lent Assizes (1823). The plaintiff, John Maxey Allen, mayor during the election, succeeded in getting a verdict against William Ayre, etc., for wilful

damage to the hustings. Subsequently the defendants obtained a rule to shew cause why such a verdict should not be set aside and a non-suit recorded. The case was brought to the Court of King's Bench, before Justices Bayley, Holroyd and Best. The judges ruled, that the hustings was not a building within the meaning of the Act, or every booth in a fair must come under the same category; moreover, that the mayor could have no pretence for bringing an action against the town, because he had no interest whatever in the hustings. The ruling was made absolute.

Certain burgesses, too, who sustained damage to their property, brought minor actions against the Corporation under the old Acts relating to the hundred. The Corporation was non-suited and a borough rate laid for raising money to compensate the aggrieved townsmen. The two persons, who on this occasion were made defendants, moved the rates into the Court of King's Bench by writ of *certiorari*, with a view of their being quashed, and at the same time applied for writs of *mandamus* to compel the magistrates to include the costs of the defence in the borough rate. Chief Justice Tindale was counsel for the magistrates, and advised them on all their proceedings. The Court of King's Bench ultimately discharged the order for writs of *certiorari*, as well as the rule for the *mandamus*. That the magistrates had come to a proper conclusion upon the subject, and that the Court of King's Bench had neither power nor inclination to burden the town with the expense of an unnecessary defence to such actions as those in question, was the dictum expressed by Lord Tenterden upon this occasion.

The dissolution of parliament happened in 1826. Colonel John Walpole, having served the burgesses for four years, and being desirous of a renewal of their confidence, assured them that no exertion should be wanting on his part to promote the public and private interests of the town; whereas the Marquis of Titchfield, owing to the delicate state of his health, announced his intention of relinquishing parliamentary duties altogether (1st June). The same day, "The Right Honourable William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, commonly called Lord William Bentinck," issued a solicitous address, promising if returned "to follow moderately but firmly the same line of politics." Thus were there two would-be belligerent champions in the field, and both were of the same political hue—*orange*. For two days the crest-fallen *Blues* were *blue* indeed! but on the third day, their spirits somewhat revived, because Sir Wm. J. M. Browne Folkes promised to enter the arena.* He did not mean, as he declared, to present himself upon personal considerations alone, but as the fearless guardian of the public purse, the zealous advocate of every measure having for its object the extension of public liberty and the advancement of local interests. Two days were spent, however, in feeling the political pulse of the voters. Disappointed with the test, Sir William suddenly withdrew from the contest, and returned to Hillington, but the

* Sir William J. M. B. Folkes dying in 1860, was succeeded by his grandson the present Sir William H. B. Folkes (the 3rd baronet) who represented Lynn as a Liberal (1880-5). The family name was originally *Foweke* (1438), then *Folkes* (1695), and now *Ffolkes*.

next day an ardent deputation of seamen from the Freeman's Club waited upon him, and by faithful promises of support induced him to return. His carriage was again met at the East Gates, the horses were once more unharnessed, and with music and shouting, he was re-drawn along the streets. In the ranks of the *blue* candidate were Henry Elsdon, Edmund Elsdon, E. B. Manning, John English, Wm. Ayre, Christopher Peek, and Messrs. Oxley, Kendle and Andrews; whilst the *orange* party included William Bagge, Alexander Bowker, Scarlet Everard, George Hogge, Lionel Self and Edward Edwards.

Those of the *orange* persuasion were requested to meet, on Friday morning, the first day of the election, at half-past eight, in the Saturday market-place, to conduct their candidates to the hustings, which were again erected in front of the Market-cross. But the mayor, John Prescott Blencowe, had wisely taken measures to prevent a repetition of the disgraceful scenes of the previous election. The assistance of two hundred special constables was secured, whilst the truculent navvies were not permitted to enter the town.

The poll was closed on Saturday morning (10th June) and the numbers were announced—Walpole 199, Bentinck 174 (both elected) and Folkes 104. The defeated candidate entertained his supporters in the afternoon at the *Crown* tavern, whilst the duly elected members, with 500 of their rejoicing friends, enjoyed a capital dinner at the *Duke's Head* on Monday. Baron de Staël was an honoured guest.

In 1828, Lord William Bentinck, having accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds (4th February), was succeeded in the representation by William George Cavendish Bentinck (1802-48), commonly called Lord George Bentinck, who was the second son of the 4th Duke of Portland.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

The celebrated agitator and would-be parliamentary reformer, William Cobbett (1762-1835), undertook a series of political tours on horseback, descriptions of which were published in his paper—*The Evening Post*. He visited Lynn, a month after the issue of his *Warning to Norfolk Farmers* (1st January 1822) and was entertained at a complimentary dinner at the *Duke's Head* (29th), the tickets being 3s. 6d. each. The same year appeared his *Address to Norfolk Farmers* (26th December). The recital of these agitative equestrian excursions into the provinces was republished under the title of *Cobbett's Rural Rides in England* (1830 and 1858).

Cobbett says nothing about the entertainment of 1822. He was again in Lynn on the 23rd of March 1830, but, owing to a disappointment at Thetford, was unable to hold a meeting. However, on the 6th and 7th of April, he addressed about 300 people in the Checker Street theatre.

And here was more interruption (he asserts) than I have ever met with at any other place. This town, though containing as good and kind friends as I have met with in any other, and though the people are generally as good, contains also apparently a large proportion of *dead weight*, the offspring, most likely, of the *rottenness of the Borough*. Two or three, or even one man, may, if

not tossed out at once, disturb and interrupt everything in a case where constant attention to *fact and argument* is requisite to insure utility to the meeting. There were but three here, and though they were finally silenced, it was not without great loss of time, great noise and hubbub. Two, I was told, were dead weight men and one a sort of *higgling merchant*.

When at Ely, Cobbett incidentally mentioned that the price of beef and pork at Lynn was 5s. and 4s. 6d. per stone (14 lbs.) respectively, and that wool, "one of the great articles of produce," was selling at less than half its former price.

SCALES OF JUSTICE.

Every year our aldermen elected twenty "head-boroughs"—two for each ward—who constituted for the nonce the jury of the *Leet Court* (C. 22, 1604). To them was relegated the onus of levying the mayoress' pin-money, of swearing in constables, of abating nuisances, of supervising the provision markets,—examining the quality of goods exposed for sale, or periodically testing the weights and measures in use. Their verdict was placed before the Mayor once every year.* Here is a copy of regulations, printed by the late J. W. Alkin, High Street, for the instruction of the head-boroughs.

Borough of King's Lynn in the County of Norfolk.	}	RESOLUTIONS of the Jury of Headboroughs Subscribed and agreed to for the ensuing Year, at the Court Leet, held on the 28th October 1824.
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THAT upon being Summoned by the Foreman, we will punctually attend at the Guild-Hall at the Hour appointed to do the Duties of our Office, under Penalty of the undermentioned Fines being immediately levied (namely)

If Absent at the last stroke of the Clock. . . Two-pence.

If Five Minutes past the Hour appointed. . . Four-pence.

If Fifteen Minutes past the Hour appointed or if the Survey be commenced . . Six-pence.

If not present within Half-an-Hour of the time warned. . . One Shilling.

And for every Hour afterwards, not exceeding Four Hours. . . One Shilling.

If Absent the whole Survey, whether short or long. . . Five Shillings.

And lastly, if when upon the Survey any one Absent himself, without leave previously given by the Foreman. . . One Guinea.

The Foreman in every Instance (except the last Fine, from which he is exempt) to pay *Double*.

That at every Meeting, we will severally attend the Business of the Day, with the Weights and Measures set against our respective Names.

That previous to the next Court Leet a Meeting of the Jury shall be convened between New and Old Michaelmas Day, or thereabouts, for the purpose of ascertaining what Members of the Jury have changed their Wards, what Vacancies have otherwise occurred, and what Persons are most proper to be named to the Alderman [or president of the Court Leet] having the Nomination.

That at the said Meeting the Presentment be drawn out and Signed in readiness for the Court Leet.

Lastly, we mutually agree to abide by and stand to each other, and bear any Expense, in case any should happen to us, in or for executing our Office.

Additional Resolution made after. That the Foreman henceforth do regularly issue his Summons to the Jury for the Court Leet, as at other Times, requiring the punctual attendance, under Penalty of the same Fines, as before-mentioned for Non-attendance.

* The borough treasurer received as fines from the Court Leet in 1831-2 the sum of £12, 1/11

A further Resolution. Whereas, it has been the Custom (and is also requisite) for the Jury to have the Assistance of a Serjeant-at-Mace and the Mayor's Beadle during their Surveys. It is resolved in future to Levy from the Penalties of the Day a sufficient Sum to defray the expenses of their attendance, the same being deemed legal by the Town Clerk.

In discharging their duties, the naughty headboroughs (as we are informed) detected and punished the innocent, but permitted those who were flagrantly guilty to escape. In 1864 several tradesmen refused the headboroughs admission to their premises. As the authority of the jury was based upon certain ancient charters legally inoperative, and as moreover there was no prospect of their authority being better respected in the future, the next jury nominated stubbornly refused to be sworn.

THE LADY MAYORESS' PIN-MONEY.

This obnoxious impost was collected every year in October and November by the constables. The custom of paying a small fine, at least one penny, seems to have originated from the fines inflicted for non-attendance at the Court Leet, held annually by the Mayor, as Lord of the Manor. For generations these payments had completely lapsed. Either by flattering cajolery or stern threats of county court proceedings, the blackmail known as the Mayoress' Pin-money was collected from the householders of Lynn until 1864, when the Council agreed to put an end to the illegal extortion, not primarily because of its illegality, but because of the many pounds received only about fifty shillings found their way through the narrow slot in the municipal money-box. There was generally believed to be some way of escape for those who regrettably said they "couldn't pay," whilst for those who obstinately said they "wouldn't," were reserved the terrors of the law.

THE SIGN OF THE CROSS.

Market crosses, though not quite so numerous as "the flowers that bloom in the spring," were nevertheless plentifully distributed. There were at one time 50,000 in England. Few, indeed, were the towns, especially if favoured with a religious foundation of any pretension, but were blessed with these reproofing, yet useful adornments. To the fairs and markets flocked the peasants from the neighbouring villages to vend provisions, home-spun articles of clothing, or garden produce; and the cross, under whose shadow their dealings were transacted, was designed to be a visible, though silent monitor to check or restrain any who might be secretly tempted to enrich themselves at the expense of ignorant or inexperienced customers.

A succession of market crosses graced the Tuesday market; although the "old" market cross was built either in 1618 (Rolfe's MS.) or 1660-1 (Munford's Notes), yet there was one in the reign of Mary or Elizabeth. Being in an unsafe condition, that of the 17th century was taken down and another built, from designs prepared by Henry Bell, a local architect of no mean reputation. The edifice was completed in 1710; the funds (£596 10s.) being supplied by interested subscribers,

This structure of freestone, was justly regarded as "one of the handsomest market crosses in the kingdom." It consisted of a peristyle of sixteen Ionic columns, supporting an octagonal room, which was ornamented by statues on the four alternate sides, where there were no windows. With shambles and shops, on each side, the ground plan formed a quadrant, the ends of which were improved by low turrets. The roof of the middle building, which rose to a height of seventy feet, formed a neat cupola, over which was a bell-turret, surmounted by a small cross.

Unfortunately the edifice was partly built upon an arch, turned over a well, on the east side. In course of time, it settled unequally, leaning ominously towards the west. After standing 120 years, it was demolished. The materials, sold by public auction (£160), were bought by Sir W. J. M. B. Ffolkes (5th April 1831), and subsequently used in constructing the lodge at Hillington.

Next in sequence come extracts from the Corporation Minute Book:—

Feb. 13, 1826. Agreed that the proposal of Alderman William Bagge, respecting the rebuilding of the Cross on the Tuesday Market-place and the erection of new shambles, be referred to the Land Committee.

Feb. 14, 1828. Plan of New Market house laid before the Corporation by the Mayor and referred to a Committee.

July 23, 1829. Agreed that the Tuesday Market Committee be authorised to take down the Cross on the Tuesday Market-place at such time and in such manner as they shall think proper, care being taken to preserve the pool or well under the Cross. Angel Inn ordered to be taken down at the same time.

On the site of the *Angel* inn, a large and convenient Market House was erected, the foundation stone being laid by the mayor, William Bagge (13th April 1830). The building was transferred to the Corporation in 1832. It is said (not, however, by Ruskin) to have presented a *handsome* cemented front with an upper and lower portico. It stood where our Corn Exchange now stands, and extended backwards to the Common Staith—the fish-market being at its western end. The floor had long ranges of butchers' stalls, whilst above was a commodious, elegantly-furnished concert room. The building cost £3,800, which was subscribed by shareholders, who were paid interest at 4 per cent. per annum, in lieu of the tolls, which the Corporation received. The Market House gave place to the present far more commodious Corn Exchange (1854).

Culprits were once compelled to stand in front of "the cross," labelled with the nature of their offences. This degradation was inflicted for many small offences such as breaking the Sabbath, petty larceny, calling others vile names, etc.

EARLY GUARANTEE SOCIETY.

An association was formed and subscriptions paid towards meeting expenses incurred by the pursuit, apprehension and prosecution of horse-stealers and other felons (1792). The members, who contributed 15s. 6d. as an entrance fee, and 20s. yearly, were gentlemen, owners, farmers and occupiers of estates in Freebridge—Lynn and Marshland, and the hundred of Smithdon. The society was

reorganised in 1827, and its meetings held at the *Duke's Head*. If any member screened an offender, he was expelled from the society, and forfeited all claims upon its fund. The expense of prosecuting persons suspected of murdering or shooting, cutting or maiming with intent to murder any member, was to be paid by the association.

THE BARE IMAGINATION OF A FEAST.

Greatly to the disappointment of numerous professors of gastronomy, the usual civic dinner on Michaelmas day was not given, when Edward Everard was chosen mayor (1822). To console themselves in their uneasiness, the company repaired to the Temple of Refley and found the renowned *water*

More exquisite than when Nectarean juice
Renews the life of joy in happiest hours.

"RETURNS."

Parliament insisted that the county should make a return of the number of banks issuing promissory notes, with the number of proprietors. There were in all 16 such banks in Norfolk, owned by 57 persons. The *Lynn Bank* had two proprietors, the *Lynn Regis and Norfolk Bank* two, and the *Lynn Regis and Lincolnshire Bank* five (1822).

We learn, moreover, that in the Lynn Excise Collection there were 37 brewers, besides 91 of the 721 licensed victuallers, who brewed their own beer, whilst in Norwich there were 34 brewers besides 39 of the licensed victuallers, who were also brewers (1822). The great increase in the excise duties for the year ending 10th October 1821 is remarkable:—

	1820	1821	Increase.
Lynn	£153,157	£160,939	£7,782
Norwich	£261,555	£301,645	£40,090

LOCAL ACTS.

- 1820-1. 1st and 2nd George IV., c. 64 } For altering and enlarging the
1827-8. 7th and 8th " c. 47 } powers of the Eau Brink Acts.
1825-6. 5th George IV., c. 41. For better levying and collecting of rates for the relief and maintenance of the poor in South Lynn by assessing the owners instead of the occupiers, and for erecting workhouses in that parish.
1829. 10th George IV., c. 5. For more effectively supplying the inhabitants with water, for regulating the markets, for removing wrecks and adjusting the vessels using the port (13th April). Bye-laws were made for enforcing what was termed the "Lynn Improvement Act."

UNCONSIDERED TRIFLES.

1820. A tremendous gale and high tide happened. The *Staines* (Capt. Belfaur) went aground on the Terrington Marsh, and the *Fancy* (Capt. Crawford) was lost with all hands (20th March).

1820. William Duke of Gloucester (son of George III.) passed through Lynn on his way to Raynham Hall (Colonel Dixon). He was met at the South Gates and drawn through the town to the East Gates. Unusual excitement prevailed (6th December).

1821. The Sheriff's officer (Mr. Brett) shot by Henry Fife (23rd Jan.). At the trial, which lasted 6½ hours, the prisoner was acquitted (7th May).

1821. As the *Janet* (Capt. Secker) was putting out to sea, a boat was capsized and three men drowned (27th March). The *Jane* (Capt. Bocking) belonging to Messrs Wm and Thos Bagge foundered on a voyage to Sunderland. Three only were saved out of a crew of eight (7th April).

1821. Eau Brink Cut opened (31st July).

1821. Henry Pond, of Waterloo House, 39 High Street, shot Robinson whilst attempting to rob the shop (11th October).

1822. Augustus, Duke of Sussex (son of George III.) passed through Lynn on his way to Holkham Hall.

1822. The Marshland Bridge and dam opened (12th August). Benjamin Smith (1738-1829) rebuilt the old Bede-house.

1824. Houses erected at the north end of the London Road.

1824. Public Meeting in the Town Hall, convened by the mayor, William Swatman, to consider Mr. John Mallow's proposal for forming an incorporated Gas Light Company (2nd April).

1826. Charles Green, who first substituted coal gas for hydrogen, made a balloon ascent from the Tuesday Market-place, and another the next year (1st October 1827).

1826. To defray the expenses incurred in erecting a gallery in the north transept of St. Margaret's church (1825) a selection of sacred music was performed under the direction of William Hitchcock, the organist (2nd November).

1827. A hatchment, costing 25/-, was placed in St. Nicholas' chapel, in memory of Frederick, Duke of York (son of George III.).

1828. A high tide, which rose 22 feet, swept the foreshore (5th March).

1829. According to ancient custom the Corporation assembled at the Gild Hall and attended St. Margaret's; after which the branch was borne to the house of the mayor-elect, William Bagge (St. John's day, 29th October).

1829. Benjamin Smith built and endowed the "Wesleyan" Almshouses (named after his friend John Wesley) for eight poor women (£1,000).

1830. A grampus (*Delphinus orca*) 18 feet 11 inches in length was taken in the estuary.

* * * * *

During the latter part of his reign George IV. was in ill-health and rarely appeared in public. He died at Windsor, through the rupture of a blood-vessel in the stomach (26th June 1830).

CHAPTER XLI.

The Old Order and the New.

WILLIAM IV., the third son of George III., succeeded his brother the late king (1830). He espoused Adelaide of Saxe-Meinigen, by whom he had two daughters, who died in infancy.

* * * * *

The representation of the borough was now in the hands of Colonel John Walpole (first elected in 1822) and Lord George Bentinck. Walpole was far from popular, owing to his persistent opposition to the Reform Bill. The consciousness of this and pressure from the Everard family induced him to resign. He was succeeded by William Pitt Lennox, known as Lord Lennox (2nd May 1831). At the next election Lord George Bentinck and Lord Lennox were returned (10th December 1832).

A year later Bentinck, with many others, anxious to rid themselves of Lennox, began to look about for a suitable person to oust

him from his position in parliament. The Lord Chancellor, Henry Brougham, mentioned Benjamin Disraeli as a likely candidate, not for a moment surmising he was then wavering between offers made by Chandos and Durham. Bentinck was, however, quite as dead-set against young Disraeli, as Lennox. He, therefore, sent to Sturges Bourne, asking him to take part in the coming contest. Bourne politely declined (7th December). At this juncture, to the no small delight of the Whigs, Lord Stanley,* and Sir J. Graham refused to join the Tory government. The task of finding a man for Lynn was, therefore, left with Sir Henry Hardinge, who frankly acknowledged, the people were discovering there was no necessity whatever for dissentient Whigs to coalesce either with the Tories or the Radicals, whilst a convenient middle course presented itself, namely, the espousal of "Conservative Liberal principles."

For some weeks (writes Charles C. F. Greville, the Clerk to the Council) George Bentinck has been endeavouring to find a Stanleyite candidate for Lynn, who would be brought in without trouble or expense, though he ransacked the Bar, and applied to Richmond, Ripon, Graham and Stanley himself, no such man can be found. There are Whigs and Tories in abundance, but not one man who will come into parliament as a follower of Stanley, and owing his seat to the patronage of the Duke of Richmond. [*The Greville Memoirs*: 1874; vol. III., p. 18.]

Three candidates appeared in 1835, to wit, Lord George Bentinck (first elected in 1828), Sir Stratford Canning, K.C.B. (the late Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), and Sir John Scott Lillie, knight—chairman of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions. The strenuous attempt of "the ardent spirits, who chafed under the Tory yoke," terminated in a contemptible fiasco (8th January). The exertion of 857 energetic voters yielded the following result:—Bentinck 531, Canning 416—and Lillie 238. And now permit the poetaster to describe the ignominy of the scene:—

The Lillie droops—begins to languish;
 Poor John Keed wrings his hands with anguish,
 And Jackson hangs his head.
 Great Porter Shepherd hides his face,
 And Towell sighs, "We've lost the race;
 Alas; the Lilly's dead."

LOCAL ACTS.

1830-1. 1st and 2nd William IV., c. 73. For altering, repealing, amending and enlarging certain provisions of the *Eau Brink Acts* for protecting the Harbour.

1837-8. 7th of William IV. As above.

1831. 2nd William IV. For improving the roads, from the South Gates into the parishes of East Walton, Narborough, Stoke Ferry and Downham Market (30th July).

A SEASON OF REJOICING.

The distribution of a modest placard, 13 by 9½ inches, threw the stolid inhabitants of our borough into the wildest excitement. It reads thus:—

The Borough of King's Lynn in the County of Norfolk. The Mayor [George Hogge], having understood that their Royal Highnesses the Duchess of

* Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley (1799-1869) who became fourteenth Earl of Derby. His son Edward Henry Stanley represented Lynn from 1848 to 1869, when he was called to the Upper House, as fifteenth Earl of Derby.

Kent and the Princess Victoria would pass through this town to-morrow; thought it his duty to proceed to Burghley House (the seat of the Marquis of Exeter), where their Royal Highnesses were expected, for the purpose of expressing the wish of the Corporation to pay their Royal Highnesses the utmost marks of respect and loyalty in their power. Their Royal Highnesses not being arrived at Burghley House, the Mayor ascertained from [Brownlow Cecil] the Marquis of Exeter, that it is the invariable rule of the Duchess of Kent not to receive any addresses from Public Bodies, on her merely passing through a Town. The Mayor, therefore, hopes the Inhabitants will individually shew every demonstration of loyalty and attachment to their Royal Highnesses, on the occasion of this their first visit to the town of King's Lynn. . . . By Order, Frederic Lane, Town Clerk. . . . Dated the 21st September 1835. [W. Whittingham, Printer, Lynn.]

According to the announcement, Princess Victoria, a delightful girl of sixteen summers, accompanied by her mother, the Duchess of Kent, passed through Lynn on her way to Holkham Hall (22nd September 1835). Our future queen was welcomed with unstinted enthusiasm. The royal carriage was stopped on entering the town at the South Gates; the horses were taken out and Her Royal Highness dragged by willing hands to the *Duke's Head*, "amid the cheers and prayers of thousands" (W. P. Burnet).

Our borough, be it remembered, was practically without local government. The Council had forfeited the pretence of representing even a few hundred freemen. The police force was lamentably inefficient. The period, too, was one of great national excitement. The life of the King was waning and the people turned instinctively to Princess Victoria, their future sovereign—the charming daughter of a popular father. Had they not heard of great Queen Elizabeth and good Queen Anne? And might not Queen Victoria excel both in greatness and goodness!

The extravagant and ill-expressed allegiance of our forefathers has been attributed to political motives—"the local members of the (Liberal) party thought the opportunity of making a *demonstration* too good to be lost." The late John D. Thew gives a graphic pen-sketch:—

Under the leadership and personal guidance of Mr. Charles Burcham (on horseback) they organised a procession, with party flags, favours and music, to meet the royal party at the South Gates and conduct them through the town. The roughest of long-shore men, coal porters, and others, joined in the display and with undisciplined warmth some of them not only insisted on *shaking hands* with the alarmed young princess, but, despite all remonstrances, unyoked the horses, and dragged the carriage pell-mell through the streets, and very nearly succeeded in upsetting it and throwing its terrified occupants into the road. I have heard (this writer concludes) that they took refuge for a time in a house on Buckingham Terrace, but were at length persuaded to reënter the carriage and then went through the ordeal with the best grace and courage they could muster.

Old folk, who were present, still recount what happened with glowing ardour. It is evident, they were prompted, not by any political motive, but, by an honest sense of the loyalty due to their future sovereign. How could they treat her with less respect than that bestowed upon William Duke of Gloucester (1820) and Sir W. J. M. B. Folkes (1822)? . . . They shake their knowing heads and add with many a sigh, "Ah, ower congratulations quite overcome the dear young mawther; yow may b'lieve me, but her narves wor

so scattered, that she up and sayed, ses she, 'There, I oant never come to that there horrid plaace agin!'"

As Mr. Thew acknowledges he wrote from "hear-say," let us peruse an account given by Mr. John James Coulton, who was an eye-witness.

When it became known that the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria were about to close their stay with the Marquis of Exeter at Burghley House and to pass through Lynn to Holkham Hall on a visit to the veteran champion of the people's rights—Coke of Norfolk (Thomas William Coke, created Earl of Leicester in 1837), a general wish was expressed, that their Royal Highnesses should have a public reception. A deputation from the Corporation went to Burghley House and were informed that the Princess wished her journey to be private. It was, however, believed by the multitude that the wish was rather that of those who brought the message than that of those who sent it, and the popular leaders determined and indeed found it necessary to disregard the message. No doubt it would have been better if they had confined the demonstration to an assemblage lining the streets with hearty cheers and respectful bows, but that was probably beyond their power and the attempt might have caused the populace to take the affairs into their own hands.

In a paroxysm of jubilant loyalty, they met the carriage at the South Gates, and, disregarding the entreaties of the timid princess, and the remonstrances of the suite of distinguished attendants, they took away the horses and dragged the carriage through the town to the East Gates, where, to the unspeakable relief of the occupants, they at last desisted from such boisterous though well-meant efforts. "The people erred," concludes Mr. Coulton, "but their error arose from excess of loyalty to their future queen."

THE LATER BAPTISTS.

The manifold trials which beset the Baptists in their early career were in a measure dispelled by the appearance of the Rev. William Richards (1776). From a letter addressed to Dr. Ash, with whom he laboured at Pershore (Worcestershire), we learn how the young minister was persuaded to stay "over the winter," that the people generally were stanch Churchmen and "consequently bitter enemies" to the Kulamites,* as the Dissenters were called. Besides the Baptist, the smallest and best attended, there were meeting-houses for the Presbyterians, Quakers and Wesleyans. There were, however, no other Dissenters within thirty miles.

After several years' successful work, William Richards resigned and was followed by Timothy Durrant, who rendered gratuitous service until 1805. In consequence of an increasing congregation, the old meeting-house was pulled down and a larger building, known to the present generation as

THE "OLD" BAPTIST CHAPEL, BROAD STREET,

was erected (1808) at a cost of £1,260 8s. Messrs. Durrant and Brindley gave £200 each, whilst £47 16s. was subscribed, thus leaving a debt of £821 12s. The opening services were conducted by

* *Kulamite, Kulamites, or Kihamite.* This appellation, which developed into a generic term of reproach, applied to all the Lynn Nonconformists, is either derived from Davy Cutly, an Anabaptist who founded a sect at Guyhirn, about the time of the Reformation, or Alexander Kilham (1762-98), an outspoken Dissenter, expelled from the London Conference (1796).

Alexander Smith, a student from the Bristol Academy—the only place where Particular or Calvinistic Baptists were then trained.

From the visit of Thomas Grantham (1687) to the advent of the Rev. J. T. Wigner (1839) there were 26 successive pastors, of whom four remained here less than five years, and none of the others rendered more than twelve years' service, whilst on two occasions the Church was without a minister.

THE ZION CHAPEL.

About the year 1832, several members who held high Calvinistic views, left the main body, and built a small place of worship on the Blackfriars' Road, not many yards from the first Wesleyan Chapel. The father of the late George Holditch (mayor 1875) is said to have been a moving spirit among these separatists, who allowed none to participate in their gatherings, except they had previously been immersed. For many years the brotherhood of strict communionists has ceased to be, and the Zion Chapel, once used as a "Working man's Club and Institute," is now a Mission Hall.

During the ministry of the Rev. W. F. Poile (1832-9) the General Baptists flourished. A schoolroom (£180) was added to the premises in Broad Street, and the adjoining vestries thrown into the chapel. Legal difficulties in connection with the Society's property greatly harassed his ministry. Mr. Poile left in December 1839, and on the 29th of the same month the Rev. J. T. Wigner, "the immortal ministry as remarkable for its duration as it was for its unflagging child," as he was many years afterwards termed, commenced a prosperity.

THE STEPNEY CHAPEL.

In 1839 there was a debt of £600 on the chapel property; however, by disposing of a part of the premises it was reduced to £225. A committee was formed and subscriptions promised towards the erection of a new chapel in a more prominent position. The site, chosen in the Blackfriars' Road, was, at the beginning of the 19th century, a rope-walk beside the Purfleet, with its landing stages and trail of laden barges. The building, begun the next year, stands, notwithstanding, on sacred ground, because centuries before the rope-makers began to ambulate that meadow the sturdy mediæval evangelists had reared their magnificent monastery. Here they begged and laboured and "preached as never sure to preach again, as dying man to dying men." And here, too, when their life-work was accomplished, were they gently lapped in earth beneath the waving trees of their beloved "Paradise."

The total cost of the new building, with seats for 800, amounted to £2,500; it was called the "Stepney Chapel" in honour of the college from whence the Rev. J. T. Wigner and his predecessor came. The opening ceremony was held on the 23rd of June 1841; the next day the pastor was ordained. Writing thirteen years later, he says: "The Stepney Chapel is entirely free from debt. All the property is freehold, belonging to the Church; it cannot be mortgaged or alienated; and the trust deeds of the whole are in your (the Society's) possession." Up to that time £8,000 had been raised.

The chapel was subsequently reseated and beautified, at a cost of £700; during the ministry of the Rev. Arthur T Osborne (1871-85) the building was "renovated," an organ chamber constructed, and a new organ placed therein, at a cost of £1,100,—the whole being cheerfully given. The Sunday school was formerly held in a barn-like building, where Bath's coach factory now stands. At the Mart, for many years, it was let to accommodate Samuel's circus. During the pastorate of the Rev. J. T. Wigner, a new schoolroom, near the chapel, was erected (1850), which cost £750. A neat chapel was also reared at West Lynn (1844).

PASTORS:

(a) *Meeting-house, Broad Street*:—A layman; another layman; a minister "sometime at an academy": Mr. — Catmore; Thomas Chesterton, 1760-73; William Richards, M.A., LL.D., 1776-1802, but absent two years, during which Mr. Durrant "supplied"; Timothy Durrant, 1802-8.

(b) *"Old" Baptist Chapel, Broad Street*:—Messrs. Alexander Smith and Singleton, laymen; Thomas Finch, 1810-11; T. Welch, 1811-3; Mr. Walton, 1813-5; Mr. Mills, 1820-20; P. J. Briscoe, 1820-3; Mr. Cole, 1825-8; Mr. Trewella, 1828-32; W. F. Poile, 1822-9; John Thomas Wigner, 1839.

(c) *Stepney Chapel, Blackfriars Road*:—J. T. Wigner, 1839-66; Thomas J. Malyon, 1866-9; Arthur T. Osborne, 1871-85; Isaac Watts, 1885-90; Thomas Perry, 1890-8; David J. Evans, B.A., 1899—

SECESSIONS.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 1811. | Salem Chapel, Norfolk Street, built. |
| 1832. | Zion " Blackfriars' Road, built. |
| 1859. | Union " Market Street, built. |

A MUNICIPAL REFORMATION.

So lively an interest in the reform movement was manifested, that the mayor, Lionel Self, called a public meeting to consider the propriety of petitioning the House of Lords to pass without mutilation the "Reform Bill," introduced by Lord John Russell (1st March 1831). Colonel Walpole had already resigned, and his successor, Lord Lennox, was returned expressly "to reform the House of Commons."

After a series of vicissitudes, the Act received the royal assent (7th of June 1832). Sixty boroughs were at once disfranchised, and forty-seven were thenceforth to return only one member. Castle Rising, having a population of less than 2,000, lost its representative, although retaining its Mayor until the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. Lynn, having over 4,000 inhabitants, was unaffected and continued to send two members to parliament, but by granting the suffrage to all £10-householders, the Act despoiled the local autonomy of its power. The subservient freemen might still vote as they were bidden, but the effect would be neutralised by the votes of the untrammelled unfree body of householders.

The common councilmen, no longer the nominees of the aldermen, were elected as the representatives of the burgesses at large. Hence a meeting of "the Inhabitant Ratepayers" was held at the New Market House to elect three members of the Corporation, who were eligible to serve in the New Town Council, and to consider the nomination of other candidates (31st October 1835). At this meeting Joseph Wales was prevailed upon to stand for the South Ward, comprising Stonegate and the parish of South Lynn. In his address, issued the

2nd of November 1835, he insisted upon every description of property vested in the Corporation being essentially intended for the benefit of the inhabitants at large, and declared that those who endeavoured to confer the greatest advantage arising therefrom upon the townsfolk, without allowing selfish motives or family preferences to influence them, were the persons most entitled to the confidence of the voters.

A few years later the "Reformers of Lynn" held a meeting at the *Duke's Head*, to celebrate—perhaps in a convivial rather than oratorical way—the triumph of the "Reformers of Yarmouth" at their late election (27th August 1838).

THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

For more than two centuries, the alarming abuses, prevailing in municipal corporations, caused constant, yet justifiable complaint. Incredible corruption in the management of local affairs was the order of the day. Subject to no popular control and unchecked by public opinion, the proceedings were conducted with inviolable secrecy, and the revenue of the boroughs, which ought to have been husbanded for the good of the community, was either wastefully squandered for the benefit of a few private individuals or frittered away upon schemes positively injurious to the morals of the people. Nothing, however, was done to correct the pecuniary aberrations of those in authority, until the passing of the Reform Act.

In July 1833, the King issued a commission under the Great Seal to twenty gentlemen, authorising them "to proceed with the utmost despatch to inquire into the existing state of the municipal corporations in England and Wales, and to collect information respecting the defects in their constitution. In making inquiry into their jurisdiction and powers, and the administration of justice, and in all other respects; and also into the mode of electing and appointing the members and officers of such corporations, and into the privileges of the freemen and other members thereof, and into the nature and management of the income, revenues and funds of the said corporations." The whole area was mapped out into districts, two commissioners, in most cases, being assigned to each.

George Long and John Buckle, of the Royal Commission, commenced an exhaustive inquiry here on Saturday the 16th, and continued their investigation during the 18th, 19th, 20th, and 22nd of November 1833. The following witnesses were examined in the Gild Hall:—William Everard the mayor (a banker), Frederick Lane the town clerk, Charles Burcham the borough chamberlain (a civil engineer), Alderman Lionel Self (a merchant), Jonathan Townley a common councilman, Thurlow Nelson the collector of town dues, William Beeson the collector of flour dues, William Cox the harbour master, and William Davey the gaoler, besides nine unofficial burgesses, namely, Thomas Augustus Carter, James Towell, Matthew Dawber (merchants), George King, Charles Crawley, Josiah Greene, John Keed (hatter), James D. Whincop and Simon Currey (a labourer).

A calm perusal of the published versions of these "proceedings" cannot fail to impress an impartial reader, how the official witnesses

thoroughly realised they were upon their trial and that they did their best to bolster up a weak case. *

The body corporate, as we learn, consisted mainly of mercantile traders, who, with the patronage of the borough in their own grasp, "bestowed," without payment, the freedom of the port upon relations and friends. For this most valuable commercial asset, the recipients were expected to serve as members of the Corporation, and in turn make *their* relations and friends also freemen. Some, even before the completion of their apprenticeship, were made free, and others, after serving "only a few days" as common councilmen, were created aldermen. Those qualified by "servitude" were capriciously set aside, whilst from others the deterrent sum of 150 guineas was demanded, whereas the highest fee, a few years before, was only £40. Two merchants, named Denton, made frequent applications for their freedom, for which they were quite willing to pay. Continually ignored by the Corporation, they sought and obtained the freedom of the City of London, and forthwith refused to pay the tolls demanded of unfree traders at Lynn. The result was an action at law, between the two corporations. After a reversal of the decision at the Court of Common Plea, it was finally established at the Court of King's Bench, that when a person was a freeman of London, he possessed the right of exemption to paying tolls at Lynn (28th January 1791).

Again and again, efforts had been made, as we are told, to induce intelligent tradesmen and dissenters to enter the Town Council, but grievous to relate, they one and all declined "on account of the trouble" to accept such an honour. The aldermen, who elected the common councilmen, had indeed done their level best to fill the vacancies. Certainly, it was not their fault, because no opinion, whether political or religious, would ever influence them in doing other than what was just and right. From their repeated asseverations we ought to believe they were exceeding anxious to include, one and all, in a contracted family circle.

Briefly let us consider the integral parts of the constitution:—Seven seats were occupied by the members of the Everard family, or, to be exact, four Everards pure and simple, plus three Blencowes related by marriage (Messrs. Everard and Blencowe, bankers); to which might be added the town clerk, who, though then related to the Everards by a fortuitous event, was luckily not so before his appointment; *four* members of the Hogge family, including Alderman Allen, whose relationship was providentially ordained just after his election; *three* of the Bagge family, not omitting dear nephew Hulton and lastly *three* members of an unselfish family named Self. Thus four families, with the town clerk—an important municipal integer thrown in—monopolised seventeen of the thirty seats in the Town Council. Four seats were empty, whilst the remaining nine were not appropriated by relatives, it is true, but they were

* Read *The Report of an Enquiry into the Affairs of the Corporation of King's Lynn*. [*verbatim*] taken by John Thew, printed by John Drakard at the Stamford News Office, pp. 56 (1833); also *A Report on the Proceedings of His Majesty's Commissioners*. at King's Lynn [condensed], published by J. W. Atkin, Lynn, pp. 72 (1834).

unquestionably by the dearest of friends whose adhesion to *the* party was quite brotherly.

(1) SALARIES.

The appended yearly stipends were received by the officers of the borough:—

High Steward, £10, which was given to the local charities.

Mayor, £200; discontinued in 1830.

Recorder, £30, as assessor; anciently a tun of wine.

Town Clerk, £350 with customary emoluments which brought it up to something less than £500.

Chamberlain, £150, who was steward, not treasurer; he was "not a burges nor indeed has he any connexion with the town"; he gave security for £1,000.

Coroners, 15s. 10d.—the ordinary fee at each inquest, which was given to the town-clerk "for preparing and assisting in the ordinary duties."

Gaoler, £100 and a few small perquisites.

Sword-bearer, £18 10s. 0d., who also assisted as constable.

Senior Sergeant-at-mace, £56 (Thew) or £50 (Aikin).

Second " " " £50 (") or £45 (").

Third " " " £30 (") or £40 (").

Fourth " " " £30 (") or £—

Collector of Town Dues, £100 on an average (a percentage of the gross receipts).

Haven Master, £12: 10 to compensate for this low salary, he collected the Up-river and Petty tolls (French, *petit*, little), receiving 10 per cent. of the takings, which amounted to more than £42; he also collected the tolls, under the *Eau Brink Navigation Act*.

Water Bailiff—one of the sergeants-at-mace, who regulated the mooring of boats, claimed the first fish for the mayor and received for his pains 1s. per boat and 21s. for every admiralty process (perhaps one in seven years).

Beaconer, £350, for which he supplied and fixed all the buoys and beacons within the admiralty jurisdiction of the port, except the expensive *life beacons* upon the Thief and Whiting Sands.

Common Crier, £15 and a few small fees.

Mayor's Beadle, £40 16s. 0d., who combined therewith the duties of constable.

Master of the Waterworks, £75 and dwelling-house.

(2) COURTS.

The *Quarter Sessions* (criminal) was held regularly, where all cases short of high treason were tried. The borough had power by virtue of its charters to try and execute felons; none, however, had been executed since 1802. All cases in which the interests of the Corporation itself were at issue were sent to the county. The recorder attended the Quarter Sessions or appointed a barrister as his deputy.

The *Petty Scssions* (criminal) were held three or four times a week, invariably on Mondays. Two magistrates were generally present.

The *Gild Hall or Recorder's Court* (civil court of pleas and complaints) was seldom used. It had the power of arresting, and was presided over by the mayor and the recorder or his deputy.

The *Admiralty Court* was held monthly, the mayor presiding. Its function was to grant licences to fishermen. The cost of a licence was 10s. 6d., plus the stamp. Without a licence fishing was illegal, but proceedings were stayed because the men were poor. The court contented itself with regulating the size of the meshes in nets, etc.

If an anchor were found, it was kept for a year and a day; then, if still unclaimed, sold; and the proceeds, after deducting expenses, added to the Corporation fund.

The *Court of Requests* (16th George III.) comprised the mayor, 12 aldermen, 10 *senior* common councilmen, the guardians of the poor of St. Margaret's and the overseers of Allsaints' parish. This court, three members constituting a quorum, decided all disputed debts not exceeding £2. The debt must have been contracted in the borough, but there was no necessity for the suitor to be a resident. When a debt was contracted at different times, each separate contract might form a separate cause of action, as decided by Lord Tenterden. This court of equity, as well as law, was superseded by the County Court (6th March 1847); the new Court House, London Road, being erected in 1861.

To the *Leet Court* reference has already been made.

(3) JURIES.

The unequal parts, into which the Purfleet divided the town, were regarded as two districts. The names of those selected by the Coroners, as suitable persons to serve on juries, were put into a hat and the order in which they were drawn decided the panel. The number selected in each district was 96, whereas 48 constituted the panel. The same parties were summoned every alternate session, thus whatever might be the nature of the crime, the list of jurymen was always ready. The same list, wherein common councilmen always figured, did duty also for the Grand Jury, for which 25 were generally summoned. The registrar impanelled the jury for the Gild Hall Court.

A peculiar jurisdiction for passing the dower and other estates of married women was here in vogue. A special deed had to be enrolled in order to secure the interests of a married woman. In the absence of her husband, she acknowledged before the mayor that the declaration was made of her free will. An entry, then written in a book kept for that purpose by the town clerk, barred her right by ancient custom.

(4) PROPERTY.

The real property of the Corporation consisted, as then reported, of land and houses, partly within, and partly at some little distance from the borough. The whole area comprised 2,720 acres 2 roods; small inclosures 466 acres 23 pls., plantations and public walks 6 acres 22 pls. and farms 928 acres 17 pls.

Snettisham farm, derived partly by grant from the Crown and partly by purchase (763 acres 38 poles) let to John Beck at £650 a year, lease expiring 1837.

Wiggenhall St. Germans' farm (164 acres 3 rds. 19 pls.) let to W. H. Jex at £250 a year.

Wiggenhall St. Peter and St. Mary's, land (21 acres 3 rds. 35 pls.) let to Henry Smith and Robert Scot at £43 per annum.

West Winch and Setchy, land (20 acres) let to Mr. Fayers for £26 5s. od. per year.

Several nominal rents, for the reservation of the rights of the Corporation, must be omitted, but the income of the borough may be thus set forth:—

	£	s.	d.
Annual income and estimated annual value of property in hand ...	2,931	16	6
Town dues, wharfage and tolls... ..	3,182	1	4
Mart with fee-farm and quit-rents	177	5	0
Charities	221	11	2
Interest	80	4	2
Court Leet returns (Mayoress' Pin Money and small receipts) ...	16	4	11
	<hr/> £6,609 3 1 <hr/>		

If from this sum be deducted between £600 and £700 annually paid on account of the different charities (£646 14s. 7d. in 1832), it will leave the available income at somewhat under £6,000 per annum.

A tedious examination, conducted by the Commissioners, ensued relative to income and expenditure. Since 1783 the bond debts had increased £7,800, which, with annuities and the sale of property, amounted to £16,780, thus making the whole excess of expenditure for fifty years equal to £24,580, or nearly £500 per annum. By far the greater part of the debt was in annuities, and as many of the annuitants were old, some of the yearly increments would soon cease. Every year the Corporation was paying these investors £1,200. Now as the sum originally received was £14,133, the rate of interest was about eight per cent., nearly double the then present rate of interest—the difference being regarded as a sinking fund, towards the redemption of the debt. Here is a summary, which exhibits the principal items of the extraordinary expenditure incurred:—

	£	s.	d.
Improvements and extraordinary repairs of property	3,521	14	1
Improvements and extraordinary repairs to bridges and gaol	4,698	16	1
Purchase of property	3,679	18	2
Extraordinary expense of keeping out the sea	3,544	13	4
Expense of opposition to the Eau Brink Acts... ..	4,044	13	1
Voluntary contributions to Government	1,196	12	0
Do. Do. to the poor	1,050	0	0
Do. Do. for various public purposes	1,056	8	1
Expenses of prosecutions	1,814	7	10
Sundry expenses	1,795	0	3
	<hr/> £26,402 2 11 <hr/>		

Included in the above amount was nearly £700 spent in prosecuting the rioters at the oyster fishery; £100 subscribed towards the erection of the Nelson Monument at Yarmouth; £2,370 5s. expended upon bridges, for example, £80 for a new bridge (1804), £650 for another and making a road to St. James' burial-ground (1805), £323 8s. 8d. spent upon three bridges (1810) and for new bridges—£940 17s. 11d. the Long bridge (1811), £176 9s. 10d. the Double bridge (1811), £103 9s. the Mill bridge (1817) and lastly £104 19s. 7d. the Clough bridge (1820). The Clough bridge was

widened in 1834, as was the London Road bridge in 1837. The Corporation had 25 bridges and 19 wharves to keep in repair.

The Theatre, towards the building of which the town advanced £1,000 (40 shares), is still owned by a proprietary company, with a capital of £5,225, that is, 208 shares of £25 each. In 1832 the town received interest at 3 per cent. (£30).

(5) ALIENATED PROPERTY

comprised St. George's Hall, sold to Mr. Lee Warner, who already owned the vaults beneath the building; two tenements in St. James' Street, sold to the Rev. E. Edwards for £200; 21 acres of land, purchased under the Eau Brink Act; 1 acre 3 rds. at Ingoldisthorpe, sold to Mr. Davey for £84 and 3 acres, sold to Mr. C. Goodwin in 1826 for £1,200, which was spent in rebuilding the Grammar School, in the Saturday Market-place.

The tolls and dues, the most prolific source of income, are treated elsewhere.

Large sums were also spent in providing corn during a year of great scarcity (1795) and in compensating the occupiers of houses, when the Saturday market was removed from High Street. The land at the back of St. James' Workhouse—South and Wood Street—was drained (£30, but query); an action, brought by Joseph Lawrence, junr., against Isaac Scott, the gaoler, for false imprisonment, was defended (£43 10s. od.); Hardwick Road was improved (£45 7s. 6d.) and eight shares were taken in the Cross Keys Bridge Company (£640), because the raising of the embankment benefited the people of Lynn by shortening the distance between Norwich and Newark more than 27 miles.

The result of the town's opposition to the Eau Brink Bills was the insertion of clauses to protect the harbour and insure its navigation. Further, a sum of £40,000 was ear-marked by the commissioners; the greater part to the use of Lynn and the remainder to compensate individuals, who suffered loss through the alteration. Moreover, the sum of £750 per annum was reserved for seventy years, to protect the harbour from any injury it might sustain from these works. About £8,000 was absorbed in legal expenses.

(6) PATRONAGE.

The early charters bestowed upon the Corporation the functions of a local parliament. Besides, this exclusive body could confer the freedom of the borough for or without payment, or withhold it altogether; it administered the charity funds and held unshackled control over a revenue exceeding £6,000 per annum. The Corporation appointed the "lecturer," who was indeed their chaplain, yet were they neither bound to appoint nor to pay him. He nevertheless received £100 a year from the town stock, and was provided with a residence, which formed part of the parochial estate; he was expected to preach on Sundays, one sermon at St. Nicholas' and one at the parent church. Though appointed by the Dean and Chapter, the Corporation also paid the minister of St. Margaret's £200 a year. Both stipends were paid voluntarily.

The master of the Grammar School was also appointed by the Corporation, who paid him £60 a year and provided him with a dwelling rent-free. Their patronage included the selection of inmates for the various almshouses.

(7) POLICE.

The "force" consisted of 20 constables, two for each ward and six extra constables, namely, the four sergeants-at-mace and two beadles—one pertaining to the Mayor and the other to the governor of the workhouse. The sword-bearer, carrying for the nonce a truncheon, acted as constable, if needed. There were besides five night watchmen. The constables and watchmen, who generally served two years, were appointed by the aldermen, from among the second-rate tradesmen. Special constables were occasionally employed, but were invariably inefficient. As there was no chief or high constable, the members of the force were in free communication with the mayor.

The prisoners were, with the exception of two hours' exercise daily, relegated to solitary confinement; their diet consisted of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of cheese per week, $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of bread per day, and, if so they listed, 1 gallon of water per hour. The greatest number luxuriating upon this diet was 34, of whom 10 were women. The repair and alteration of the gaol in 1833 cost £2,311.

Of the 67 licences granted by the magistrates (that is the aldermen) to public houses, exclusive of beer shops, 44 were held by the magistrates themselves. In justice, however, be it recorded, the four "principal inns" did not belong to the licensers. In 1845 there were 118 public houses besides 38 licensed beer houses, whereas in 1892 with 4,161 inhabited houses and a population of 18,265 the number of licensed houses stood at 180. To every 100 persons there was indeed a licensed house, and out of every 22 houses one was licensed for the sale of intoxicating drinks (Vigilance Committee).

(8) TAXATION.

The whole of the taxation at this period may be accepted as about £19,000 per annum.

Assessed Taxes	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£2,630
Land Tax	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,450
Paving, Lighting, Watching, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,060
Poor Rate (St. Margaret's)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,000
" " (All Saints)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,600
Church Rate (both parishes)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,160

The poor rates are given approximately.

(9) CHARITIES.

Besides the year's balance-sheet, an abstract of our Charities was submitted to the Commissioners, but as this subject demands exhaustive treatment it is designedly omitted.

When, towards the end of the inquiry, the Commissioners asked whether there was any objection to common councilmen being a *representative* body, Frederick Lane, the town-clerk, said he believed such a system was not calculated to promote the peace of a town.

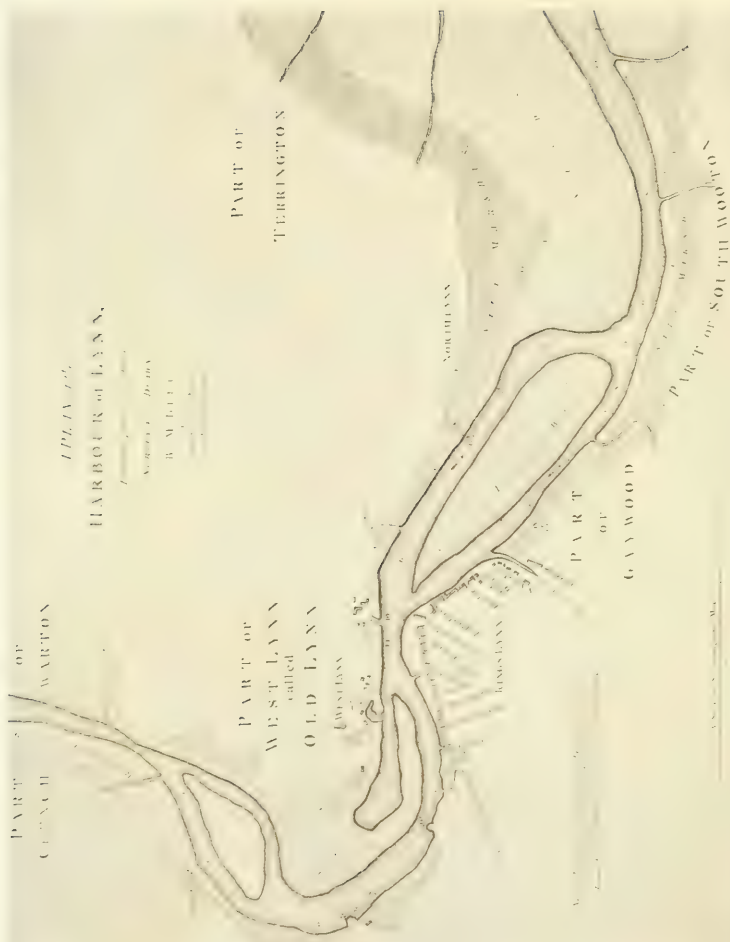
because where these (election) contests had taken place—for instance at Norwich, there had been much animosity and heart-burning. He did not think “self-election” congenial with the present feelings of society. He would raise the suffrage higher than that, which qualified a man to vote for a member of parliament. Moreover, he would like to see the councilman elected for life, giving him even greater permanency than parliamentary representatives.

The national report, published in six volumes, was placed before parliament. On the 9th of September 1835, the royal assent was given to the Municipal (Corporations) Reform Act, introduced by Lord John Russell (5th June), to provide for the efficient regulation of the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales. The object of the measure was primarily to render the functionaries eligible by, and responsible to, the persons whose interests they were appointed to watch over and protect. Sweeping changes suddenly overtook our corporate body, for Lynn was one of the 178 boroughs affected by this Act. More effective arrangements were made for the administration of justice; the paving and lighting of the town, with other local matters, was committed to the Town Council, whose members were to be elected by resident householders, who had paid the poor and other rates for *three* years.

THE HARBOUR BYE-LAWS.

Before the construction of the Estuary Cut, the bending river somewhat resembled the letter S placed sidewise. In each bend was a pear-shaped, sandy islet, with its narrow end pointing towards the south. The port stood between on the eastern bank, with the village of West Lynn opposite. The northern sandbank, with which we are chiefly concerned, was a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad; it divided the Crutch or main stream into two parts, the western channel being 200 yards wide and from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep at low water, and the eastern being but 50 yards at its narrowest part, where it was only 2 feet in depth at low water mark. After passing the Common Staith and St. Anne's Fort, the outgoing water held its course along the North Bank to Nottingham Point. The treacherous surface of the two sandbanks, though covered with the tide, rose 3 or 4 feet when the water receded. The southern point of the northern obstacle to our navigation was just off the Common Staith, whilst opposite the Boal was the end of a narrow, sandy spit 600 yards long, jutting from the West Lynn side and stretching towards the north. Between these two points was the haven, varying in width, 450 yards to the north, 200 yards to the south and 100 yards between, where, as might be anticipated, the river was deepest (14 feet below low water).

The ascending volume, encountering the first sandbank, was not merely divided, but seriously compressed, because the banks on either side were steep, rising from 10 to 25 feet. The result was a tidal wave, the influx of whose mad fury swept the low foreshore with disastrous effect, especially at the time of the equinoxes, when the ebb waters were met by heavier tides. If accompanied by a



BELL'S PLAN OF THE OLD HARBOUR.

north-east wind, the spring tides rose often more than twenty feet; sometimes forcing the ships, though several miles from the sea, away from their moorings.

The admonitory roar of the *eager* or bore could be heard in the far-off distance,* and then without further warning, the resistless wave came surging over the "Rolling Ground" or northern sandbank into the harbour, causing the smooth water to suddenly leap up two or three feet. "'Ware a-ger! 'Ware a-ger!!" resounded along the shore, and woe betide the luckless keelsman who failed to slip his moorings, because his craft would otherwise be instantly swamped. Two centuries ago, Drayton pictured the disaster, when he tells how the tidal onslaught—

O'erturns the toiling barge, whose steersman does not launch,
And thrusts her frowning beak into the ireful panch.

In pursuance of an Act passed in the 10th year of George IV. a series of bye-laws were formulated for controlling the shipping of the port (21st December 1831), which were thenceforth to be implicitly obeyed. Prior to this every seaman moored his vessel just where he chose, and the selfishness which generally guided their actions, caused great trouble. To reach their ships, the sailors were often compelled to wade knee-deep in mud. Having provided buoys, dolphins, and chains stretched athwart the harbour at equal distances, the Corporation concocted ten bye-laws and appointed a haven-master to see them properly enforced. A fine of twenty shillings was to be inflicted upon any disregarding the regulations, which may be thus condensed:—A proper number of hands were to be on board every ship, barge, lighter or "float of timber" at tide-time to slacken the ropes or mooring chains, as required by the haven-master, his deputy or assistant. This was absolutely necessary, and, remembering the tidal wave which swept the water-way, its infringement merited punishment. Every vessel, with her head pointing towards the north, had to be moored to the chains foreward and to the buoys aft; not more than six vessels were to constitute a tier. As the inner moorings became vacant the off-side vessel might claim the inner berth. All light vessels and those about to load from the shore, were, however, permitted to come inside the tier for that purpose. Those near the shore might be moored to the dolphins.

On leaving any mooring the small chains, attached to the larger one, were to be made fast to the adjacent buoy, and were not allowed to be slipped into the water. No vessel might be moored at the entrance of any of the fleets, nor might any vessel enter a fleet, except it should be leaky or for loading or discharging at any wharf or granary beside the fleet. As soon as the repairs had been done, or the business transacted, the vessel was to be removed at once, into the harbour, and moored not to any bridge, cess, crane or other fixture, but to the mooring posts, etc. Vessels might "lay by" in "the upper Fleet" only. The anchors of moored vessels were

* From *Devo*, a part of the Norse Sagas is alleged to spring of the flood.

to be placed on the forecastles, and the jib-booms and lower-yards were to be peaked. Ballast boats, etc., having discharged, were immediately to drop astern and not remain either between the ships or tiers of ships. No vessel was permitted to swing at anchor in the channel, except in case of necessity, and then only for a single tide; if berthed on the west side, she must be moored fore and aft to the stakes put down for that purpose. Moreover, the haven-master was neither to be insulted nor obstructed in the discharge of his duties.

The "Congregation" added the following byelaw on the 29th of August 1834:—

That every Person who shall Unmoor, Unfasten or Remove any Boat or other Vessel in the Harbour of this Borough, without the consent of the Owner or Person having the Charge thereof, or of the Harbour-Master, or shall wilfully or negligently leave any Boat or Vessel at large in the said Harbour, shall, on conviction thereof, before the Mayor or any Justice of the Peace for the Borough aforesaid, Forfeit such Penalty as to the said Justice shall seem meet, not exceeding the Sum of Twenty Shillings.

The vessels, with their bows to the *flood* tide, were not only comparatively safe, but they could be easily detached from the chains and buoys by which they were held. "The ships then" (that is before the alterations brought about by the Mooring Commissioners) "lay with their bows on the *ebb* tide, and secured at the stern by heavy hawser cables of 10 or 12 inches; these (the only stern moorings) were run a great length along the shore mud to large wooden dolphins, formed of three huge trees, driven into the sand and united at the top.* It will be apparent that from this method, the whole tier of ships on the flood tide swung in to the shore quite across the tide, thereby bringing a terrible and unnecessary strain upon the stern mooring rope. It will also be evident that to unmoor a ship so secured with heavy and long hempen ropes" (especially when encased with ice), "was no small labour." (Armes.) Under the provisions of the Act, the loan of £12,900, paid off by tonnage dues, was negotiated. Prior to the adoption of this system, not a spring-tide passed without vessels breaking adrift and being either dismantled or sunk in the channel.

THE WEST NORFOLK AND LYNN HOSPITAL

owes its existence primarily to the undaunted exertion of the late Daniel Gurney, Esq., of North Runcton. After the receipt of donations amounting to £3,308, a plot of 2,000 square yards, pleasantly situated near the Walks rivulet, was purchased of the Corporation for £100 and the lease of the adjacent field secured for 999 years at a rent of £5 an acre. The design submitted by Mr. Angell was approved, and the services of John Sugars, the builder, were secured. The edifice, with extras which absorbed £338, cost £2,060; there was therefore a good margin for paying the architect and other incidental expenses. The whole was completed and furnished in 1834. Daniel Gurney was unanimously chosen first chairman of the board of management. He assiduously

* One of these old mooring tripods is still standing off the Purfleet Quay (1906).

discharged the arduous duties, until his retirement at the age of 85 years.

The original building formed the central part only of the present block. The first additions were at the back; then came the "Harwood wing," raised with money bequeathed by George Harwood—a legacy of £500 plus £2,800 the residue of his property (1848). The "Hankinson wing" cost £395, the greater part, £200, being given by the Rev. Robert E. Hankinson (1852). A children's ward (£1,000), a long-felt want, was finally added to commemorate the completion of the sixty years of the reign of Queen Victoria (1897).

This noble institution is largely indebted to the munificence of the late Earl of Derby, who founded what is termed the "Lord Stanley Trust." It consists of 10 shares of £100 each in the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company, Limited (£1,000), and 331 deferred shares of £1 each in the same company (£331). The whole amount, £1,331, was vested in the name of the Official Trustees for Charitable Funds. The income from this source is, according to the deed of trust, for the above hospital, or other society, institution or means, for the time being established, for supplying food, fuel, clothing, medicine or medical attendance, or otherwise for the relief, support or assistance of such indigent persons, resident within the borough of King's Lynn, or for the same or similar objects, persons or purposes independent of any such institution, society or means as the Administrative Trustees should in their absolute discretion think fit, but without respect to the religious sect, persuasion or belief of the recipients of the charity.

THE DEANERY OF LYNN.

To exercise direct supervision and to maintain thorough discipline in the English Church, the larger dioceses, during the primacy of Lanfranc and St. Anselm, were divided into two or more archdeaconries. The archdeacons paid periodical visits to the churches in their own respective districts. Standing between the clergy and the parishioners, they heard, investigated and, moreover, settled grievances and disputes according to ecclesiastical law. "The position occupied greatly resembled," says Dr. Jessopp, "that held by H.M. Inspector, who stands between the ratepayer on the one hand and the elementary schools on the other."

Another important administrative measure was the sub-dividing of the archdeaconries, by grouping contiguous parishes together under the presidency of one of the local clergy, termed a *dean* (Latin, *decans*, ten), but "whether first used among the secular clergy to signify a priest, who had charge of inspection or superintendence over *ten* parishes or among the regular clergy to signify a monk who, in a monastery had authority over *ten* other monks, appears doubtful." (Phillimore.)

The Deanery of Lynn is under the patronage of the Bishop of Norwich, the diocese being in the province of Canterbury; its bishop is a suffragan to the archbishop of the metropolitan see. Blomefield supplies a list of our deans from 1315 to 1547. A dean of Lenne

is, however, mentioned in connection with the foundation of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen at Gaywood (1174), and another, Master Geoffrey (1254-67), is referred to, in the *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* (1890), vol. i., p. 149, as is also William de Wicheton, the *steward* of Lenne.

At the Reformation, when the 1,370 parishes in the diocese of Norwich, which embraced Norfolk, Suffolk and a part of Cambridgeshire, were consolidated into 1,279, the Deanery of Lenne was granted by the bishop to the archdeacon of Norwich (1547). It was taxed at 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.) and paid to the archdeacon 58s. at Easter and also at Michaelmas; besides Peter-pence 25s. a year.

In 1836-7 alterations in the area of the diocese were made, at the recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The diocese in 1845 comprised three archdeaconries—Norwich (13 deaneries), Norfolk (12) and Suffolk (16). Freebridge Marshland was formerly annexed to Freebridge Lynn under the title of "Freebridge Hundred and Half," and constituted the Deanery of Lynn in the Archdeaconry of Norwich. In 1845 there were two rural deans for each of the two Freebridge hundreds.* The Rev. Robert Edwards Hankinson, M.A., Vicar of St. Margaret's church (1847-50), was archdeacon of Norwich (1857-68).

The present Lynn Deanery is coterminous with the hundred of Freebridge Marshland, excepting the parish of Emneth, which is included in the Rural Deanery of Wisbech, and Archdeaconry and Diocese of Ely. The Rev. Robert Gordon Roe, M.A., is Rural Dean (1901—).

BENEFACTION.

Edmund Elsdon (1789-1832) of Congham bequeathed to trustees £6,000, for his wife Mabella (1792-1865), the daughter of Josiah Barendale of Lancaster, for life, afterwards to the Lynn Charity Trustees to build and endow eight almshouses to be occupied by eight poor men of 60 years of age, "lawfully settled" in the parish of South Lynn. The *Elsdon* Almshouses were erected at the decease of Mrs. Elsdon. Henry Elsdon, a nephew, acted as executor.

* * * * *

William IV. died at Windsor in the 73rd year of his age, 20th of June 1837.

CHAPTER XLII.

The Lowering Cloud.

THE Princess Alexandrina Victoria, the only child of Edward, Duke of Kent, the fourth son of George III., succeeded her uncle when she had just completed her eighteenth year (1837).

Queen Victoria was born at Kensington Palace the 24th of May 1819; her coronation was celebrated the 28th of June 1838, and her

* An obituary of a group of ten churches. "The Deanery of Lynn Marshland" (1838) was executed by the Rev. E. E. Blencowe of West Walton, one of the Rural Deans for Freebridge Marshland.

marriage with Prince Albert, the son of Ernest I., Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, solemnized the 10th of February 1840.

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THE NEW FRANCHISE.

For the fifth time Lord George Bentinck (1802-48) was called upon to represent the borough, his colleague being Sir Stratford Canning, K.C.B. (8th January 1835). Hearing, towards the end of the year, that their political opponents "not contented with having long endeavoured to secure an array of votes against them, had actually commenced a regular canvass," the two members came to Lynn, to counteract the influence of the opposite party. Profusely placarding their acknowledgments for the very kind and flattering reception experienced, they returned to London highly elated with the renewal of promises of support (9th December 1836).

As a general election was imminent, addresses were issued a few days after the Queen's accession (26th June 1837). Sir Stratford Canning in his *apologia* exclaims:—

Even those Electors, from whom I have the misfortune to differ in political opinion, have not I trust found me neglectful of their local interests, or opposed to any measure brought forward under the name of reform, except in the honest conviction, that such specific measure was essentially hostile to the just rights of property and to the safety or efficiency of our constitutional establishments in Church and State.

Major George Thomas Keppel (1799-1891) of Quidenham, a Waterloo officer, afterwards the sixth Earl of Albemarle, came forward to oppose the old members. He represented East Norfolk from 1832 to 1835, and now appealed to a new constituency in these words:—

Her Majesty has been pleased to continue in her Councils those enlightened ministers, through whose agency many ameliorations have been recently effected; and it now rests with the People of England to mark their sense of Her Majesty's Patriotic Conduct. . . . As an Independent Supporter of those Ministers with a view of securing 'to ALL the full enjoyment of religious liberty' and of protecting the Rights and promoting 'the Happiness and Welfare of ALL classes' of my fellow-subjects I now solicit the honor of your suffrages, assuring you at the same time, that should I be so fortunate as to become your Representative, my best endeavours shall also be directed to protect and promote the local interests of the Town.

During the campaign the redoubtable Major fought well; defeated, however, by only five or six votes, the old members resumed their seats with flying colours (26th July 1837). The number of voters had now increased to 930.

When Sir Stratford Canning, K.C.B., was appointed Ambassador at Constantinople (February 1842) a new writ was issued, and Viscount Robert Jocelyn (1816-52), the eldest son of the Earl of Roden, was returned, as a Liberal Conservative (10th February); he served on the staff of Lord Saltoun in the China Expedition, and embodied his celestial experiences in an interesting work entitled *Six Months in China*. Having changed his views on the subject of the Corn Law, he honestly offered to resign. The proposal was not entertained. During the last two years of Sir Robert Peel's

administration, Viscount Jocelyn acted as Secretary of State to the India Board.

Lord George Bentinck entered parliament with strong Liberal convictions; he voted for Catholic emancipation and for the principles of the Reform Bill. In 1834 he suddenly deserted the ranks of the Whig party, and from that time until 1845 he became a stanch supporter of Sir Robert Peel. When, however, Sir Robert announced his intention of abandoning the principles of agricultural protection and adopting free trade measures, the Protectionist party was formed, with Lord George as their leader. To mark the borough's appreciation of the course he had taken in strenuously opposing the repeal of the Corn Law Bill, a grand dinner was given in the Market House (1846). On this occasion there was indeed rejoicing throughout the town, because his lordship had "hurled Peel from office." The Duke of Rutland, then Lord John Manners, the Earl of Orford, the Marquis of Granby, Mr. Hudson,—the railway king, Mr. Benjamin Disraeli and other notable protectionists, in sooth (quoting the words of the late John D. Thew), "all the flower of the Conservative party," were present.

In addressing the House, after giving up the seals of office, Sir Robert made use of the following words, which deserve repeating: "I shall leave behind me," he exclaimed, "a name execrated by every monopolist, who, professing honourable opinions, would maintain protection for his own individual benefit; but it may be that I shall be sometimes remembered, with expressions of good will, in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour, and earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. I trust my name will be remembered by those men with expressions of good will, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food—the sweeter because no longer leavened with a sense of injustice."

Lord George Bentinck retained the leadership of the party until 1847, when he retired. Though ranking high as a politician,* he devoted the greater part of his life to the turf—exposing the frauds practised at the Derby (1844) and, by his influence, raising the general tone of the racing circle. At his death, a requisition on behalf of the Hon. Edward Henry Stanley (1826-93) was signed by 180 burgesses, asking him to accept the seat (25th October 1848). Early the same year, Stanley contested the borough of Lancaster as a protectionist, but was beaten by six votes; he then started on a tour in the West Indies, Canada and the United States. It was during his absence that the vacancy occurred at Lynn. Lord Stanley (afterwards fourteenth Earl of Derby) replied on behalf of his son, accepting the candidature (November). At the public nomination in the Town Hall; a Mr. Dixon was proposed. The show of hands, after he had explained his political views, being in his favour, a poll was demanded. Mr. Dixon, however, withdrew; hence Stanley was declared to be duly elected (22nd December 1848). On the 9th of April 1849, the new member visited his constituency, addressed a

* He published a pamphlet in defence of his opposition to Free Trade and the repeal of the Corn Law (24th July 1847).

crowded meeting, and called upon many of the electors, a half-dozen of whom. he barely knew.

Lord Stanley continued to represent the borough until he succeeded his father to the House of Peers as the fifteenth Earl of Derby (1869). During these twenty-one years, he was often persuaded to contest other seats, but only once did he yield to the temptation, when, in 1859, he stood for Marylebone, without success, against Edwin James, Esq., and Sir Benjamin Brodie. His appointment to offices of profit under the Crown was the cause of three bye-elections—when he was made one of the Principal Secretaries of State (4th March 1858), when he accepted the presidency of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India, vacated by Lord Ellenborough (5th June 1858), and when he became Foreign Secretary in the new Conservative administration (11th July 1868).

In 1852 a remarkable electoral contest was fought. A Liberal candidate—Robert Pashley, Esq. (Temple, London) was introduced to the burgesses at a public meeting in the Town Hall, at which William Cooper presided (17th June). William Seppings and Daniel Gurney nominated Lord Jocelyn; Lionel Self and Walter Moyse, Lord Stanley; and, John B. Whiting and William Armes, Robert Pashley, Esq. (7th July). Three polling booths were erected; one “on the south Lynn plain,” and the others at the market-places. About four o’clock in the afternoon of the election day (8th July), an excited mob started pulling down the hustings upon the “Tuesday Hill,” whilst a strong detachment, defying the police, set fire to those near St. Margaret’s church.* The flames threatened the sacred edifice; the lead in the window melted, the glass fell out, and the north gallery was in great danger. For extinguishing the fire in the church and for employing watchers the churchwardens paid 27s., whilst Goskar’s bill for repairing the window amounted to £6 17s. 10d. The result of the poll was the defeat of the Liberal candidate, the numbers recorded being:—637 Jocelyn, 550 Stanley, and 385 Pashley. On the 14th, Mr. Pashley entertained a hundred of his supporters at a dinner at the *Duke’s Head*.

Lord Jocelyn died suddenly from cholera (13th August 1854), when John Henry Gurney, Esq., of Catton Hall, Norwich, was returned unopposed (16th September 1854).

At the general election in November 1868, Lord Stanley (1,265 votes) and the Hon. Robert Bourke (1,125 votes) were returned, whereas Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, bart. (afterwards K.C.M.G., and Governor of South Australia), who had represented the Liberal interest since 14th July 1865, was defeated, receiving 1,012 votes. Aggrieved at this untoward event, a petition was lodged against the return of the Hon. Robert Bourke. It was heard before Mr. Baron Martin at the Lynn County Court (16th and 17th March 1869). The petitioners alleged corrupt practices, treating and intimidation. The case caused great excitement. In recording a verdict, the judge declared the object of the petitioners had failed, and therefore it

* The hustings on the Tuesday Market place were burnt thirty years before.

would be his duty to report to the Speaker of the House of Commons that Mr. Bourke was duly elected.

In 1869 Lord Claud John Hamilton (Conservative) and Richard Young, Esq., of Wisbech (Liberal), were nominated. Party feelings ran high and the proceedings at the election were most tumultuous (9th December 1869). Not only were special constables sworn, but a detachment of the 4th and 8th Foot Soldiers were drafted into the town and stationed in St. Margaret's National School. Hamilton headed the poll with 1,051 votes, whilst Young (afterwards sheriff of London) received 1,032.

Four candidates presented themselves in 1880. The result of the contest was the return of a Liberal—Sir William Hovell B. Ffolkes, bart., of Hillington (1,286 votes), and the old Conservative member—the Hon. Robert Bourke (1,257). The defeated Conservative, Lord Claud Hamilton, gained 1,192, and the other Liberal, Mr. (subsequently Sir) Frank Lockwood 1,151 votes (1st April). * Sir William presented a petition against the continuance of perpetual pensions (14th January 1881).

And what shall we more say? For time would fail to tell of "Joe Arch," and of Lord Henry Bentinck, and of George White, and of Weston Jarvis and of Thomas Gibson Bowles, who subdued kingdoms, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of the lions on the Opposition benches, and waxing valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens.

MEMBERS FOR THE BOROUGH.

As given by Hamon Le Strange, Esq., in his *Norfolk Official Lists* (1890):—

26 July 1837. William George Frederick Cavendish Bentinck and Sir Stratford Canning, K.C.B.

28 June 1841. William Geo. Fred. Cavendish Bentinck and Sir Stratford Canning, K.C.B.

10 Feb. 1842. Robert Jocelyn, Esq., commonly called Viscount Lord Jocelyn, *vice* Sir Stratford Canning, who accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds.

30 July 1847. William Geo. Fred. Cavendish Bentinck and Robert Jocelyn, Esq.

22 Dec. 1848. Robert Jocelyn, Esq., and Edward Henry Stanley, D.C.L., of Bickerstaffe, commonly called Lord Stanley.

9 July 1852. Robert Jocelyn, Esq., and Lord Stanley.

16 Sept. 1854. John Henry Gurney, Esq., of Catton Hall, Norwich, *vice* Robert Jocelyn deceased.

27 March 1857. Edward Henry Stanley, Esq., and John Henry Gurney, Esq.

4 March 1858. Edward Henry Stanley, Esq., re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.

5 June 1858. Edward Henry Stanley, Esq., re-elected after appointment as President of the Board of Control for the affairs of India.

29 April 1859. Edward Henry Stanley, Esq., and John Henry Gurney, Esq.

14 July 1865. Edward Henry Stanley, Esq., and Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, bart.

11 July 1866. Edward Henry Stanley, Esq., re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.

* The amusing speech—"The Lynn Borough Stomach-line"—made by Mr. Lockwood is preserved in Augustine Barrrell's *Biographical Sketch of Sir Frank Lockwood* (1890), pp. 89-91.

- 19 Nov. 1868. Edward Henry Stanley, Esq., and Robert Bourke, Esq.
 9 Dec. 1869. Claud John Hamilton, Esq., commonly called Lord Claud Hamilton *vice* Edward Henry Stanley, Esq., called to the Upper House.
 31 Jan. 1874. Robert Bourke, Esq., of 68, Grosvenor Street, Middlesex, and Claud John Hamilton, Esq., of 31, Hertford Street, Middlesex.
 1 April 1880. Sir William Hovell Browne Ffolkes, bart., Hillington Hall, and the Hon. Robert Bourke.

By the Redistribution Act of 1885, the borough was deprived of one member. The list, with the number of votes, is extended to 1906 :—

- 25 Nov. 1885. *Right Hon. Robert Bourke* (C. 1,472) defeated Sir William Ffolkes (L. 1,302).
 2 July 1886. *Right Hon. Robert Bourke* (C. 1,417) defeated John James Briscoe, Esq. (L. 1,146).
 25 Aug. 1886. *Alexander Weston Jarvis, Esq.*, Middleton, *vice* *Right Hon. Robert Bourke* appointed Governor of Madras (C. 1,423), defeated J. Harris Sanders, Esq., Porters, Herts (L. 1,168).
 4 July 1892. *Thomas Gibson Bowles, Esq.*, Lowndes Sq., London (C. 1,399), defeated Thomas Richardson Kemp, Q.C. (L. 1,388), subsequently Recorder of Deal, then Norwich.
 15 July 1895. *Thomas Gibson Bowles, Esq.* (C. 1,395), defeated Hubert Beaumont, Esq., London (L. 1,326).
 1 Oct. 1900. *Thomas Gibson Bowles, Esq.* (C. 1,499), defeated Frederick Handel Booth, Esq., Manchester (L. 1,332).
 15 Jan. 1906. *Lieut. Carlyon Bellairs* (L. 1,506) defeated Thomas Gibson Bowles, Esq. (C. 1,164), and Alan H. Burgoyne (C. 772).

MEMBERS FOR NORTH-WEST NORFOLK.

Of the 11,140 voters in this district, 729 were in the borough (1906).

- 8 Dec. 1885. *Mr. Joseph Arch*, Barwick, Warwickshire (L. 4,461), defeated Lord Henry Bentinck (C. 3,821).
 9 July 1886. *Lord Henry Bentinck* (C. 4,084) defeated Mr. Joseph Arch (L. 4,064).
 15 July 1892. *Mr. Joseph Arch* (L. 4,911) defeated Lord Henry Bentinck (C. 3,822).
 27 July 1895. *Mr. Joseph Arch* (L. 4,817) defeated Edward K. Bunbury Tighe, Esq. (C. 3,520).
 11 Oct. 1900. *George White, Esq.*, Norwich (L. 4,287), defeated Sir William Ffolkes (C. 3,811).
 17 Jan. 1906. *George White, Esq.* (L. 5,772), defeated William John Lancaster, Esq., Snettisham (C. 2,972).

WAR'S ALARMS.

Once more apprehensive that the French were about to invade England, Norfolk was called upon to provide 1,968 of the men constituting the militia (1852-3). The disagreement, relative to the payment of militia expenditure, was ultimately referred to a government arbitrator (1857), who ruled that for every £100, the county fund should pay £87 7s. 11d., thus leaving the borough to make up £12 12s. 1d. The proportionate sums fixed were:—Norwich £7 7s. 4d., Yarmouth £2 10s. 4d., Lynn £2 6s. 10d., and Thetford 7s. 7d. In 1896 there were 2,127 efficient volunteers,

MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT.

The destinies of our borough—its streets, its harbour, its wharves, its trade, its health and everything, in fact, upon which the prosperity and well-being of the community depended, were vested in a multitude of local "commissioners," who grouped themselves into several independent bodies. Each distinct body was practically composed of the same individuals, yet were they directed, and, to a great extent controlled, by different attorneys or clerks. As no one board or "commission" seemed able to move without disturbing the rest, these gentlemen were for ever asking themselves leave to do this or that, or else as politely objecting to what they themselves in their multi-capacity had already done. Despite demonstrative urbanity, action was seldom taken by one board, but what it was considered antagonistic to the precise functions belonging to some of the other boards. Disputes were the harbingers of innumerable meetings and interminable discussions. If they ever ended, they ended in law suits or appeals to parliament, which, although conducive to the good fortune of the legal fraternity, yet materially hindered the development of the municipal elysium, towards which the hearts of the oppressed ratepayers were always yearning. For many years, the proposal for fusing into one great body, with one advisory clerk, all or any of these overlapping "commissions," which existed apparently to confuse and irritate each other, was disdainfully scouted.

Having received enhanced powers from the legislature, the municipal Corporations were indeed able and competent to carry out the functions hitherto exercised by these irresponsible, inefficient, self-elected bodies, whose existence was diametrically opposed to the democratic axiom, that those who paid the taxes should have an inalienable right of choosing the persons to spend them. Speaking through recent parliamentary enactments, the voice of the nation could be distinctly heard insisting upon retrenchment and reform, but here the demand was wilfully disregarded. If a Council existed, it ought to have been the sole executive for local legislature, otherwise a board for the carrying out of these specific functions, should have been elected by the ratepayers.

Now the body corporate and the Paving Commissioners (called into existence by the Act of 1803), held conflicting jurisdictions. But although several attempts were made to abolish the self-elected body and transfer its powers to one not merely efficient but truly representative, they proved abortive. Instead of centralisation and economy, the town aspired to "A New Improvement Act," for which £1,200 was paid. To this the clerks of the various bodies of Commissioners raised, of course, no legal or even personal objection (1859).

The Select Trustees of the Harbour, known also as the Haling Commissioners, were paid £750 a year by another little clique—the Eau Brink Commissioners—expressly to compensate the town for damage to the foreshore, sustained through the opening of the Eau Brink Estuary. This annual unearned increment ought to have been devoted to maintaining the shore and preserving a navigable channel.

For years the money was wasted in the up-keep of what was pompously designated the "Marine Parade." But the layers of silt, thrown upon the side of the embankment, were, by the erosive action of the tides, speedily swept away. The erection of cess-work saved this needless expenditure (1856). Messrs. H. and M. D. Grissell, of London, undertook the quaying of the Boal for £4,076; whilst Messrs. W. Nurse and Daniel Hart contracted for the Marine Parade (£2,901). The work was successfully completed, under the superintendence of William Plews. Having no mud-banks to maintain, the Haling Commissioners concentrated their attention upon the water-way.

The obsolete system of mooring by means of massive chains stretched at intervals across the harbour, to which buoys were attached by "bridle chains," has been already explained. Against each of these cross chains a shoal or "hard" was ever forming through the rubbish carried to and fro by the tides. The more intelligent of the Haling Commissioners suggested avoiding the expense of dredging, by the adoption of patent screw moorings. This move was quickly checkmated by a series of chimerical objections propounded by another insignificant yet powerful body—the Pilot and Mooring Commissioners. Part of the town estate was mortgaged (1855), by way of guarantee for a loan taken up by the Mooring Commissioners to enable them to pay the contribution to the Norfolk Estuary Commissioners, for which loan the Mooring Commissioners' dues were primarily liable. This charge was undertaken by the Corporation to enable the Mooring Commissioners to borrow money at a lower rate of interest, than would have been obtainable upon their own unaided security.

Though often thwarted by their brethren in the Council, the Paving Commissioners did useful work in the days when the science of sanitation was in its infancy. * A debt for local improvements, which in 1829 amounted to £23,000, was finally discharged through their exertions (1847). To achieve this, a rate of 2s. 8d. in the £, was levied upon the rack-rent. Under their auspices, too, the western side of the London Road was first paved from the Grey Friars to the South Gates (1845-6). The proposal to open a new entrance into the town by way of St. Anne's Fort and Black Horse Street gave rise to a public enquiry, before Captain Washington, R.N., who represented the Admiralty. As the scheme involved the erection of a bridge over the Fisher fleet, it was stubbornly opposed by the fishermen (17th December 1851). The plan was ultimately abandoned, because of the costly conditions imposed by the Admiralty upon the construction of the bridge. To accommodate the traffic, it was resolved to widen the existing bridges, at the Blockhouse and at the Custom House. The insalubrious Clough fleet was conducted through a culvert, built by Mr. Candler (1846). It extended from

* The Paving Commissioners ceased to levy "Paving rate" in 1872, when the Corporation levied "District rate" in lieu thereof.

The Navigation Commissioners, appointed under the Act of 1790, were "for empowering persons navigating with boats, barges and other vessels in the River Ouse to hale or tow with horses or other beasts on the banks or sea-walls . . . and for making satisfaction to the owners of the said banks."

the Clough bridge, near the "Drinking Fountain" at the entrance of St. James' Park, to a spot beyond "the new burial ground." The cleansing and watering of our streets was in the hands of private persons, who contracted every three years. In 1846-9 Mr. J. Cook was paid £215; and William C. Leete, of West Winch (1840-52), £320 a year. The Commissioners, who accepted John Malam's tender to supply our street lamps with gas, leased a piece of land, adjoining the Gas Works, the Company promising to spend £3,000 in erecting buildings thereon. The filling up and planting of the Littleport reservoir was completed in 1866.

THE MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS

occupy the site of the *Town Arms* public house and three houses once used by the borough surveyor and meters as offices. Formerly, one of the houses was the residence of the superintendent of the police, but since the gaol was converted into a temporary lock-up (1866), the chief constable has lived to the east of the Gild Hall. On the removal of the meters' office to a larger building, on the Common Staith, the vacant premises were added to the surveyor's department. The public house, for years the favourite resort of sailors, anxiously "waiting for a breeze," was purchased by the Corporation, who paid Messrs. Steward, Patteson and Co. £250 and transferred to them the stables and yard adjoining the *White Hart* inn (March 1891).*

The concentration under one roof of the whole municipal staff had been for years acknowledged "a consummation devoutly to be wished," but it was not until 1893 that the Council felt in a position to provide the adequate accommodation. It was then resolved, that new offices, including a council chamber, should be erected at a cost not exceeding £4,000, provided the money standing to the credit of the Corporation in the Court of Chancery (received from the sale of Corporation land) could be appropriated for the purpose. The designs of Messrs. Tree and Price, of London and St. Leonards, were chosen, the successful competitors receiving a premium of 20 guineas. The Court of Chancery consented to the use of the money in their hands. A committee was therefore appointed to carry out the work for £3,500; the tender of Messrs. Young and Sons, of Norwich (£3,272 10s. 4d.), was accepted. The foundation stone was laid by the mayor, Mr. W. S. V. Miles (20th of July 1895).

The style adopted is a free treatment of Gothic, ranging from the Decorated to Tudor, or rather to an advanced stage of the Renaissance; and the prevailing effect is rather of that character which is popularly described as "Elizabethan." The principal material employed for the front is Weldon stone; above the ground floor window there is an egg-and-tongue moulding, running the entire length. Over it and also above the cornice, which surmounts the first floor windows, is chequer work in Brandon flints and stone, similar to that in the Town Hall. The height to the top of the

* The *White Hart* hostelry, which belonged to the Gild of the Holy Trinity, was granted to the Corporation at the dissolution of the gilds (1548).

parapet is 29 feet, and to the ridge of the several rooms, occupying the west end of the first floor, 37 feet. The council chamber is lighted by a large ornamental window of Perpendicular character. Above the parapet appear two pyramidal oak turrets, one over an arched roadway, where to the rear it is proposed to erect a fire brigade station, and the other over the oriel, projecting from "the Mayor's parlour."

A pair of panelled folding doors, hung on segmental heads, give access to a vestibule, the porch leading thereto being provided with aluminium gates. The hall, 21 feet square, is paved in patent marble mosaics, with red, white and black border. The ceiling, in character with every other part of the block, is panelled by wood-ribs. Throughout, the wood-work is peacock green, the walls terra cotta and the ceiling cream-colour.

The principal rooms on the first floor, which is gained by an oak staircase, are:—The council chamber (41 × 21 × 17 feet), the councillors' retiring room, the Mayor's parlour separated from the town clerk's *sanctum* by a private apartment, the clerks' office, a store room, the magistrates' committee room and the lavatory. On the ground floor to the right are the rates' department and the accountant's room; whilst to the left are offices for the town clerk and borough surveyor, besides rooms for drawing and stores; also a lavatory. The building is partly heated with hot water, whilst ventilation is secured by means of Boyle's inlets fixed in all the exterior rooms; special flues with patent mica flaps are inserted in the chimney breasts.

A PAROCHIAL REVOLUTION.

No longer a hive of busy workers, the Lynn Workhouse had degenerated, like many others, into a comfortable refuge for the idle. The fundamental principle, that the condition of those relieved should be less attractive than that of the poorest independent labourer, who pays rates, was ignored. The able-bodied men were supposed to work in the town. Although they sometimes earned as much as 15s. a week, yet they contributed only one shilling towards their maintenance. The town was thronged with loafers in blue Scotch caps with yellow bands, who liberally "treated" the governor's beadle. All the married couples slept in one large room. The single women were not expected to go out to work, but spent their time in spinning twine. The deplorable system of making up low wages out of the poor rate, according to the number of the applicant's family, was also practised. Of course, employers preferred those to whom the parish awarded "make-up-pay." Wages were at a starvation point, and the authorities thoughtlessly assisted in keeping them where they were. As there was no chance for a thrifty, independent, married man, the single, following the example of others, contracted improvident marriages and boldly applied for "make-up-wage," as an easy way out of the difficulty. Nothing less than a sweeping reform could save the morality of the labouring classes, for "in the sacred name of charity, laziness and

immorality, unblushing and insolent, were found to be feeding the system of pauperism and eating out the vitals of country life."

The New Poor Law of 1834 put an end to the independent existence of the parish as a unit; henceforth, parishes were to be grouped into "unions." The King's Lynn Union, as established under the Poor Law Amendment Act (1835), comprises four parishes, with an area of about 4,800 acres, namely, St. Margaret's and All-saints' within the borough and the small parishes of North and West Lynn in the hundred of Freebridge Marshland.

The South Lynn Workhouse in Friars Street, purchased by the overseers about 1826, was sold soon after the formation of the "Union," and the St. James' Workhouse, previously used by the parish of St. Margaret alone, was altered at a cost of £750 into the *Union Workhouse*, with accommodation for 200 inmates, who were maintained and clothed at a weekly cost of 2s. 10d. per head. For some years, prior to 1835, the poor rate of St. Margaret's, which averaged about £9,000 per annum, was laid upon land, buildings, ships and stocks in trade. The Court of Guardians fixed and levied the rate, whilst the expenditure was vested in the Union Guardians. The board for the Union comprised 23 members, chosen yearly; namely, 18 for the parish of St. Margaret, 3 for that of All Saints, one for West, and one for North Lynn.

(I) THE NEW WORKHOUSE.

Another delightful instance of mimicry in events may be detected in the story of St. James' church. A failure in the manufacture of baize is followed by an outbreak of plague and the conversion of the disused workhouse into a general pest house. Years later the spinning of yarn is introduced. Doomed almost from the beginning, a similar epidemic appears and the old building once more becomes an isolation hospital. Throughout this period, the work of destruction, started before the ecclesiastical owners relinquished their right, was spasmodically carried on. In 1613 the wainscot ceiling of the large front room was sold for £5, the money being spent in repairing the parent church. But a more thorough demolition was instituted, when much of the building disappeared, and the stone bearing the Arms of England was removed and placed upon the façade of the Town Hall (1624). One writer goes so far as to say the edifice was "entirely pulled down." This statement should be regarded as exaggerated, because the original cross aisle formed part of what the present generation would term "the old workhouse."

The central tower, principally of 14th century workmanship, suddenly collapsed on Sunday the 20th of August 1854. Fortunately those who usually remained in the building were elsewhere at the time; the boys outside in the yard, and the girls at church, so that comparatively few were injured by the avalanche of ruins precipitated into the dining hall. William Andrews, watch-maker, Purfleet Street, just then winding up the clock, which failed to keep time, was killed; as was John Cana, an inmate. For

several hours, the master, Thurlow Nelson, and a man named Harrison were buried in the *débris*; the former escaped with a dislocated shoulder and the latter with a few bruises.

Audible and visible cracks had given repeated warning of the insecurity of the building. Not only did a settlement cause the clock to stop, but the framework of the tower was said to have been so worm-eaten that a child could thrust its finger into some of the holes. An investigation was undertaken previous to the catastrophe, but the surveyor reported there was no immediate danger. The coroner's jury therefore exculpated the authorities from any blame.

The restoration of the old block was an impossibility; hence a suitable site, $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land in Exton's Road, was bought for £1,100. From several designs, the Board of Guardians confirmed the view of the committee by approving the plans of Messrs. Medland and Maberley (2nd February 1855). The lowest of eight tenders for the erection of a new building, that of Charles Bennett (£9,915), was accepted. It was, however, prudently resolved to raise the main building first (at a cost of £5,240), so that the old infirmary with its forty beds (built in 1823 for £1,000), standing near the ruins, might be utilised for a time (15th June 1855). The chairman, the Rev. John Bransby, master of the Grammar School, laid the first stone (16th July). In less than a year the building was completed (24th June 1856). The present edifice is constructed chiefly of red bricks, faced with white, and ornamented with crosses and other devices in black bricks. A modification of the Tudor architecture is the style adopted, the principal feature being a capacious chapel with a large Perpendicular window at each end, above the dining hall. The whole block, including a detached infirmary in the rear, cost £13,545. There is accommodation for 468 inmates, with means of classification not only of the sexes, but of the able-bodied and infirm, also the young and aged. A vagrant and receiving ward was added in 1882, at a cost of £1,250.

The site of St. James' Workhouse, originally offered for sale (reserve price £1,130), and purchased by Messrs. Savage and Co. for £1,400 (20th August 1856), is occupied by the Primitive Methodist chapel (1858) and Sunday school (1875), the County Court (1864) and the *Royal Standard* inn, besides a neat residence and two large assembly rooms belonging to Mr. G. M. Bridges. *

(2) STATISTICS

published by Philip H. Bagenal, Esq., Local Government Inspector:—Rateable value of the borough, £76,350; population (1891), 19,053; numbers being relieved 1st Jan. 1890—indoor paupers 200, outdoor paupers 573; total 773. Percentage of paupers to population (1891) about 4; expenditure for year ending Michaelmas 1898—indoor £2,105, outdoor £3,460; cost per head

* The St. James' Hall and Assembly Room built in 1887, were destroyed by fire (12th November 1904). During the excavations before the rebuilding of the hall, the bases of the columns forming the entrance to the chancel of St. James' church were discovered, besides a wall two feet thick, and other remains. The width of the central arch was 15 feet, and the chancel side aisles 7 feet; the pillars supporting the chancel roof were 15 feet apart. Four bases *in situ* may be seen beneath the present platform, abutting upon the original transept (100 by 24 feet in 1301), which was incorporated in the Old Workhouse.

upon population of 1891—indoor 2s. 2½d., outdoor 3s. 7½d.; lunatics in asylum 37. The number of casualties relieved varies considerably—2,183 in 1896 and 529 in 1900.

MESHES IN THE IRON NET.

The most extraordinary change during The Queen's reign was brought about by the development and expansion of the railway system. There were indeed railways of a sort 250 years ago, with "metals" of wood and a motive force dependent, not on steam, but horseflesh. No wonder need be expressed, because the new means of locomotion so thoroughly fascinated the nation. Railway schemes of all kinds were devised, whilst eager speculators poured out their money with prodigal recklessness. In the well-balanced phraseology of England's great lexicographer, they "listened with credulity to the whispers of fancy and pursued the phantoms of hope," not to inherit a Golconda, but to learn, in far too many cases, how deeply the promoters were involved in legal and financial tribulation, and that their treasured "scrip" was worthless.*

Lynn did not escape the mania; a revolution in commercial prospects was initiated, when two sections, of what was afterwards known as the East Anglian Company's railway, were opened for traffic (26th October 1846). A modification in the route pursued by the stage coaches to London had already happened. The old road lay through Brandon, Newmarket and Bishop Stortford. The itinerary in miles reads thus:—From Lynn to Hardwick 1½, West Winch 2¾, Seething (Setch) 4, Wareham 12, Stoke Ferry 13½, Netherwold 15½, Brandon 23½, a lodge 28, Hobb's Cross 29½, Barton Mills 32½, Red House 37, Newmarket 41½, Devil's Ditch 43½, White Post 47, Bourn Bridge 53½, Chesterford 57½, Audley End 60½, Newport 63¾, Quendon street 65½, Ugle (Oakley) street 67¾, Stansted 69¾, Bishop Stortford 72, Harlow 78¾ and London 102 miles. This route was discarded, and the daily coaches, starting at 8 a.m. from the *Globe* and the *Crown*, on alternate days, took the road to Downham, Ely and Cambridge, meeting the train at Bishop Stortford and completing the last 30 miles in a modern if not more expeditious manner.

Vehicles, moreover, conveyed passengers to other places. The "Lynn Union" for Norwich started at 4 p.m. from the *Crown*, and for Newark at 8 a.m. from the *Globe*. The "Victoria" set out at 6 a.m. from the *Globe* for Northampton, *viâ* Wisbech and Peterborough. It proceeded, in fact, no farther than Blisworth station, from whence travellers continued their journey by rail to Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, etc. The coaches to Bury St. Edmunds ran three times weekly, starting at 4 p.m. from the *Globe*. There were "Sociables" to Stamford, to Wells (from the *Duke's Head*), to Wisbech (the *Star*) and to Snettisham (the *Green Dragon*). Goods were conveyed to Norwich or London by vans belonging to Messrs.

* Attempts were made in 1831 and 1834 to float the London and Essex Railway Company. On the 1st December 1834, the Eastern Counties Railway Company, though opposed by the Northern and North Eastern Railway Company and the Grand Northern Railroad Company, was successfully started. In December 1837 "a call was made" for £600,000, for the payment of which the aid of the law was invoked. The first train was run at Brompton (1839).

Deacon, Mack and Co. (Broad Street), or those of Messrs. Swann and Sons (Tuesday Market-place).

A company, with Sir W. J. M. B. Ffolkes as chairman, was formed with a proposed capital of £200,000, that is, 8,000 shares of £25 each (1844). The object of the undertaking was "to construct a most direct and perfect line of railway, from the important seaport of King's Lynn to the City of Ely." After passing through Downham and Littleport, it was to join the Northern and Eastern Railway Company's great Trunk line, and thus be in direct communication with London. Future extension lines would connect Lynn with Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and other parts of England. It was pointed out how the traffic would be much assisted by our extensive trade in "timber, deals, wine, coals, oil-cake, tar, flag-stones, slates, pan-tiles and other general merchandise, carried on between the port of King's Lynn and the towns of Brandon, Thetford, Mildenhall, Bury St. Edmunds, Newmarket, Cambridge, St. Neots, St. Ives, Huntingdon, Bedford, Biggleswade, Northampton, Peterborough and the districts adjoining." The prospectus contains a summary of the trade then actually existing:—

	£	s.	d.
Passengers by coach and other public conveyances at 2d. per mile	6,985	6	8
Local passengers by gigs, &c.	2,794	2	8
Total of existing passenger traffic	9,779	9	4
Coach parcels	1,164	4	5
Horses and carriages	436	11	8
Conveyance of mails	702	12	6
Cattle : Beasts 350 a week for 21 weeks at 1d. per mile	796	5	0
Sheep 2,500 " " 52 " 0 ¹ d. " 	3,520	16	0
Carcasses, pigs and poultry	616	14	0
Manufactured goods, groceries and general shop goods	2,991	10	4
Corn, malt, wool and other general merchandise <i>exclusive</i> of coals	3,793	14	6
Total of existing traffic <i>exclusive</i> of coals	23,801	17	9
Add 100 per cent. increase on passenger traffic	9,779	9	4
	33,581	7	1
Deduct 40 per cent. for maintenance of way, working power, management and other expenses	13,432	10	8
Net annual profit	£20,148	16	5

Another proposal resulted in the floating of a company to construct "an iron road," which was to extend from the Lynn terminus of the Lynn and Ely Railway, by way of Swaffham to East Dereham, where it was to join the line from Norwich. A capital of £330,000 was to be raised, by means of 13,200 shares of £25 each. This estimate, after deducting 40 per cent. for working expenses and including the cost of a double line, gave a probable return of 7½ per cent. on the subscribed capital. Unopposed by the Town Council, these bills passed the House of Lords (5th June 1845), and received the royal assent (1st and 21st July). The contractors were Mr. W. S. Simpson of Little Downham, near Ely, for the first section—Lynn to Downham Market; and Mr. Gregson, for the second

—from Denver to Ely. For the other line, Mr. W. S. Simpson, from Lynn to Narborough; and Messrs. Millington and Ellis—from Narborough to Swaffham. For both undertakings, and for all works either actual or proposed by these companies, Mr. J. S. Valentine was engineer. The "station-houses" were built by Messrs. Candler and Whitby of Lynn.

The selection of a site for the terminus caused the directors much trouble. It was proposed, first, to erect the station outside the South Gates, with a branch line running along the waterside; the Chase Farm was next suggested; and lastly the shopkeepers in High Street, who proudly denominated themselves "the tradesmen of Lynn," clamoured to have it in the middle of the town, within the bounds of St. Margaret's parish. This greatly annoyed the South Lynnians, who contended that although they belonged to the borough, they were invariably treated as if they were aliens. To compromise matters, and with an easy indifference to cost, quite characteristic of the early railway days, it was decided to erect the station in a field belonging to Richard Bagge, just opposite the High Hills in Echo Road. To reach this point the proposed line would have to pass over several plots of valuable land and to cross the road to London, which meant the construction of "the Hardwick bridge." It also involved the purchase of 56 acres of land, for which our Corporation received £19,300, the investing of which will be considered in another place. The first station, a temporary wooden structure, was completed by John Sugars in five weeks for £1,770 (August 1846). The foundation stone of the present station (Great Eastern, Midland and Great Northern) was laid by the mayor Edwin E. Durrant (3rd March 1871).

The first section, Lynn to Downham, was opened the 26th October 1846. The excursion was celebrated by an entertainment in the Town Hall. The mayor Thomas A. Carter, presided, having on his right Mr. Lacy, M.P., director of the East Anglian Railway, Mr. C. Williams and Mr. W. Armes; and on his left Sir W. J. M. B. Ffolkes, bart., several of the ex-directors and Mr. Roney, the secretary of the Eastern Counties Railway. There were 130 guests.

The suggestion for constructing a branch line connecting Wisbech and Peterborough with Lynn, though strongly advocated by Messrs. Holt, Neale and Co., was vetoed at a public meeting (6th October 1845), and rightly so, because the prosperity of the initial speculation was not yet assured. Indeed, for the more efficient working of the existent lines, it was necessary to create an additional capital of £151,600 at seven per cent. The appeal, however, brought in only £70,873 10s. (1847). An application to parliament was made, about this time, for power to enable the Lynn and Ely Railway Company not only to make—provided the directors' coffer was quickly replenished—several other lines, but to construct docks adjoining our harbour.

The nearest station on the Grand Northern Railroad Company was at Sutton Bridge. To enable passengers from Norwich and Lynn to reach York, Manchester, Hull, etc., and *vice-versâ*, those

from York, etc., to travel to Lynn and Norwich, omnibuses from the *Globe* daily traversed the intervening distance. The inconvenience at last found expression through a public petition, which urged the Grand Northern Railroad Company to make a branch to Lynn (14th January 1847), whereupon the Lynn and Ely Company augmented their indebtedness by constructing a line from Lynn to Wisbech, *via* Watlington. This, the first branch line, was opened in February 1848; the contractors were Messrs. Simpson, Walker and Bennett (10th October 1847).

The East Anglian Railway from Ely to Lynn, with branches to Dereham, Wisbech and Huntingdon, was an amalgamation of three distinct undertakings. A "through journey" to Lynn was provided by its junction with the Eastern Counties Railway at Ely. The affairs of the company, never very prosperous, drifted upon a quicksand of difficulties; the plant was seized by the sheriff, whose officers—the unwelcome "men in possession"—travelled with each train, and from whose grasp the effects were in the end released by the working of the lines being taken over by the Eastern Counties Railway Company, which became eventually merged into the Great Eastern Railway system.

A meeting of shareholders, connected with the Lynn and Ely, the Lynn and Dereham, and the Ely and Huntingdon Companies, was held at the *London Tavern*, Bishopsgate Street (18th February 1847), when it was agreed to accept an offer made by the Eastern Counties Company, for leasing the above lines for 999 years. The conditions were—that the several companies should finish their works and deliver them to the Eastern Counties Company, from which time the latter were to pay the shareholders a dividend of 2 per cent. less than the shareholders in the acquiring company received, provided such dividend be not less than 6 per cent. on the capital, which was to be the minimum; over and above this, 5 per cent. was to be paid upon all calls from the commencement to the opening of the lines. Parliament, however, refused to sanction the leasing of these lines, but passed a portion of the bill, by which the former companies were amalgamated under the title of the East Anglian Company (June 1847). The directors, unable to pay a six per cent. dividend, applied for £375,562 10s. more capital (1849).

In 1851 a contract was signed between the Great Northern and the East Anglian Companies, the second agreeing to lease their lines for 21 years for £15,000 per annum and half the profit (17th May). In July the Great Northern Company began working the acquired property, but were soon brought to a standstill, because the Eastern Counties Company blocked up the Wisbech junction, until the right of passing from one line to the other, should be decided by a court of law. For a time passengers were conveyed by omnibus from the East Anglian to the Great Northern station. To end the difficulty the Great Northern Company conceded the new lines to the Eastern Counties Company, who upon certain terms agreed to accept a lease of the East Anglian lines for 999 years (1st December 1851).

What an amazing change was brought about by the new method of transit. The commodious *Victorias*, and *Rovers*, and *Unions*, with their freights of patient, weather-beaten passengers, suddenly disappeared from our turnpikes. More than half the eighty "carriers," with their cumbersome tilted vans, discovered with inexpressible dismay, that their occupation was irrecoverably gone. Poor, broken-hearted Tom Cross, the driver of the coach between Lynn and Cambridge, petitioned parliament, humbly praying that some public provision might be made to prevent him "from coming to the extreme of poverty." Our kind-hearted member, Lord Jocelyn, actually presented the supplication, but nothing, of course, could be done (1846). And the packets, too, which once plied between Lynn and other ports, were now safely berthed in the desired haven, yet were the captains at their wits' ends, because an important carrying trade was deflected, and the sacks of corn, which were once poured into the holds of their vessels, were now placed upon trucks and whirled from one part of the kingdom to the other.

(1) RAILWAY NOTES.

1845. A resolution in favour of the East Coast railway was passed at a public meeting in the Town Hall (5th Nov.)

1846. The railways from Lynn to Downham (11 miles in 35 minutes), and Lynn to Narborough opened (26th Oct.)

1846. The first railway accident happened at Watlington, where the gate-keeper, Thomas Mickleson, was killed (28th Dec.)

1847. The line opened to East Dereham; communication with London established (26th Oct.). The wooden viaduct over the line completed.

1848. A proposal before the Town Council to extend the harbour branch to the Common Staith (May).

1848. The first excursion to London: between 400 and 500 persons left Lynn in 17 carriages: other carriages added on the way. So that 55 carriages reached Shoreditch (12th June).

1848. Lines between Swaffham and Dereham (12th Sept.), and Lynn and Wisbech (Feb.) opened.

1853. Line from Lynn to Hunstanton projected (14th Sept.). Company floated; capital £80,000, shares £10 (1856).

1854. For the week ending the 18th November, the receipts of the East Anglian Company exceeded, for the first time, £1,000.

1861. "Covered" carriages were advertised as a speciality.

1862. Lynn and Hunstanton railway opened; and a branch to Wells opened by the Prince of Wales (6th Jan. 1866).

1866. A new station at Lynn proposed (7th July); built by Robert Skipper of Dereham (1871).

1876. An Act obtained for constructing the Lynn and Fakenham railway. Messrs. Wilkinson and Jarvis contracted to do the work (1878). Line between Lynn and Massingham opened (16th Aug. 1879); completed (16th Aug. 1880).

1880. An Act obtained for an extension to Norwich and Holt; also a connection with Yarmouth and Cromer (1881).

1883. The above line was amalgamated with the other newly made lines, and the name of the Company changed to the Eastern and Midlands Railway.

1886. The Loop line from Lynn to Grimston opened (1st Jan.).

(2) PURCHASE MONEY.

About the year 1846 the Corporation sold several acres of the town estate. The total amount realised was £21,837 4s. 6d.

On the sale to the Lynn and Ely Railway Co. of 56 ac. 7 pls. in parishes of St. Margaret and South Lynn	...	...	...	19,300	0	0
Ditto 3 ac. 3 rds. 30 pls. in South Lynn	...	...	...	1,181	5	0
Ditto 4 „ 1 „ 39 „ „ „	...	...	...	1,333	2	6
To the Commissioners of Sewers 31 pls. in Gaywood	...	...	...	30	9	0
Ditto Middle Level Drainage Commissioners 1 ac. 1 rd. 20 pls.	...	...	...	105	15	0
Ditto Norfolk Estuary of a few yards of land at North End	...	...	...	20	0	0
				£21,970	11	6
Less paid to Surveyor for plans, etc.	...	...	...	133	7	0
				£21,837	4	6
This amount, less £2,803 14s. 3d., was reinvested thus:—						
				£	s.	d.
Paid off Bonds due from Corporation	...	...	...	10,000	0	0
Lent on Estuary Bonds	£7,000	(1852).				
Less repaid	£3,000					
				4,000	0	0
Cost of erecting and furnishing the Corn Exchange	...	...	...	3,039	16	7
Paid on purchase of sundry pieces of land containing 11 ac. 1 rd. 20 pls.	...	...	...	1,993	13	8
				£19,033	10	3

The following extraordinary payments were made, during ten years (1845-55):—

Miscellaneous grants, £4,464 16s. 2d., including the rebuilding of the Framingham Almshouses £2,797 7s. 6d.; the extension of St. James' burial ground £836 3s.; the decoration of the Assembly Room £426 7s. 10d.; besides aids to the Public Baths £300, Great Exhibition £50 and the Telegraph Office £55.

Grants to churches and church schools, £1,894 11. 4d.—The advowson of North Lynn £1,162; St. Margaret's organ £100; alterations at St. Nicholas' £100; Snettisham church £50; palisading St. John's church-yard £371 15s. 2d.; St. John's school £70; Allsaints' schools £20, and Allsaints' infant school £25.

Notwithstanding the above disbursements, the borough income steadily increased. The apparent paradox of diminished capital and increasing income is easily solved. The purchase money paid by the Railway Company was so entirely disproportionate to the income previously derived from the land sold, that had the Council literally thrown away one half of the purchase money, they must still have remained great gainers by the transaction.

COMMUNICATION: POSTAL, TELEGRAPHIC AND TELEPHONIC.

During the 17th century, letters to London were conveyed by foot messengers, once a week. Robert Revett, known as "the Lynn post," wore a cloth coat, whereon were emblazoned the town arms; his yearly stipend was 40s. for which he tramped 10,400 miles (1613). Two posts were afterwards engaged to do the journey interchangeably, the Assembly voting them an annual salary of 30s. each (1639).

In 1798, the post-office was in High Street, just opposite the Grass-market; from whence letters were despatched daily by mail coach (1812). It was subsequently removed to a small room in a narrow, crooked thoroughfare, where letters were handed through a tiny wicket in a little window. There was then one daily delivery. More convenient premises were taken in High Street (1861), where in "Smith the draper's shop" (latterly, the Conservative Club) the work was conducted, until the government purchased the front part of the Athenæum, and converted it into a commodious central office (1883).

Before the adoption of the scheme of penny postage, devised by Rowland Hill (1840), which proved so incalculable an advantage to the commercial interests of the kingdom, 4d. was charged for the delivery of a letter to any place not exceeding 15 miles from the office in New Conduit Street, 8d. between 50 and 80 miles, 1s. between 230 and 300 miles, 13 pence between 300 and 400 miles, plus one penny for every additional hundred miles or part thereof.

Many attempts were made to induce the Electric Telegraph Company to open a department; it was not, however, until 1855, that our town was put in touch with the outer world. A small house, at the north corner of Church Street, now occupied by a hair-dresser, was first used as an "office." The wire was led by a most circuitous route through Wisbech. Greater facilities were offered, by the establishment of a branch of the Electric International Telegraph Company (1862). Their charges were—for 20 words to London 2s., to Edinburgh 3s., and to Dublin 5s. Not only are the postal and telegraphic departments now amalgamated and conducted under one roof, but the Trunk Telephone was opened to the public (22nd June 1899).

On the ground floor of the Central Post Office are these apartments: public office for the despatch of letters, telegrams or messages, the post-master's *sanctum*, the chief clerk's room, the sorting room, lavatories, etc.; whilst on the first floor are the battery and instrument rooms, the telegraph messengers' room (male and female) and postmen's retiring rooms (three), store room and lavatories. Before the transfer of the telegraph to the post office, a staff of 9, including the post-master, was sufficient, now 70 are employed. There are 48 sub-offices, besides 5 other receiving offices; also 18 town—and pillar—boxes. Every day, Sunday excepted, 142 bags are despatched and 132 received; 6 despatches to, and 5 arrivals from London every day. There are 5 daily deliveries of letters.

MERCANTILE.

The deplorable decline in our commercial prestige has already been traced through six centuries. Lynn, outstripped by other towns, surrendered an enviable position. Instead of being the 4th, it becomes in 1800 the 20th port of the kingdom. Still further tracing its career, we find it growing even less in importance, until in 1872 it ranks as the 38th port. And here light breaks through the lowering cloud. After a lapse of twenty-one years, Lynn is recognised

as the 37th port. The tonnage in 1893 was 112,290, which shews a gain of 204.29 per cent. over that of 1872; its cleared tonnage was 38,234—a gain of 386.21 per cent. over 1872. The value of the imports amounted to £1,094,876 and the exports £39,667—an increase of 226.4 per cent. in the first; but a fall of 88 per cent. in the second, since 1872.

Though Lynn is advantageously situated, yet several causes have conspired to cripple its resources. It was, in years gone by, an *exclusive* rather than a *free* port, because the power to tax or fine strangers entering the harbour was exercised with deleterious effect. Taxes, which acted prejudicially were levied upon every import; indeed, so complex a multiplicity of dues would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer. A policy, as repellent as disastrous, tended to drive away rather than encourage traders; yet it was exactly what the selfish coterie of local merchants wanted. Why should impudent outsiders attempt to break up their lucrative monopoly? In the hands of a few should the trade remain, and on no account would they permit even their smaller neighbours to share in what they considered their own prescriptive right. To the exclusion of enterprising merchants every yard of the foreshore was appropriated, though often unused. The heavy local taxes, which attended such a course, did not trouble “merchant princes,” because being independent monopolists, they knew they could not only demand, but obtain whatever price they asked from the dependent townsmen enrolled in their ledgers. Besides, they regarded their purchasers as clients, who were immeasurably beholden to them. Highly indecorous was it, for a merchant to solicit trade from any save his own especial customers. Any infringing so well an understood clause of an unwritten code, were peremptorily ostracised in the small, though powerful mercantile cabal at Lynn. In like manner, purchasers were expected to be loyal to their sellers, who knew what quality was required, far better than they did themselves; and a dissatisfied burgess, detected in asking any but his own commercial patron to quote prices, would be scornfully shunned by the whole trading fraternity, as an unworthy and disreputable person.

The introduction of the railway system insured the mercantile decadence of our port. How the merchants shuddered, when they observed the lowering cloud, which threatened their prosperity; how strenuously they opposed the movement, recognising it to be the fateful harbinger of competition. Purely local was their influence. As other counties eagerly fostered the new method of transit, they were at length compelled to submit to the inevitable. Besides, how utterly futile was their puny opposition! The consumer could get a supply of coal not only quicker, but more cheaply direct from the colliery, than by having it first landed at Lynn, and then transported to its destination. The coasting trade generally was crushed out of existence, but the coal trade—the staple of our merchandise, suffered most severely. Ships could no longer dodge out of one port and into another along the British seaboard. The home trade being conducted

overland by rail, our vessels must henceforth traverse the highways of the ocean, conveying goods from one island, or continent, to another.

Then the clumsy, wooden ships, built expressly for stowage, and even that a small one, and not for speed, were condemned; and their place was taken by gigantic iron vessels, which depended upon reliable steam, and not the fickle winds. To meet this difficulty two docks were constructed, but so greatly has the tonnage of steam ships increased that our dock-cill is now too high to admit the more modern vessels, needing a greater draft of water.

Again, as the import trade depends so largely upon the export, Lynn faces another difficulty. Not being a manufacturing town, there is nothing to send away; and to import goods *only* must sooner or later prove insufficiently remunerative. To store corn in granaries, as was once the custom, is alas, unnecessary, because by steam appliances the ice in the Baltic is kept broken, so that cargoes can now be received during the winter.*

In the earlier part of the reign our nautical traffic comprised four distinct branches:—

1. The Hull trade was wholly in the hands of Messrs. J. Stockdale and Co. Six lumbering sloops, including the *Angenoria*, the *Telegraph*, the *Amicus* and the *Cleveland*, discharged cargoes at the old warehouse, near the Purfleet bridge. The time of their arrival was as uncertain as the wind, and the cost from Lynn to Hull often exceeded that from Liverpool to New York. The *first* steam ship was the *Fairy*.

2. The London trade was conducted at the Common Staith by Mr. Guy, subsequently by William Clifton. The ships engaged were the *Bee*, the *Gem*, the *Volusia*, the *Fairy*, the *Eugène* and the *Sophia*. The railways entirely displaced this traffic.

3. The Oporto wine trade was once considerable. Two ships were constantly employed—the *William and Mary* (English Oxley) and the *Janet* (Messrs. Edward Everard and Sons).

4. The Baltic and American timber trade enlisted the tardy services of the *Flora*, the *Cato*, the *Tartar*, the *Eclipse* and the *Glory*.

The Custom House returns, which in 1761 amounted to only £36,700, gradually increased to £96,600 in 1825, and £87,500 in 1830. The repeal of the coal duty of 6s. per chaldron brought it down to £38,423 in 1834. The introduction of the bonding system the next year caused the revenue to rise to £52,407 in 1836 and £67,139 in 1840. The imposition of a duty of 4s. a ton upon exported coal gave rise to another depression; the amount being £40,741 in 1843. Causing widespread dissatisfaction, Sir Robert Peel's tariff was repealed in 1845; when 103,708 more tons of coal being landed than the year before, the revenue reached £62,253 (1846). †

* See the *Port of King's Lynn* (1852), by William Armes.

† The sudden rise in the Custom Duty from £40,741 in 1843 to £62,253 in 1845 is attributed to the large quantity of timber imported by Messrs. Grissell and Peto, contractors for the Norwich and Brandon and other railways.

In 1845 as many as 301 vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 29,441, entered the harbour, whilst 2,229 coasters (208,137 tons) put in and 1,159 coasters (68,920 tons) left. Our port then owned 192 vessels above 50 tons, with an aggregate tonnage of 17,156. As many as 256,094 tons of coal (some by foreign vessels) were landed. The barley, grown in the district, so highly esteemed by the maltsters of Yorkshire and Lancashire, constituted the greater part of the 800,000 quarters of corn sent to Hull.

The number of vessels arriving, classed according to their draft of water:—

Year.	12 feet and under.	12 to 14 feet.	14 to 16 feet.	16 to 18 feet.	Total.
1844	1,927	366	38	—	2,331
1845	2,265	530	44	2	2,841
1846	1,772	303	36	—	2,171
1847	1,980	479	34	—	2,493
1848	1,547	456	29	—	1,549

The town dues and “groats” for the same years:—

1844	Town Dues,	£3,042 : 4 : 5	Groats,	£543 : 1 : 0
1845	“ “	£4,211 : 14 : 3	“	£646 : 5 : 0
1846	“ “	£3,262 : 10 : 2	“	£435 : 1 : 4
1847	“ “	£3,473 : 15 : 0	“	£458 : 16 : 4
1848	“ “	£3,220 : 9 : 0	“	£375 : 7 : 4

From a statement given by E. Lane Swatman at the Admiralty Enquiry into the Norfolk Estuary Bill, the following averages for six years (1843-8, both included), etc., are deduced:—

1843 to 1848.	Arrivals.		Sailings.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1. Coast-wise	2,347	207,334	981	57,605
2. From, or to British Colonies	18	474	03	73
3. From, or to Foreign ports				
British vessels ...	105	17,310	2	407
Foreign “ ...	146	11,952	21	214

Coal imported 241,422 tons; other goods imported and exported 115,086 tons; number of vessels belonging to Lynn 158, tonnage 17,735; number of seamen 890; fishing boats averaging in 1848 six tons, 195.

	1852	1853	1854
Coals imported (tons)	187,514	201,236	172,589
Goods exported (tons)	79,075	76,886	66,712
Foreign { Vessels inward	182	170	175
" outward	11	2	15
Coasting { Vessels inward	1,584	1,578	1,351
" outward	508	416	340
Ships registered in Lynn	173	182	179
" tonnage	19,285	21,329	20,865
" Number of seamen	973	1,072	1,022
Customs Duties	£28,630	£27,803	£24,879

The return for the coasting trade does not include numerous vessels, carrying articles such as sand, not subject to Customs Coasting Regulations. A marked increase is apparent between the years 1855 and 1856, thus:—

1855	158,536 tons, coal	61,973 tons, goods	220,509 total
1856	163,370 " "	70,204 " "	233,574 "
Increase ...	4,834 " "	8,231 " "	13,065 "

(1) CONSERVANCY BOARD.

The *Wick Bay*, an iron steamer of 1,193 tons register, left Baltimore the 28th of November 1889, with a cargo of cake in bags and maize in bulk (2,300 tons) for the late William Burkitt, Esq. Unfortunately, at 4 p.m., the 21st of December, when in charge of a pilot, she went aground near the Daisley beacon, about five miles beyond the mouth of the river. A few days after, when every effort to get her off had failed, she broke her back. As much cargo and stores as possible were removed by fishermen. Sold by auction, the deserted vessel was purchased, by a Liverpool firm, to be ultimately abandoned. Serious fears were entertained that accretions of sand would soon block up the channel. The Corporation therefore entered into a contract with the East Coast Salvage Company to remove the wreck (29th April 1893). The fore part was successfully beached on the west side of the White Buoy Heading (31st July) and the after part floated about 40 yards, but the lowness of the tides at that time prevented further progress (5th November).

In the meantime, the Corporation, who were promoting a bill in parliament for improving the water supply, agreed to seek for power to obtain loans to cover the extraordinary expenses, which would be incurred in removing the *Wick Bay*, and future wrecks, if necessary (24th October 1893). This was not the town's first experience. In 1875, the *Fly*, of Sunderland, sunk a century before off the Boal, was blown up at a cost of £175; but this was as nothing, when compared with the later misfortune, which placed upon the shoulders of the ratepayers, a burden amounting to about £20,000. An initial loan of £936 was obtained for securing the Wick Bay Act (1894).

By virtue of the King's Lynn Conservancy Act, which received the royal assent the 6th of August 1897, a body corporate with perpetual succession, known as the King's Lynn Conservancy Board, was established. The Board was to consist of 27 members, of whom the mayor for the time being was always to be one. Of the other members eight (six at least being members of the Town Council) were to be *appointed* by the Corporation, six by the Select Trustees, two (one of whom must be a director) by the King's Lynn Docks Railway Company and two (residing or having places of business in the borough or within seven miles thereof) by the Board of Trade. Moreover, four were to be elected by registered merchants and four by registered shipowners. The appointments were to be made every third succeeding year.

Subject to the provision of the Act, the powers, previously relegated to other bodies, were to be vested in the new board; for example, the rights, privileges and duties of the Corporation as conservators of the port, including powers for the removal of wrecks, for lighting, buoying and beaconing the port and Deep, also the power for levying all tolls, dues, rates and charges, the ferry tolls being alone excepted. All the liabilities of the Corporation as conservators, other than the debt of £18,000 incurred in the removal of the S.S. *Wick Bay*, were to pass to the board. The powers, etc., pertaining to the Harbour Mooring and Pilot Commissioners were also to be transferred, with all property, securities and moneys belonging to or under the control of those bodies.

And, lastly, the powers, etc., of the Select Trustees appointed under the Eau Brink Act (1831), and all monetary securities—"provided that the said sum of £16,500 Consolidated Bank Annuities and the said sum of £2,400 now belonging to the Select Trustees shall (subject as to the said sum of £2,400 to all the liabilities of the Trustees being deducted therefrom) without any further or other authority than this Act be transferred by the persons in whose names they now stand or the majority of them into the names of six trustees, of whom three shall be chosen from among themselves by the six members of the board appointed by the Select Trustees, and three shall be chosen from among themselves by the members of the board other than the six members so appointed, and as soon as the trustees shall have been appointed under this enactment their names and addresses shall be certified to the said respective banks by the chairman and clerk of the board under their hands with a view to the said transfer being effected as soon as practicable."

The officers under the Conservancy Board are the chairman, the clerk, the harbour master, the pilot master, the head meter and the collector of dues. The cost for promoting this bill amounted to £3,525 8s. od.

(2) THE DOCKS.

Under parliamentary powers (1865) and to accommodate larger vessels excluded from the port, the King's Lynn Dock Company was floated with a capital of £88,000. By means, however, of subsequent Acts the capital was increased to £600,000.

The two docks, having about 17 acres of water and 80 acres of quay space, are situated at the north of the town, adjacent to the harbour. They are in communication with the Great Eastern, Midland, Great Northern and other railway systems. A deep channel, lighted with Pintsch's gas buoys and beacons, leads from the safe anchorage in the Lynn Roads to the dock entrance, which is 50 feet wide.

The *Alexandra Dock* was constructed by Mr. W. F. Lawrence from designs by Sir James Brunlees, C.E. In shape, it is an irregular quadrangle, the southern side being 780 and the northern 500 feet in length. The width from the south to the north, between the edges of the quay, is about 440 feet, for the sides, faced with concrete blocks, slope at an angle of 67° from the perpendicular. It was opened by the then Prince and Princess of Wales (now King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra) on the 7th of July 1869. Their Royal Highnesses arrived by special train from London, and were met by the chairman, Lewis W. Jarvis, Esq., the mayor John Thorley, Esq., the borough members—Lord Stanley and the Hon. Robert Bourke—and others. The distinguished visitors were escorted by a troop of the 3rd (the Prince of Wales) Dragoons, from Colchester, to the Town Hall, where an address was read by the recorder Douglas Brown, Esq., Q.C. After the presentation of the usual silver medal to the most proficient scholar at the Grammar School, the procession started for the Common Staith, where the twin-screw steamer, the *Mary* of London, was ready to receive the party on board. At the opening ceremony, His Royal Highness said, "Without the energies of the inhabitants the ancient name of King's Lynn would have become interesting only for its antiquity. But," continued he, "in the century in which we live it is not permitted either to rest quiet or to stand still." Then looking around upon his youthful consort with an air of pride he declared the dock open, and its name henceforth to be "*Alexandra*." The band of the Grenadier Guards, under Dan Godfrey, was in attendance. Luncheon was served in the Town Hall.

For the convenience of large vessels, several timber staiths (32 feet long) have been constructed, each floor being furnished with rails leading to a turn-table upon the lines of railways by which the basin is encompassed. A branch railway, three-quarters of a mile in length, belonging to the Company, connects the dock with the various railway systems. There is a covered timber wharf (250 feet long) on the south with steam cranes, whilst at the east end is a powerful hydraulic lift for the shipment of coals. The total capacity is about 50,000 tons.

The *Bentinck Dock*, a rectangular basin (1,000 by 400 feet) with an area of about 10 acres and a depth of 32 feet, was opened the 18th of October 1883, by Wm. J. A. C. J. Cavendish-Bentinck, the sixth Duke of Portland, from whom it was afterwards named. The Act permitting the Company to increase their accommodation was unsuccessfully opposed by the Norfolk Estuary Company. The second basin was made by the world-renowned contractors, Messrs.

S. Pearson and Son, of Bradford (£87,646), from designs by Messrs. J. S. and F. Valentine. Connected with the first basin by a pair of lock gates, an inner dock is formed. Hydraulic cranes, fixed and movable, and ranging from 1 to 50 tons lifting power, are placed along the quay (£10,000). The Company owns some 12 miles of sidings, with an area of 100 acres. Special warehouses afford ample accommodation for the storage of grain, oil cake, etc. Facilities, too, are offered for fostering a regular trade between our port and the Continent. A fire destroyed the warehouse on the Alexandra Dock (15th December 1880). It was insured for £10,000, and was soon rebuilt. The Albert Oil Mill, erected by the late William Walker, and now carried on by a joint stock company, is on the Dock estate.*

Continental communication with the midland and eastern counties was established by means of the *Lynn and Hamburg Steam Ship Company*. Their line of steamers bore such familiar names as *King's Lynn*, *Sandringham*, *Hunstanton*, *Middleton*, etc. About 1886 the company removed to Boston, continuing the service from that place. The result was the formation of the present *Lynn and Hamburg S.S. Company, Ltd.* (1888). Besides the Lynn and Hamburg, and Lynn and Antwerp line, there are the following shipping lines in working order:—The *East Coast Steam Ship Company*, the *Carron Company*, the *Lynn and Cambridge Transport Company*, *Lynn and Grangemouth*, *Hull and Lynn* and *Lynn and Rotterdam* (1901).

IMPORTS.

	Wood: Standards	Coal: Tons	Grain: Qrs.	Stone: Tons	Oil Cake: Tons	Other Goods: Tons
1900	18,365	9,014	189,196	20,906	23,620	141,349
1901	16,690	6,238	345,582	16,404	21,353	161,387
1902	20,713	7,916	329,612	24,362	26,904	141,215

EXPORTS

	Coal: Tons	Grain: Qrs.	Oil Cake: Tons	Other Goods: Tons
1900	135,655	83,875	323	36,875
1901	92,525	53,853	—	26,530
1902	85,221	53,036	50	27,610

FOR CONSCIENCE' SAKE.

Much vexatious litigation was caused by the refusal of certain nonconformists to pay the church rate. The "friends of the Church, who wished to uphold her rights," were exhorted by placards to attend the vestry meeting (27th March 1837). In 1831, the church rate for both parishes amounted to £2,160. To realise £792 17s. 8½d., a rate at 8d. in the £ was levied upon St. Margaret's

* For further particulars see *Year Book* of "General Information" published by the Company.

parish (1840). As will be seen, "the expenses of getting in the rate" were £173 19s. 9d.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
By magistrates clerks Bill	19	14	3	}			
[less] Cash by officers on account	4	12	0		15	2	3
Steward on account					100	0	0
Magistrates officer on account distresses					1	4	0
Fred Lane					37	9	6
Poundage on collecting present rate					20	4	0

Again in 1843, several cases, including James Keed, glover, 41, High Street, David Menzies, ironfounder, 19, Union Street and Joseph Binge, chemist, 6, Norfolk Street, were tried at Norwich. The transaction is thus set forth in the Wardens' Account:—

		£	s.	d.
To cash p Mr. Jarvis on account Mr. Keed's costs of suit to recover rate laid Easter 1839	...	89	5	10
do. p do. Binge and others	...	116	2	6
do. p do. Steward on account of Menzies' suit	...	9	13	3
		£215	1	7

	£	s.	d.
By (cash) Blake & Cherrill £23 4s. 4d., £65 16s. 10d.	89	1	2
" Steward £1 5s. 6d., £6 13s. 6d.	7	19	0
" F. Lane	21	14	8
" Spurgeon	1	6	6
" Jarvis	5	0	0
" F. Lane for Mr. Platten's expenses in Keed's suit	8	16	0
" Plowright 3 days at Norwich do.	2	5	0
" Rolin for serving summons's	0	15	0
	£136	17	4

The names of four local solicitors appear in the above statements, namely, Frederick Lane (town clerk), St. Anne's Street, Charles Whally Spurgeon (magistrates' clerk), Lewis Weston Jarvis and Son, Tuesday Market-place and John Platten, London Road. After a respite of three years, seizures were again made. The following instances are preserved by a cotemporary handbill: From a widow, in arrears (£3 7s. od.) for two years' rate, a new sofa and five hats were taken, which were worth £7 10s. od.; from a respectable tradesman, not a "factious Dissenter," eight mahogany chairs, two tables and five hats were distrained (the goods were well worth twelve guineas, whereas the rates amounted to five only); and lastly, three watches, worth seven guineas, were "purloined" from a widow in lieu of £2 16s. od. (1847).

On Easter Monday 1854, the usual vestry meetings were held in each parish. At St. Margaret's, the Rev. Canon Wodehouse announced the sum of £409 12s. 8d. was required, which necessitated a 5d. rate. This was proposed by Walter Moyse (mayor 1849, 1850, 1858, 1867) and seconded by Charles Goodwin, solicitor of the firm of Goodwin, Partridge and Williams, Chapel Street; whereupon John G. Wigg, chemist, Saturday Market-place, moved no rate should be levied, which was seconded by John N. Chadwick, solicitor. A

poll being demanded by the parishioners, it was found that 220 were for, and 364 against the levying of the rate. In South Lynn, John Platten (mayor 1837, 1839, 1853) proposed a 3d. rate, but the Rev. George Rigby, the Roman Catholic priest, suggested the adjournment of the meeting for twelve months, which was immediately "carried." Church rates were therefore lost to both parishes.

At the quarterly meeting of the Town Council, it was agreed that £25 should be added to the voluntary subscriptions then being raised in lieu of the church rate, and that in future the cost of the ringing the bells, on public occasions, should be defrayed by the Corporation, and not, as hitherto, by the churchwardens (10th May 1852). The success attending the first reading of Sir William Clay's bill, for the abolition of the rate so objectionable to Dissenters (1854), probably inclined the Corporation to act generously. Similar bills were repeatedly carried by the Commons, but as continuously rejected by the Lords. In 1868, the late William E. Gladstone, the leader of the Opposition, introduced and carried a measure, the main features of which were, that all the old machinery with regard to levying and collecting the rate should remain in force, that its payment should be voluntary, and that the power to compel payment should be abrogated.

From a tabulated list of the sums expended in the Archdeaconry of Norwich upon the building and restoration of churches, we learn that during 35 years, from 1840 to 1875, the cost in the Deanery of Lynn amounted to £11,673, of which only £1,074 was derived from church rates; whilst in the Deanery of Lynn Marshland £28,636 was spent; towards which £25,139 was voluntarily subscribed, and the small remainder, £3,497, obtained from the rates.

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Those who remained stanch adherents to the faith of their fathers had many trials to face, after the dawn of the Reformation. To celebrate the rites of their religion, they were constrained to meet in obscurity. For two hundred years the records of Catholicity are fragmentary, because the seminary priest would prudently leave behind him nothing of a compromising nature, whereby the friends who had sheltered him in his adversity might suffer. Hence in Lynn, as in other places, nothing can be learnt until the close of the 18th century.

John Hurst, formerly president of the Sedgley Park school, was a resident here about 1777, and had charge of Thetford for several years, besides acting as chaplain at Costessey Hall. In 1812 the Roman Catholics met in a small room in Ferry Street, the priest, the Rev. P. Louis Dacheux, being a French refugee, who fled from Aumalé during the Revolutionary period (*circa* 1793). Bringing with him his savings and an invaluable art treasure—a genuine Vandyck—he settled for a while in Bristol, but afterwards removed to Lynn. At his own cost (£600), he built a small chapel in Coronation Square (1828), which is now a socialists' club-room. He died on the 12th of May 1843, and was buried in the

Allsaints' churchyard, leaving his house to his successor, and £900, not as an endowment to his church, but to be distributed, irrespective of creed distinctions, among the poor of the parish of South Lynn. Instructed by the two Protestant executors—John Platten and Lewis W. Jarvis—the intention of the testator was carried out by John Dyker Thew to the best of his ability (February 1845). Father Dacheux was succeeded by the Rev. John Dalton, who belonged to the order of Jesuits. During his stay

THE FIRST ST. MARY'S CHURCH

was erected, on the west side of the London Road, at the corner of North Everard Street, from plans by the celebrated Augustin Webly Pugin, "whose name is sufficient guarantee for the appropriateness of the design." The church was consecrated the 8th of May 1845 by Dr. Waring, the Bishop of Ariopolis, V.A. of the Eastern District. It consisted of a nave (separated from the chancel by an open screen surmounted by the Crucifix, St. John and the Blessed Virgin), a sacristy, the north aisle (subsequently added) and a south porch. The "Decorated style" (14th century) was adopted. The eastern window, designed by Wailes, contained brilliant full length figures of the Virgin Mary, St. Thomas à Becket, and St. George. The church, which would seat 200 persons, cost about £1,500.

The structural condition of this building proved so unsatisfactory that it was pulled down in order to erect

THE SECOND ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

The foundation stone was laid the 29th of September 1896, and the opening ceremony conducted by Dr. Arthur Riddell, the Lord Bishop of Northampton (2nd June 1897). The orientation of the church is the reverse of the former building: the chancel end no longer adjoins the London Road. The main entrance is from the east, so that the ecclesiastical east, next to the presbytery, is the geographical west. The style, described as curvilinear decorated Gothic, is treated severely. The walls, faced with carstone, have Bath stone dressings. Mr. W. Lunn, of Great Malvern, was the architect, and Mr. W. Hubbard, of East Dereham, the builder. The cost was about £3,000.

A larger structure than its predecessor, the new building, the total interior length of which is 72 feet (the nave being 22 feet wide and an aisle on the "north," *i.e.*, south side, 7 feet wide), is capable of accommodating more worshippers. The roof is of open timber work covered with slates. A stone turret flanking the great gable next the London Road, is surmounted by an oak open-framed top, covered with red tiles, and a lofty lead-coloured spiret with cross. The plan comprises nave, chancel, altar, and the special shrine of our Lady of Walsingham, which is an exact copy of the Holy House of Nazareth now at Loretto, Walsingham being within the limits of the King's Lynn mission. There is a sacristy, measuring 15 by 13 feet, with an entrance from the rectory, and a boys' sacristy of the area of 14 by 6 feet (with a lobby) is also provided. The area of the Lady chapel is 18 by 7 feet, and in extension of the length of it will

be an ante-chapel 10 feet long; while there is space upon which another aisle can be erected hereafter. For use in the Lady chapel, the church has been presented with a pair of candlesticks originally belonging to the old priory at Walsingham. In addition to the main entrance to the church from the London Road, there is a porch on the North Everard Street side of the building.

PRIESTS.

John Hurst (1735-1792) came to Lynn about 1777.

William le Goff	1802-1811
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[MEETINGS IN A ROOM IN FERRY STREET, 1812.]

Pierre Louis Dacheux (1760-1843), a French refugee	1811-1843
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[CHAPEL, CORONATION SQUARE, BUILT 1828.]

Charles Brigham, assistant, 1837-1840

John Dalton, " 1840-1843

John Dalton (1814-1874)	1843-1847
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[1ST ST. MARY'S CHURCH, LONDON ROAD, BUILT 1845].

George Rigby [who built house attached to the church]	1847-1858
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Thomas Fox	1858-1859
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John Dalton (a few months)	1859-1860
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Thomas Macdonald	1860-1862
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William Poole (died 1867)	1862-1867
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Andrew Walsh	1867-1870
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Edmund Walsh (brother)	1870-1873
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Stodart Macdonald	1873-1887
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George Wrigglesworth (1851-1900)	1887-1900
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[2ND ST. MARY'S CHURCH, LONDON ROAD, BUILT 1896.]

Charles Eeles...	1900 —
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Those italicized afterwards became Canons.

REWARD OF £200.

The mysterious disappearance of two townsmen, supposed to have been decoyed away and murdered, caused great excitement. The Secretary of State for the Home Department offered a reward in each case of £50, and the Town Council promised a like amount to any person who would give information leading to the conviction of the murderer or murderers. Her Majesty's gracious pardon was, moreover, offered to any accomplice, not being the actual perpetrator of the deed, who might assist in the discovery. But from that day to this the dark veil of mystery has never been raised.

John Kirk was supposed to have had in his possession when last seen (12th October 1849) about £15 and a silver watch. He is described as being 50 years of age, 5 feet 6½ inches in height, with a fresh complexion, and a speck on one eye. He was dressed in a light fustian coat and trousers, a broad-brimmed, low-crowned, black hat and lace-up boots.

John Bell, who was about the same height, and who stooped when walking, for he was 81 years of age, suddenly disappeared on the 13th of November 1849. Carrying his walking-stick in one hand, and a loaf of bread tied up in a blue cotton handkerchief in the other, he was seen for the last time near the Framingham Almshouses on the London Road. He was then shabbily dressed in a brown overcoat, cord small clothes and dark cloth gaiters, low shoes, sleeved waistcoat (worn and mended), white cotton neckerchief and

broad-brimmed, low-crowned hat. An additional reward of £20 was offered by the friends of the unfortunate man.

Information was to be given to Mr. Wright, Police Officer, High Street, or to Mr. Sheppy, of the London Detective Police Force, *Crown* tavern.

MODERN BUILDINGS.

(1) THE CORN EXCHANGE.

An old-fashioned, inviting hostelry, known as the *Angel*, stood beside the pretentious town residence of George Hogge, of Bilney Hall, on the west side of the Tuesday Market-square. When host King died, the inn was closed, and afterwards pulled down to make room for the Market House (1832). Disastrous indeed was the cutting off of "*Helicon's* harmonious streams," but imbibing inspiration from another source, a local poet succeeded in hammering out this sublime stanza:—

The King and Queen,
They once lived here ;
The Angel kept the door ;
The King is dead,
The Queen is fled,
And the *Angel* is no more.

In 1851, a meeting of farmers and merchants was convened by the mayor Walter Moyse, "to take into consideration the propriety of erecting a Corn Exchange," the urgent need of such a building being indisputable. The meeting was well attended, but owing to inexcusable apathy nothing further was done (10th November). The Council was next induced to discuss the subject ; but the suggestion to appropriate part of the Market House was vehemently opposed. It was finally agreed to ask Messrs. Cruso and Maberley to make out "a fresh set" of plans for a distinct building (22nd September 1853). The plans were approved and Mr. P. Edmund's tender accepted (30th January 1854).

The Corn Exchange, 170 by 51 feet, extends backwards towards the disused meat and poultry market on the Common Staith. The stone front is divided into three compartments by three-quarter columns of the Ionic order, with semi-pilasters at their sides, supporting an entablature with bracketed cornice, above which runs a balustraded parapet. The central compartment, which rises considerably higher than the parapet, bears the figure of Ceres—the goddess of corn, with a group of agricultural implements. Over the three entrances are sunk panels ; the central, containing the arms of the town, and the others sheaves of wheat, carved in high relief. The total cost, including the contract £2,450, sundry extras £94 13s., the value of the Market House £300 and the architects' commission £142. amounted to £2,986 13s. The stalls were balloted for, and the building opened the 9th of January 1855.

In 1877 the roof was reconstructed and glazed on a new principle, which dispensed with the use of putty or other cement. The glass roof (170 by 28 feet on each side) rests on iron trusses, supported by slender iron pillars against the wall. The area of

patent glazing covers more than 9,000 square feet, and is said to increase the light 50 per cent. The internal appearance, too, is vastly improved; the heavy sash-bars giving place to slender vertical tubes, used in this system. The whole alteration was carried out by the patentee, Mr. W. E. Rendle, Westminster Chambers, London, whose system of glazing has been adopted by the government, the railway companies, etc. The building belongs to the Corporation, and is a yearly source of revenue. After paying expenses a surplus of £315 11s. 2d. was added to the borough fund (1901).

(2) PUBLIC BATHS.

A meeting was held to consider the advisability of adopting the Baths and Wash-houses Act of 1846, which was designed to encourage the establishment of public baths and washing-houses (18th March 1850). A second meeting advised the adoption of the Act, and recommended the spending of £3,000 (22nd September), whereupon a poll of the town was demanded, when 459 declared themselves in favour of and 33 against a rate-supported bath-house.

Thomas Oliver, of Sunderland, an experienced specialist, drew up suitable plans, the estimated cost being £1,150. Our senior member, Lord Stanley, offered to contribute one-fourth, provided the rest was made up by the Corporation and voluntary subscriptions. It was therefore suggested that £600 should be raised voluntarily, that the Corporation should advance £300, the interest being limited to 4 per cent., and that the town should be entitled at any time to buy up shares at par. The Corporation granted a site on the Common Staith, upon the condition that, if necessary, the town might acquire the premises at a valuation (1854). The funds for the erection amounted to £1,215—Lord Stanley £300, the Corporation £300, private individuals £213 and contributions by way of shares £402.

The lowest tender (£1,450) was that of Mr. John Stimpson, but certain alterations, made by the architect, reduced the amount to £1,250, (23rd July 1855). A neat brick building was erected, having a front portico of three arches, with an office and dwelling house for the superintendent. In the rear is a good swimming bath, supplied with sea-water. Besides 20 dressing compartments, there are 3 first-class private, 5 second, and 3 shower baths. The building was finished in July 1856, with a debt of £130, which was liquidated in September, our new member, John Henry Gurney, giving £100.

The premises were let in 1901 at £20 per annum.

(3) THE SAVINGS BANK

was started as early as 1817, chiefly through the perseverance of Edward Bosworth Manning, a wine merchant, who lived where Messrs. Thompson, Pattrick and Woodward's offices now stand. For many years the business was transacted at the house of the secretary, James Burch, tailor, 118, High Street. A special building, however, was erected in St. James' Street in 1859, at a cost of £2,000.

The edifice is a pleasing specimen of the Domestic Gothic of the 15th century. The ground floor consists of a spacious entrance lobby, waiting room and bank, which communicate with each other. A staircase leads to the committee room, situated above the waiting room. The whole interior faithfully represents the style of the period. The moulded timbers of the ceilings are exposed, and the open fireplaces of Caen stone, with their quaint andirons, are elaborately carved. The area in front of the building is enclosed with characteristic *wrought* iron railings and gates—the work of George C. Page. An imposing front of red brick is gracefully relieved by dressings of Casterton stone. The architects were Messrs. Medland and Maberley, of London and Gloucester; William Bennett, of Lynn, was the contractor, the stone work being executed by Andrew Bone.

An idea of the scope of this institution may be formed by noting the fact that in 1843 there was deposited £57,089 by 1,763 individuals, 40 charities and 38 friendly societies. In 1889 the Penny Bank contributed £1,172 toward a total of £63,008. Since the opening of the Post Office Savings Bank (1861) many old-established savings banks—including that at Lynn—have been closed, because the managers could not offer to their depositors the same advantages as the new system.

These valuable premises were secured by the Young Men's Christian Association (1891), which was formed the 10th of February 1881, the first president being J. Thomas Cook. The original home was in Broad Street, but a more convenient place was found at the rear of Daniel C. Burlingham's premises, 81, High Street (11th January 1888). To the Bank, which was bought for £850, a gymnasium (£400 in 1893) and a lecture hall were added.

(4) THE CEMETERY.

As the need of a new burial ground was greatly felt, the Corporation, to whom application had been made, suggested the use of a field on the north side of the Hardwick Road, at the yearly rent of £10—the same sum being then paid for the St. James' burial ground. A meeting of the inhabitants was held to consider the advisability of petitioning parliament to modify the powers exercised by the Poor Law Commissioners, who having sold the South Lynn Workhouse (Friars Street), refused to agree to the spending of the money in erecting a chapel at the proposed cemetery (4th January 1850). Designs for the chapel (William Brown) and the gates (William Newham) were approved, and a tender from Messrs. Brown and Bennett (£398) for the erection of the building was accepted (26th June 1850). There, however, the subject remained in abeyance. At length notice was given that after the 14th of August 1855 all interments must be made in the "South Lynn burial ground," as the cemetery was at first termed. In consequence of the illness of Samuel Hinds, Bishop of Norwich, the Right Rev. Bishop Spencer, late of Madras, consecrated the ground (26th May 1856). In addition to a loan of £3,000, a further sum of £600 was borrowed

by the Burial Board (appointed May 1855) to complete the work (January 1856).

The first burial, that of a child, occurred the 21st of January 1851.

(5) MISSION CHURCHES.

To cope with the growing requirements of developing districts, two mission churches have been provided. *St. Margaret's Church* at Highgate was opened the 21st of April 1881. In connection with the parish of South Lynn, the Church of *St. Michael and All Angels* (with day school to accommodate 175 children) was erected on the Saddlebow Road upon a site given by Sir W. H. B. Ffolkes, bart. The funds were voluntarily provided; the cost of the school being defrayed by subscriptions and a grant from the National Society (£1,500). Mr. L. F. Eagleton was the architect and the late Mr. Robert Dye the builder. It was consecrated by the Bishop on the 24th of June 1901.

(6) TEMPERANCE HALL AND HOTEL

was built about 1843 for the use of the Oddfellows; subsequently purchased by a company for the Lynn Temperance Society, it passed to Mr. and Mrs. Cozens, both ardent temperance reformers. Mrs. Catherine Cozens died the 6th of July 1889, in her 87th year.

LOCAL ACTS.

The Eau Brink.

1837-8. 1st Victoria, c. 81 and 1860-1, 23rd and 24th Victoria, c. 88.

The Dock.

1841-2. 4th and 5th Victoria, c. 47. For amending the Act regulating pilots, bridgemen, &c. (1772-3.)

1847-8. 10th and 11th Victoria, c. 170. For making Docks.

1857-8. 20th " 21st " c. 146. } For levying dues on vessels in the

1865-6. 28th " 29th " c. 88. } Harbour.

Norfolk Estuary Wash Reclamation.

Victoria 9th and 10th, c. 388 (1846-7); 12th and 13th, c. 95 (1849-50); 16th and 17th, c. 14 (1853-4); 20th and 21st, c. 146 (1857-1) and 1877.

Paving, Water, etc.

1859-60. 22nd Victoria, c. 32. Partly repealed the Act of 1830.

Railways.

1845-6. 8th and 9th Victoria, c. 55. Lynn and Ely Line.

1847-8. 10th " 11th " c. 275. East Anglian "

10th " 11th " c. 170. Lynn and Ely deviation and Lynn Dock.

10th " 11th " c. 171. Enabling the Lynn and Ely Railway

Company to make a navigation from Lynn to Wormegay.

1849-50. 12th and 13th Victoria, c. 52. } East Anglian Amendment.

14th " 15th " c. 101. }

1853-4. 16th " 17th " c. 193. Regulations and Additional Work.

1862-3. 26th " 26th " c. 223. Amalgamation with G.E.R.

Parochial.

1846-7. 9th and 10th Victoria, c. 376. For consolidating the rectory at North Lynn with the perpetual curacy of St. Margaret the first worth £500 per annum, having no church and but 38 inhabitants, whilst the income of the second with St. Nicholas is but £138, the population being 12,500. The patron of North Lynn, J. W. Hodgson, Esq., was to receive £7,000 for

the advowson, of which £5,000 was contributed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, £1,000 by our Corporation and the remainder provided by public subscription. The benefice was to be charged with £150 a year for the perpetual curacy of the new church of St. John.

Municipal.

1894. King's Lynn Corporation Act.

1897. " " Conservancy Act (6th August).

HISTORICAL FRITTERS (1837 TO 1870).

1837. James Greenacre (born at North Runcton 1785) was hanged for the murder of Mrs. Hannah Brown; his accomplice Sarah Gale, being transported for life.

1846. The bell and cupola were removed from the north tower of St. Margaret's, the new clock striking upon the great bell inside. Banner vanes were placed upon the pinnacles.

1851. John Rowland, aged 78 years, died in the Workhouse (21st April); he had been educated at Eton College and was afterwards a fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Horsley he officiated at St. James', Westminster, and subsequently went out as chaplain to the embassy at St. Petersburg. At length he gave way to dissipation and after passing through various vicissitudes—among others being transported for stealing iron from Bottomley's ship-building yard near the South Gates, he ultimately became a permanent inmate of the Workhouse.

1851. In the Exchequer Chamber, Westminster Hall, Judge Patteson confirmed the judgment of Chief Baron Pollock in the action of Smith *v.* Cartwright in favour of the defendant, who refused to employ Lynn meters in his yard at West Lynn. This action cost the Corporation over £1,300 (21st June).

1851. The Council voted £23 a year to the Head Master of the Grammar School, towards the salary of an usher (23rd Oct.).

1852. Messrs. Kerry introduced photography. "What a comfort it is to have the likeness of some departed relation or absent friend on which to look and say—

With thee though speechless there's a converse;

Though alone—a sweet and rapturous society."

Portraits small 2/6 each. Coloured 5/-; with hands coloured 7/6.

1853. Chapel of St. Nicholas was reseated, and the galleries were removed.

1853. No prisoners: gaol doors thrown open; the Mayor entertained the police force and officials within the building (May 20th).

1853. Estuary Cut completed; waters admitted (July 21st).

1853. Lorenz Beha, a German watchmaker, 77, Norfolk Street, murdered at Tittleshall by William Thompson, who was hanged at Norwich. Beha was interred in the Roman Catholic burial ground (25th Nov.).

1853. A nugget of gold, 45 lbs. 9 ozs., found near Ballarat, by Messrs. Geo. S. D. Potter and Bennett, two Lynn sailors.

1853. Elihu Burritt, the celebrated blacksmith linguist, lectured in the Guild Hall on the "Ocean Penny Postage."

1853. The roof and tower of St. Nicholas' covered with asphalt; the old clock was sold (11th April).

1854. The first appearance of the Sax-horn Band (1st May). The musicians "trust every allowance will be made considering the short period they have had their instruments (viz. the 23rd of last February)." They met on the Walks and marched to Reffley Spring. This band, formed through the visits of the Distins—celebrated performers on the sax-horn, lasted from 1854 to 1866.

1856. Celebration of peace with Russia. On the Walks 2,300 children dined.

1856. George Borrow visited Lynn, when on a walking tour (2nd May). "As he was standing in the door of the *Globe*, he saw a driver beating a horse, which had fallen down. 'Give him a pint of ale,' cried the pedestrian, 'and I will pay for it.' They gave the horse two pints, whereupon he got up. In about a quarter of an hour, Borrow saw him pulling merrily past the *Globe* with the other horses." (Knapp.)

1857. Mr. C. H. Spurgeon, "the celebrated revivalist" preached two sermons in the Corn Exchange in aid of the fund for repairing the Baptist chapel. The collections amounted to £110 15s.; 2,600 tickets being issued (24th June).

1859. The Lynn Rifle Corps formed. About £200 subscribed; 70 applicants, of whom 40 were willing to provide their own equipment.

1861. Tom Sayers with Howes and Cushing's Equestrian Troupe visited the town.

1862. Horse Races yearly, since 1851.

1862. The bank and sluice at Wiggshall St. Germans gave way; over 7,000 acres were flooded, and many cottages were destroyed (21st May). A new sluice with syphons, the successor to that of Sir John Hawkshaw, opened by Edward Fellowes, M.P. (26th November, 1877).

1863. Petition signed by ten medical men and 112 "respectable inhabitants," asking that the dangerous nuisance arising from the Purfleet might be abated (11th July).

1863. Accident on Hunstanton line; seven lives lost (Aug.).

1865. Sculling match; "Great Lynn Sweepstakes" contested in the Eau Brink Cut; 3,300 yards; competitors, Robert Chambers, champion of the Tyne and ex-champion of the Thames; Harry Kelley, who had just wrested the championship of the Thames from his former north country rival, and Robert Cooper of Newcastle. The referee decided in favour of Kelley, disqualifying Cooper on the grounds that he had purposely rowed in front of the other. Kelley received a cheque of £200; the second prize was awarded to Chambers. Cooper protested, but in vain (18th Aug.).

1866. A large tract of land in the old Estuary reclaimed from the sea.

1868. Gala arranged by Messrs. J. Fiddaman and J. J. Lowe; 4,000 present at the Old Cricket Field, the Chase (8th July).

1870. Mr. Richard Catleugh entertained 7,000 of his friends to dinner, etc., on the Walks (25th Sept.).

CHAPTER XLIII.

Honourable in their Generations.

PERSONALIA.

(1) CAPTAIN S. G. CRESSWELL, R.N.

For three centuries there was a well sustained struggle to discover a shorter route to India. It was thought that if the world were round a westerly or even a north-westerly course would achieve the project as surely as the old easterly course. Columbus sailing towards the west discovered a land, which he naturally concluded was the long-desired country, hence he erroneously applied the word "Indies" to the group of islands he first encountered. Notwithstanding, a wide ocean was afterwards found to stretch between the new country and the desired haven. Many attempts were made by the English and other maritime nations, but each and all ended in disappointment. To Sir John Franklin and his 138 brave volunteers was reserved the much coveted honour. True, they discovered "the north-west passage," but unfortunately sacrificed their lives in the grand achievement, and never returned to enjoy the honour they richly merited. Incidentally it may be mentioned that a young man named

Crisp, the son of a tailor whose shop was contiguous with that of Mr. T. H. Andrews, butcher, High Street, was one of the crew who sailed with Sir John Franklin on the 26th of May 1845.

The next to attempt this hazardous undertaking was Capt. (afterwards Sir) Robert Le Mesurier M'Clure, who was indeed worthy to trace the footsteps of those gone before. He was too late to save Franklin and his intrepid comrades, but he completed the search on one of the proposed lines. By passing from west to east—from ocean to ocean, from Pacific to Atlantic—he secured, to our Royal Navy and to Great Britain as a nation, the imperishable renown of having accomplished the exceptionally arduous enterprise vainly attempted so many times before.

Our intention, however, is not to trace the intricate track of M'Clure and his gallant crew through the almost impenetrable ice-floes which abound in the Arctic region, but to direct attention to the doings of one of our townsmen who accompanied Capt. M'Clure on this memorable occasion.

On the 20th January 1850, the two "Arctic Discovery Ships," the *Investigator* and the *Enterprise*, set sail in quest of Franklin. The *Investigator* was under the command of Captain R. M. M'Clure, with whom was Lieutenant Samuel Gurney Cresswell, R.N., who was born at Lynn (1827). The *Investigator*, a wooden vessel of about 400 tons, was by no means a picture of neatness, but having conducted herself very well in frozen waters before, she was selected for this critical mission. Her companion, the *Enterprise*, was a faster sailing craft, and to the mortification of Captain M'Clure he was soon left behind. Cape Horn was however sighted about the middle of April; the Sandwich Islands were reached the 29th of June, and a month later the *Investigator* entered the Arctic Circle, and the clothing supplied by the Admiralty was issued and preparations were made for the worst. After entering Behring Strait, Cape Lisborne and Point Barrow were passed, and on the 8th of August, when about 120 miles further east, some of the crew went ashore at Point Pitt to erect a cairn and leave intelligence behind them. They were met by three Esquimaux, from whom they received the gratifying news that there was a channel leading towards the east, which at that season was about three miles distant from the ice-pack. The voyage was resumed, but the winter (1850-1) was spent in Prince of Wales' Strait, between Banks Land and Prince Albert Land, not far from the Princess Royal Island. It was a dreary, inhospitable region, but the brave fellows made the best of their privations and enforced imprisonment. In April the winter had so far advanced, that three sledges were provisioned for six weeks, and each, drawn by six men, was despatched to scour the frozen country in search of Franklin and the other brave pioneers. The sledge entrusted to Lieut. Cresswell, was to follow Banks Land (thus named after Sir Joseph Banks who accompanied Capt. Cook in 1768), to the north-west. The journey was fraught with dangers only to be realised by those who make a prolonged sojourn in the Arctic zone. An extract from Captain

M'Clure's diary will give an idea of the hardships endured by those taking part in these search-expeditions.

May 20. (1851). The last of the winter's snow had disappeared from the western side of the strait, and from that rejoicing in a south-eastern aspect; but the opposite shore, which geologically speaking was of the same formation, still wore a wintry livery, owing to its facing the north-western part of the heavens; the advantage, here so apparent, of wintering in the harbour, which looks to the southward, is a point which should be held well in mind by the polar navigator, if circumstances ever allow him to choose his winter quarters. At 8.0 a.m. on this day Lieut. Gurney Cresswell's party returned to the ship after an absence of thirty-two days from the *Investigator*. Lieut. Cresswell had searched 170 miles of the coast of Banks Land from the ship in a north and north-west direction. For the first fortnight the weather had been most severe, constant north-west gales, dead in their teeth, sweeping through Barrow's Strait. Frost-bites had been frequent, but only two men became seriously attacked; and they, poor fellows, being affected in the feet in both cases, mortification of the extremities threatened, but Lieut. Cresswell had been obliged to listen to the dictates of humanity, and retreat upon the ship just as the weather was improving and the trend of the coast of Banks Land to the south convinced him it was an island. By this judicious step, however, the men's lives were saved, only one losing a portion of his feet; but a day or two longer on the sledge would have been fatal to both.

As a passage through the strait could not be made, owing to an impenetrable ice-barrier, Captain M'Clure decided, after the return of the three sledging parties, to retrace his course and work his way if possible round Banks Land, which now seemed feasible. The south, the west and the north-west of the coast were safely passed, when a perilous catastrophe awaited the voyagers.

After the 20th of August, the *Investigator* lay helplessly fixed off the north-west of Banks Land; the wind had pressed in the ice, and for a while all hopes of further progress were at an end. On the 29th of August, however, a sudden lurch occurred, when a moving floe struck a huge mass to which the ship had been secured; and to the horror of those on board, such was the enormous power exerted that the ice slowly reared itself on its edge, close to the ship's bows, until the upper part was higher than the fore-yard, and every moment appeared likely to be the *Investigator's* last; for the mountainous block had but to topple over to sink her and the crew under its weight. At this critical moment there was a shout of joy, for the tremendous pile, after oscillating fearfully, broke up, and rolled back to its original position. They were saved!

On the 23rd of September the vessel ran aground, but after great exertion, she was floated again during the night. The Captain nevertheless thought it prudent to stay where he was, rather than court incalculable dangers ahead. The winter of 1851-2 was therefore spent in what was not inappropriately called the Bay of Mercy. The companion vessel the *Enterprize* wintered in 1850-1, in the south of the Prince of Wales' Strait, and the next year in Cambridge Bay, hundreds of miles from the *Investigator*.

Captain M'Clure and a sledging party succeeded in crossing Banks Strait; they reached Melville Island (Sir W. Edward Parry's quarters in 1820) expecting to find a supply from Lieut. M'Clintock, who was there in 1851, but they were doomed to be disappointed.

In the meanwhile the greatest anxiety prevailed in England, as to the safety of the expedition. The question was discussed by the Admiralty and the "Arctic Committee." The course of action decided upon was happily modified at the suggestion of Francis Cresswell, Esq., the young Lieutenant's father. His letter, addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty and dated the 28th of March 1852, was written in Lynn. Four ships were sent out at once.

A sledging party from the *Resolute* at Dealy Island visited Winter Harbour, and upon the top of a huge boulder, on which was chiselled a record of Parry's Expedition (1820), a document left by Capt. M'Clure was providentially found.

On board the *Investigator* everything was ready by the 6th of April for the despatch of the worn-out sailors to their uncertain destination. A fine deer was hung up, ready to give them a hearty meal before the momentous separation, which was to take place during the next week.

While walking near the ship, to quote the Captain's journal, in conversation with the first lieutenant upon the subject of digging a grave for the man who died yesterday, and discussing how we could cut a grave in the ground whilst it was so hardly frozen—a subject naturally sad and depressing—we perceived a figure walking rapidly towards us from the rough ice at the entrance of the bay. . . . When within two hundred yards of us, this strange figure threw up his arms and made gesticulations resembling those of the Esquimaux, besides shouting at the top of his voice words, which, from the wind and the intense excitement of the moment, sounded like a wild screech; and this brought us fairly to a standstill. The stranger came quietly on, and we saw that his face was as black as ebony. . . . "I'm Lieutenant Pim, late of the *Herald*, and now in the *Resolute*. Captain Kellett is in her, at Dealy Island."

Needless to add, the "Investigators" felt perfectly bewildered with the rescue, which had miraculously reached them just in time.

Captain M'Clure with a sledging party at once set out for Dealy Island, but they had not been there long before Lieut. Cresswell brought the sad news that two more of the crew, who remained on board the *Investigator*, were dead. The reluctant captain was therefore compelled to abandon his vessel. On the 2nd of May 1853, the remaining stores and the rest of the crew were brought over to the winter quarters of the *Resolute* and *Intrepid*. Lieut. Cresswell, bearing despatches for the Admiralty, was now sent with a sledging party across the frozen ocean to Beechey Island. He and his heroic men arrived safely at their destination, and the *Phoenix*, under Captain Inglefield, who was making a flying visit to that lonely spot, at once brought Lieut. Cresswell and his party to Scotland. On the 7th of October, our brave townsman communicated to the Admiralty the achievement of the bold design, and the safety of Capt. M'Clure and his companions.*

Shortly afterwards, when visiting Lynn, Lieut. Cresswell, the first person to traverse the north-west passage, was entertained at a banquet in the Town Hall. He received moreover the Freedom of the Borough at the hands of the mayor, Lionel Self. A coloured

* See M'Clure's *Discovery of the North-west Passage* (1856), edited by Com. Osborne.

lithograph of the presentation, sketched by the late Henry Ladbrooke, was issued to commemorate the event.

Lieut. Cresswell rose to the rank of post-captain, but physical privations and the abnormal tension to which his nervous system had been so long subject quite undermined a robust constitution. He died when in his 40th year, on the 14th of August 1867.

It would be unwise to conclude this brief obituary without referring to the beautiful stained glass window at the chancel end of St. Margaret's church, or withhold the inscription on the adjacent brass tablet:—

To the glory of God, in humble thankfulness for deliverance from many and great troubles in the Arctic regions, also in grateful remembrance of the loving welcome accorded him on his unlooked-for return home, this window was presented by Captain Samuel Gurney Cresswell, A.D. 1866.

(2) DANIEL GURNEY, F.S.A.,

born at Earham (9th March 1791), was the youngest son of the twelve children of John and Catherine (*née* Bell) Gurney, "the leading quaker family in England."

John (1781-1845), the second son of that name, after serving some time in the Gurney Bank at Norwich, was transferred to the branch at Lynn (1806). Having married his cousin Elizabeth Gurney (1807), he lived in a house (No. 11), then surrounded by gardens, in what was afterwards converted into Valinger's Road. His youngest brother Daniel sent as an assistant resided with him. In 1816, Daniel moved to a quaint homestead in North Runcton, where his sister Rachel superintended the household. Daniel married Harriet Jemima Hay, the daughter of the sixteenth Earl of Erroll (1822); she died in 1837, leaving a family of eleven. He was deservedly esteemed as a philanthropist. After a few years of retirement, having been partner and head of the Norwich firm—Gurney and Co.—Daniel the *last* of the Earham branch passed away (14th June 1880) and was buried in the churchyard at Runcton, beside his dearly loved wife, whom he survived forty-three years.

When 195 emigrants from Lynn and the neighbourhood embarked at the Friars fleet on board the *Anne* for Quebec, Daniel Gurney distributed Bibles and Prayer Books (13th April 1836). He was an enthusiastic antiquary and the author of—*The Record of the House of Gournay* (1848-58), published in five well illustrated quarto volumes; besides *Thoughts on Banking* (1872). A fine portrait is given in Augustus Hare's *The Gurneys of Earham* (1895), vol. ii., p. 326.

His brother Joseph John, married for his first wife Jane Birkbeck; his sister Elizabeth, whose visits to the gaols of the country so greatly improved the wretched condition of the female prisoners, married Joseph Fry. The other sisters—Hannah and Louisa—married Sir Thomas F. Buxton, bart., and Samuel Hoare (third).

(3) THE HANKINSONS

—an interesting family, well-known in Lynn and the neighbourhood, seem to have belonged originally to Lancaster. Thomas Hankinson,

from whom these worthies descended, carried on business as a cork-cutter in a shop in Norfolk Street, now occupied by Mr. R. Catleugh.

His son the Rev. Thomas Hankinson, M.A., was born at Lynn (1796); he married Anne, the only child of Francis Edwards of Kenwick Hall, Tilney Allsaints, and was instituted vicar of Walpole St. Andrew (1808). Eleven years afterwards, he was appointed curate at Walpole, and, becoming a non-resident, took charge of the parishes of Pentney and Bilney. Leaving Bilney Hall, he returned to Walpole (1833), where he continued to reside until his death, at the patriarchal age of 93 years (1863). His wife died in 1837. Both were interred in the chancel of Walpole church. Their eldest son the Rev. Robert Edwards Hankinson, M.A., was curate under his father at Walpole; and afterwards vicar of St. Margaret's, Lynn (1847-50), where his health gave way through overwork. Subsequently he became archdeacon of Norwich and rector at Creake.

The second in the family was Thomas Edwards Hankinson, the poet, for whom special reference is reserved. The third was a daughter—Mary Anne—who married the Rev. R. Cox (1832), for some time rector of Tickenhall, Derbyshire. She died at an advanced age. Catherine, the fourth child, was twice married; first to Samuel Hoare, junior, of Hampstead (1831)—the son of Louisa Gurney of the "Gurneys of Earham," who died in 1833, and secondly to Sir W. E. Parry, the famous Arctic explorer. The last of the family was the Rev. Edward Francis Edwards Hankinson, M.A. (1810-1903), who was the first incumbent at St. John's church, Lynn (1846-60), vicar at St. Margaret's (1860-66), honorary canon of Norwich (1863-72) and rector of Bircham Newton and Tofts, Norfolk (1870-84). After resigning his pastoral duties, he lived with his sister Lady Parry, at Billingford Hall. He married Catherine the daughter of Samuel Hoare, senior. Dying the 17th of October 1903, he was buried at Twyford.

THE SEATONIAN POET.

Now let us turn to a more minute consideration of the career of the second son—Thomas Edwards Hankinson, M.A., who was born at Lynn (19th June 1805). He was distinguished not as a poet only, but as a classical scholar. After ordination Mr. Hankinson accepted for a short time a curacy at Castle Rising. In 1829 he became curate at St. Margaret's, Lynn, but afterwards removed to the incumbency at St. Matthew's chapel, Denmark Hill, Camberwell.

The Rev. Thomas Seaton, M.A., late fellow of Clare Hall, bequeathed to the Cambridge University the rents of his Kislingbury estate, which in 1844 amounted to about £40 per annum. The income was to be given to the Master of Arts, who should write the best English poem on a sacred theme. The Vice-Chancellor, the Master of Clare Hall, and the Greek Professor, the disposers of this premium, were to determine the subject. The selected poem was to be printed, and the expense deducted from the income of the estate; the remainder was to be awarded to the successful competitor. Mr. Hankinson entered the lists and carried off nine Seatonian prizes,

including exceptional prizes in 1831 and 1838. Here is the complete list:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1831. "David playing the Harp before Saul" (£100). | 1838. "Ethiopia stretching out her Hand unto God" (£100). |
| 1832. "The Plague Stayed." | 1839. Prize won by Mr. J. Murray of Trinity College. |
| 1833. "St. Paul at Philippi." | 1840. "The Ministry of Angels." |
| 1834. "Jacob." | 1841. "The Call of Abraham." |
| 1835. "Ishmael." | 1842. "The Cross planted upon the Himalaya Mountains." |
| 1836. "The Story of St. Constantine" (written, but no prize awarded this year). | 1843. "Faith, Hope and Charity" (incomplete). |
| 1837. No prize offered. | |

The achievement of Christopher Smart (1722-1771), who gained the Seatonian prize "*five* times, all but in succession," and who, during a fit of lunacy, scratched with a key his "Song to David" upon the wall of his cell (1763), was considered remarkable. * But Mr. Hankinson succeeded *nine* times in succession, establishing thereby "a record," for owing to ill-health, he did not compete in 1839. Dr. J. M. Neale appeared in 1845, winning the prize *ten* times. Let us, however, remember, Mr. Hankinson carried off the prize in 1842, that he died in 1843 and that after his death a fragment of the proposed poem for that year was found among his papers. When twenty-three years of age Mr. Hankinson composed "The Druid's Lament," an effective poem, supposed to represent an outburst of grief from one of the Druidic bards after the battle of Mona. For this he received a prize, one vote debarring him from the Chancellor's medal.

Early in 1843, he repaired to Stainley Hall, near Ripon, hoping a relief from pastoral duties and the bracing air of the Yorkshire moors might bring about a change in the premature decline, by which his life was threatened. This, however, was not to be. He died the 6th of October, aged 38 years, and was interred at Danby-Wisk. His poems were edited and published by his brothers (1844).

(4) ADMIRAL SIR WM. EDWARD PARRY,

the fourth son of Dr. C. H. Parry, of Bath, was born in 1799, and married as his second wife Mrs. Catherine Hoare, who was the daughter of the Venerable Archdeacon Hankinson. He entered the navy (1803) and received his commission as lieutenant (1810). He made several voyages to the Arctic regions. In 1819 whilst commanding the *Hecla* he crossed the meridian 110° west, at latitude 74° 44' and thus gained a reward of £5,000 offered by parliament. In 1825 his vessel was wrecked; luckily the companion vessel brought back a double ship's company. He afterwards obtained the sanction of the government to visit the North Pole, by using sledges along the coast of Spitzbergen. In November, 1827, he returned, having reached latitude 82° 45'. After retiring from the sea, he filled various offices. He visited Norfolk as a Poor Law Commissioner; and resided some time at Castle Rising. He died in 1855.

* During his last days—spent in the King's Bench prison, his condition was greatly ameliorated by Dr. Charles Bury.

(5) THE GOODWINS,

or Goodwyns, figure conspicuously in the records of this borough. Seven "Goodwins" besides several relatives, were mayors.

On the death of Harvey Goodwin (1756-1819) a respectable attorney-at-law, his third son Charles succeeded to an extensive practice and removed, from the red-brick house facing Boal Street, to No. 18, High Street—premises adjoining his father's office. An attempt to establish a suburb to the town was due to Charles, whose memory is perpetuated in our "Goodwin's Road." He had six children, four sons and two daughters, one of whom, Elizabeth, died in infancy.

CHARLES WYCLIFFE GOODWIN (1817-1878),

the eldest son of Charles Goodwin, born at Lynn, was deservedly celebrated for his erudition. He became an Egyptologist and a Hebraist, an accomplished Anglo-Saxon and German scholar, as well as a geologist and botanist. When quite a lad, he began deciphering papyri, and spent his holidays in writing essays on the history of Egypt.

At the age of seven (writes the Rev. H. D. Rawnsley, Hon. Canon of Carlisle), he was deep in hieroglyphics, holding strong views about the Shepherd Kings of Egypt, beginning the science of botany and rehearsing Shakespeare's plays. Those who study Egyptology to-day, know how much England and the world owe to that little lad of Lynn, whose genius lay in deciphering papyri. Readers of that old fairy tale 'The Doomed Prince, or the Twelfth Dynasty Story of Saneha' have to thank Charles Goodwin for peeps into the nursery literature of ancient Egypt. Travellers in Palestine owe him gratitude for the story of Egyptian travel there, fourteen centuries before Christ. Students of the Hymnology of the Nile can never forget his spirited translation of the festal dirge of King Antef and the hymns to Amen and Amen-ra. Lawyers who care to read the earliest example on record of an extraordinary treaty, inscribed as it is upon the outer wall of the Temple of Karnak, every time they wonder at the careful drawing of the document and the humanity to which the treaty of Rameses II, with the Khita testify, must remember that we Englishmen are indebted to Charles Wycliffe Goodwin for its translation. The remarkable boy grew up with an almost instinctive faculty for Oriental languages and for deciphering hieroglyphics. [*Life of Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle, 1896.*]

In 1838, he took his B.A., and in 1842, his M.A. degree; moreover, he was elected fellow of St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge. Called to the bar, he published two law treatises, besides many articles of an Egyptological character, as well as translations from the Coptic. His "Mosaic Cosmogony" in *Essays and Reviews* created quite a sensation. It elicited five or six learned replies; then followed "Saneha," an Egyptian tale of four thousand years ago, a translation from the Hieratic text (1866). Strange to say Mon. F. Chabas was independently at work upon the same subject. Though the results were not exactly identical, they certainly agree in all essential points. Subsequently Goodwin collaborated with Chabas in translating other papyri.

Appointed assistant judge of the supreme court for China and Japan (1865), Goodwin left England to reside at Shanghai, from whence he was transferred to Yokohama, to act as judge of the supreme court. After a visit to England, he died at Shanghai (1878).

HARVEY GOODWIN (1818-1891),

the second son of Charles Goodwin was born, as was his brother Charles Wycliffe, in the house at the foot of Lady bridge. He was named after his grandfather. More robust, but by no means so precocious as his brother, he was notwithstanding expected to keep pace with him in his studies. After spending some time at a private school at High Wycomb, he read with the Rev. Sydney Gedge, curate at North Runciton. Early in life, it was discovered, how he was unconsciously suffering from defective vision. He entered Caius College as pensioner (1836) and succeeding as second wrangler, gained the Smith's Prize. Appointed curate at St. Giles', he, after three years, accepted the incumbency of St. Edward's, "a church memorable as the place where Hugh Latimer used to deliver his 'fruitful discourses.'" Here, passing rich on £60 a year, he continued ten years. On the death of Dr. Peacock, he, "with the Queen's gracious sanction," undertook the duties appertaining to the Deanery of Ely (1858). In 1869 owing to the death of Bishop Waldegrave, Dr. Harvey Goodwin was promoted to the see of Carlisle.

He was a most voluminous writer on scientific as well as social questions, and an earnest and indefatigable Christian worker. His impaired health necessitated visits to Egypt (1878) and America (1886). He died on the 25th of November 1891, in the twenty-third year of his episcopate.

His brother John practised as a doctor at Bury St. Edmunds; and his sister Fanny, a deaf mute, became an expert painter of still life.

FRANCIS GOODWIN (1784-1835),

who was a son of Harvey Goodwin, the attorney, was born at Lynn (23rd May). Renowned as an ecclesiastical architect, he built churches in many parts of the kingdom; for example, at West Bromwich, Ashton-under-Lyne, Kidderminster, Burton-on-Trent, Oldham, Walsall, etc.; he added the steeple to St. Peter's, Manchester, and a tower and spire to St. Paul's, Birmingham; designed the Town Hall and Assembly rooms, Manchester (considered his *chef d'œuvre*) and prepared plans for the new House of Commons (1833), which, ordered to be published, were regarded by the committee as the best sent in. As early as 1806, he exhibited at the Royal Academy, the subject being "The Internal view of St. Nicholas chapel, Lynn," whilst from 1822 to 1834, as many as twenty-three other architectural drawings, chiefly in the pointed style, adorned the same walls. To the same pencil, we are indebted for a view of the Tuesday Market-place when "the Return of Peace" was celebrated (22nd July 1822). Francis Goodwin died suddenly of apoplexy at his residence in King Street, Portman Square, London (30th August 1835).

(6) THOMAS BAINES, F.R.G.S.,

was born in High Street (27th November 1820) and was baptized "John Thomas," by the Rev. Stephen Allen, junior curate, in St. Margaret's church (23rd of January 1821). He was the eldest son of John and Mary Baines (sometimes Bains). As a householder John Baines

was rented at £12 in 1751. Described as a mariner, he was a man of substance, inasmuch as his assessment was the highest in the Sedgeford Lane ward in which he dwelt. Being seldom at home, he was never appointed collector of the church rate. In 1757 Michael Gage and Edward Coward were chosen by virtue of their assessments—£4 and £5 13s. 4d. respectively—whereas John Baines whose assessment was £13 6s. 8d was excused.

“Poor Thomas Baines” was sent to work in a coachmaker’s shop, but the occupation proving uncongenial, he emigrated to Cape Colony. Here for some time he gained a precarious living by painting pictures of African scenery. In 1848, as a volunteer, he took an active part in the Kaffir war, and the experience thus gained thoroughly familiarised him with bush-fighting and savage warfare. But though for the nonce a soldier, he was primarily and by nature an artist. At this period he became a contributor to the *Illustrated London News*, and continued to the time of his death, to furnish this journal, not only with faithful sketches, but graphic descriptions of the places he visited.

After passing safely through the second Kaffir war, he attached himself to the North Australian Expedition, under the command of Augustus Gregory. Baines ventured upon a perilous voyage of 650 or 700 miles along the unknown treacherous coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria in an open boat. When he returned to Lynn in 1858, the town presented him with a complimentary testimonial. It was then, he was unfortunately induced to join an expedition just starting for the Zambesi. His connection with Dr. Livingstone proved a disastrous one. When thousands of miles from home, Baines was suddenly dismissed, without having an opportunity of refuting certain cruel charges. The treatment he then received was truly termed “shameful” by one of the presidents of the Royal Geographical Society. He arrived in Cape Town penniless and ill. From the time of his recovery, Baines devoted his energies to clearing his character from the aspersions cast upon it. He joined a trader and made a trip across Africa, from Walvisch Bay to the Zambesi, where he expected to meet his accuser, but to his unutterable dismay, Dr. Livingstone was gone. Baines followed him to England and was overjoyed to find him in this country. He wrote to the president of the Royal Geographical Society, to the Admiralty and to Dr. David Livingstone, pointing out the great injustice of the accusation and asking that a full investigation should at once be made, and moreover stating that he was fully prepared with evidence to refute any charges that might be brought against him. Baines was, however, denied the power of defending himself, whilst his calumniator quitted the country.

In after years Baines became intimate with the famous Matabelian monarch, Lo Bengula, from whom he received a grant—with full permission to explore, prospect and dig or mine for gold in that vast district. But the company he then represented failed to give him the support he so richly deserved. After struggling on for years and trying in the end to provide himself with a suitable engine and

funds to reach the gold-fields, the importance of which are now acknowledged, his overwrought constitution gave way and he died of dysentery, at Durban (8th April 1875).

Sir H. H. Johnston, K.C.B., very justly observes: "It is quite time justice was done to the memory of poor Thomas Baines, especially in these days when his gold discoveries in the Transvaal and Matabeleland are revolutionising the history of South Africa." And the late J. Ewing Ritchie writes: "East Anglia will do well to preserve his memory"; but what, we ask, has Lynn done to perpetuate the memory of the self-sacrificing townsman, of whom, as a municipal community, it ought to be indeed proud?

(7) HENRY BAINES,

the youngest son of John Baines, was born at Lynn, the 12th July 1823. When quite a lad, he delighted not only in copying prints and sketching various objects, but in simple mechanical devices. He constructed a model of a full-rigged ship. This marvel of youthful ingenuity was often sailed in the harbour; it was large enough to carry one man, who, adroitly combining the functions pertaining to captain and crew, regulated the sails, worked the miniature pumps and kept an eye, if not a hand, upon the tiller. The figure-head of this wonderful craft—a dragon's—is preserved in the Museum. From his father, Henry inherited a great attraction for the sea, and in due course made successful voyages to America as "an apprentice"; but his "life on the ocean wave" was of short duration. So distasteful to him were the privations and drudgery of a sailor's career, that he determined, although the fascination of "the deep and dark blue ocean" yet haunted his mind, to forgo this uncongenial employment. Great was his penchant for the ever-rolling sea, but his insatiable desire to record its changing mysteries was far greater. Making his way to London, and ignoring the terms of his indenture, he commenced work as an art-student. After a long term of assiduous application, "a merit picture" was completed, which, with serious misgivings, he sent in for examination. As a reward, he obtained permission to study the priceless treasures of the Royal Institution, the National Gallery, etc. He now applied himself, if possible, with greater perseverance, both in copying the old masters and sketching from nature, on every available opportunity.

During his residence in the metropolis, Baines produced many excellent facsimiles, which were favourably noticed in the *Art Journal*. He enjoyed, moreover, the friendship and advice of Sir Edwin Landseer. After a protracted course of training, three years of which were spent on the Continent, he returned to his native town (1855), proficient in every branch of his art—painting in oil and water colour, etching on copper, modelling in clay, as well as carving in wood and stone. Here he continued to live until the time of his death. In 1871 he married Miss Sarah Emma Massingham, the second daughter of the late James Massingham, of Tower Street.

As a devout student, Baines was familiar with our river, the adjacent coast, and with every tit-bit of scenery in the neighbourhood. For the sea his inborn predilection asserted itself; his sea-scapes being Turneresque in effect. Living a secluded life, he patiently and reverently studied nature in her every mood, paying at the same time unrestrained attention to the art, of which he was a modest, though faithful, exponent. He delighted in portraying the terrific grandeur of the maddening waves, as well as the calm, glowing beauties of the country side. Often have his canvases been censured for the brilliancy of their tones; regardless of adverse criticism (especially in his later years), the artist went on, knowing by years of experiment, that no pigment is absolutely permanent, and that fifty or a hundred years hence the most startling tints must necessarily surrender their fierce intensity, when touched by Time's subduing hand. He recognised, too, the fact, that the *relative* force and permanency of the pigments employed by artists deserve the utmost attention.

Among his classical studies, which have been highly commended are—"The Duchess of Lorraine" (after Rembrandt), "The Flemish Musicians" (Jordaens), "The Fortune-teller" (Opie), "The Abduction of the Sabine Women" (Rubens), "Venus rising from the Sea" (Etty), a group of beggars from "The Conversion of St. Bavon" (Rubens), and a series of portraits after Vandyke, Rembrandt and Reynolds. Of his etchings mention may be made of Stuntney Hall, the entrance to Rising Castle, the sluice at Kettle Mills, the old windmill in the same neighbourhood, a rural scene near Downham, a quaint timbered house at Ely, etc.* Monuments of his untiring industry and consummate skill adorned the walls of his home—No. 14, Union Street—which was a veritable art gallery. It is to be regretted that the series of views, relating to Lynn and the vicinity, were not secured for our local museum. As an art master, for at one time Baines had a very aristocratic *clientèle*; he was honoured with complimentary notices by both the British and foreign press.

Silently the fingers of the sun caress the laughing ripples in the river, and touch with flickering sheen the tower of St. Peter's hoary fane "across the water." Gazing upon the enchanting scene, we miss the familiar figure, quietly pacing the quay. . . . Death has tenderly closed his weary eyes; his well-spent life is ended, and who will say that the enraptured spirit of the artist is not contemplating the beatific grandeur of Life's translucent after-glow? (7th January 1894).

(8) JOHN FRANCIS YOUNG.

Of those connected with Lynn, no one has a greater claim to histrionic fame than the late John Francis Young. He was born in 1821 and was educated at a private establishment in London, with a view to a business career; his success, however, as a reciter, when at school, encouraged him to adopt the stage instead of the counting-

* Two of his etchings are reproduced in this work.

house as a profession. Graduating in the provinces and a Surrey-side house, he speedily gained a position, not so much dependent upon his undoubted ability, as upon the indefatigable earnestness with which he pursued his studies. In the leading legitimate rôles, his services were readily accepted. Although he excelled in the portrayal of Sir Giles Overreach, yet his rendering of Othello and Richard the Third were remarkably unique.

A public competition, open to all England, was held some years since in the Alexandra Theatre, Sheffield; the proposed test being the third act in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. Several noted performers entered the lists, but to Mr. Young—"the best Othello in England"—was awarded the prize—a horse-shoe scarf pin, containing his portrait, set with diamonds. Owing to his innate modesty, he seldom "sport" this public recognition of superior ability. His facial expression was perhaps unequalled; a momentary glance often conveyed far more than an elaborate speech. Unfortunately, he was square-shouldered, and appeared, when on the stage, somewhat squat in figure. This defect in his stature stood perhaps in his way, and hindered him in attaining as much fame in the metropolis as he enjoyed in the provinces. Constituting, as it were, a link between the old school of acting and the new, he will be best remembered by the present generation of play-goers for his inimitable personation of Eccles in *Caste*, Perkyn Middlewick in *Our Boys* and Old Macclesfield in *The Gov'nor*. The conception of Eccles was distinctly different from that of George Honey; it was a perfect embodiment of the pot-house politician.

Though lessee of the Lynn Theatre, "J. F. Young" was a student thoroughly absorbed in his art, rather than a shrewd business man ever ready to take advantage of propitious circumstances. Great diplomacy indeed was needed to gain his consent to the issue of a special placard, no matter what patronage had been secured or how important the occasion. Although he invariably played the leading rôle himself, and was assisted by his wife, his theatrical speculations here were scarcely remunerative.

When Thomas W. Robertson engaged Toole's Theatre, for the production of his father's popular plays, Young joined the new company (1883), and made decided "hits" by his clever conception of Isaac Skoone in *M.P.*, and General Shendryn in *Ours*. At the termination of this engagement, he appeared at the Globe Theatre in Mr. H. Hamilton's drama, *Our Regiment*; he acted, moreover, a prominent part in Mr. A. W. Pinero's unfortunate play, *Low Water*. His performance in the second piece resulted in an engagement with Mr. John Hare and Mr. William H. Kendal at St. James' Theatre, where he acquitted himself with credit in *The Ironmaster*. Subsequently, he joined the "Caste Company," of which he was a conspicuous member at the time of his death.

Mr. Young was twice married; both wives were actresses—the first, being *petite*, excelled as "chambermaid," and the second in boys' parts. For some years before his decease, the second Mrs. Young lost her sight. To him this was a terrible blow, and her

death greatly aggravated the malady from which he suffered. He died suddenly a few months afterwards at Stirling, where he was buried (25th March 1887). "In the death of Mr. Young the theatrical profession has lost an able, experienced and thoroughly conscientious actor, and those who had the felicity of knowing him will miss a warm-hearted, sincere friend." [*The Stage*.]

(9) DR. WILLIAM BALY.

(whose father William Baly (1779-1847) carried on business as a grocer in Norfolk Street, where Mr. R. Catleugh lives), was born at Lynn in 1814. With Sir James Clark, he was appointed regular physician to Queen Victoria. Many erudite works on pathological subjects proclaim him to be one of the brightest stars in the firmament of his profession. His death was sudden and involved in mystery (28th January 1861). Whilst travelling on the South-Western Railway near Wimbledon, one of the carriages swerved over an embankment. After a protracted investigation, during which the guard, engine-driver and pointsman were praised for their promptitude and presence of mind, the coroner's jury failed to discover the exact cause of the catastrophe, and could only recommend that additional brake-power should be provided, in order to secure greater control over the movement of all railway trains. On the death of Dr. Baly, The Queen gave a suite of apartments in Hampton Court to one of his sisters; the other had married William Shipp, a retired Lynn ship-builder.

(10) HAMNETT HOLDITCH

was born at Lynn (1800); he was the son of George Holditch, described as pilot, beaçoner and harbour-master, to whom the Society of Arts awarded a gold medal for the invention of life-saving beacons (1833); modifications of whose designs are still erected upon the treacherous sands of the Lynn Deep. The son was for three years instructed by the Rev. M. Coulcher, at the Grammar School. When eighteen years of age, he was admitted pensioner of Caius College, Cambridge (16th February 1818); he gained his B.A. (senior wrangler and Smith's prizeman) in 1822, when, as a mark of esteem, he was presented with the freedom of Lynn; his M.A. in 1825, and was senior fellow from 1823 to his death. Probably, in view of a fellowship, he was baptised late in life at St. Michael's church, Cambridge (17th March 1823). He held various responsible college offices, for example, Hebrew and Greek lecturer, bursar (1828), etc. He was remarkable for his extreme shyness. Owing to some slight, perhaps more imaginary than real, he absented himself for many years from Hall and Chapel, and was thus known to a few only. Hence a junior fellow, taking him for an interested stranger, politely shewed *him* round the college! He delighted in angling, and spent his summers in Scotland or Wales. In 1850 he gave £100 to the new college buildings. He died in college the 12th of December 1867, and was buried at North Wootton.

(11) REV. GEORGE MUNFORD,

a scholar of varied attainments, was born at Great Yarmouth (1794); he studied at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and acted for some years as classical tutor at William Beloe's academy in New Conduit Street. After his ordination (1820), he accepted a curacy at St. Margaret's church, where he remained until 1842. For seven years he was curate, and afterward, to the time of his death (1871), vicar of East Winch. He married Ann, the daughter of the Rev. Edward Edwards, the lecturer of St. Nicholas. The literary world is indebted to him for *The Flowering Plants of Norfolk* (1841), forty copies only were printed for private circulation, but the work was subsequently incorporated in White's *Directory of Norfolk; An Analysis of the Domesday Book of the County of Norfolk* (1858) and *Local Names in Norfolk—an attempt to ascertain the true derivation of the names of towns and villages* (1876).

OBITUARY NOTES.

- 1846. James Bowker died of consumption at Pisa, Tuscany, aged 56 years (11th Nov.).
- 1846. Frederick Lane, town clerk, died at Travannes, Switzerland, from injuries received in a fire, by which the hotel, at which he was staying, was destroyed (24th Sept.).
- 1848. James Scraggs, artist, aged 58 years (13th Nov.).
- 1849. Rev. Edward Edwards, aged 84 years (15th March).
- 1854. Edward Mugridge, printer, aged 64 years (14th Nov.).
- 1855. Commander Thomas Curtis, R.N., a native of Lynn, who served his country from 1793 to 1815, aged 82 years (3rd Sept.).
- 1855. Allen Scott, aged 86 years, the last of the Lynn Waterloo soldiers; he was in the army from 1792 to 1817 and took part in the Egyptian campaign and the Peninsula war.
- 1856. John Thew, printer, aged 56 years (6th Nov.).
- 1879. Edward L. King (18th Jan.).
- 1882. Edwin Woodward, surgeon (25th Feb.).
- 1882. Francis J. Cresswell (19th Sept.).
- 1882. John Thorley at Southport (28th Dec.).
- 1883. John Bray, musician (30th Jan.).
- 1883. Josiah Carver, schoolmaster (1st April).
- 1885. John Sugars, builder, at Hastings (31st Oct.).
- 1885. Edward E. Durrant, at North Runcion (10th Nov.).
- 1888. William L. Armes (2nd May).
- 1888. Samuel Street, organ-builder (11th May).
- 1888. Oscar Backham, printer (25th June).*
- 1888. Sir Lewis W. Jarvis (2nd Nov.).
- 1888. Mrs. Rachel Cresswell, daughter of Elizabeth Fry, aged 85 years (4th Dec.).
- 1889. John Wingate Aikin, printer (8th Dec.).
- 1890. John Fulcher (24th Aug.).
- 1890. Charles Ibberson, also Miss Henrietta Blencowe (27th Nov.).
- 1890. John O. Smeatham (27th Dec.).
- 1891. Robert Wise (17th Feb.).
- 1891. Richard Bagge, aged 81 years (5th April).
- 1891. John Dyker Thew, aged 65 years (15th Oct.).
- 1892. Frederick Ludby, killed on the railway between Wolferton and Wootton (1st June).

* The Almshouses, Goodwin's Road, were founded through the munificence of Oscar Backham, and his mother, Caroline Backham (1901).

- 1892. John Wales, J.P., also Henry Measham, "the Lynn miser" (15th March).
- 1892. William Thompson, timber merchant, aged 61 years (4th Oct.).
- 1894. David Ward, magistrates' clerk (16th June).
- 1894. Darius Clack, architect (24th June).
- 1895. William Seppings, solicitor, aged 54 years (2nd March).
- 1895. Caroline Backham (13th June).
- 1896. George Holditch, merchant (19th May).
- 1897. Frederick Savage, machinist (27th April).
- 1897. Robert R. Reed, surgeon (13th Sept.).
- 1897. William Bardell, builder (1st Oct.).
- 1897. Carlos Cooper, recorder, aged 82 years (26th Oct.).
- 1899. Thomas G. Archer, town clerk, aged 82 years (26th Feb.).
- 1900. William Johnstoun Coombes died at Falmouth (20th July); he predicted that the impure water supplied not only at Falmouth but at Lynn, where he previously lived, would cause typhoid epidemics. His words came true in each case. His agitation banished visitors from Falmouth for two years, and he used to be hissed as he went about.
- 1900. Mrs. Mary Ann Fowler, a Lynn resident, attained the 100th year of her age. She married at twenty and had 17 children. At her decease five generations of her descendants were living, numbering 100 and including seven great-great grandchildren. One grandchild has no fewer than 21 children.
- 1901. Robert Huggins, born at Lynn, noted as a wood carver, whose work is compared with that of Grinling Gibbons, aged 70 years (July).

CHAPTER XLIV.

The Light of Hope.

EDUCATIONAL.

(1) THE ATHENÆUM.

To the members of the Subscription Library, founded in 1797, is due the inception of a permanent home for our various literary, scientific and musical societies. The subject, first placed upon the *tapis* at a special meeting (2nd January 1852), was subsequently discussed by the Town Council, who agreed to grant £50 annually, provided there should be a surplus in the borough fund, towards the support of such an acquisition (7th January 1853). For concerts, lectures and general purposes, a public assembly room for one thousand persons was greatly wanted. Encouraged by the Corporation and our benevolent representative, Lord Stanley, a small committee was selected to develop the scheme. By means of a prospective mortgage, debentures and subscriptions, the sum of £6,400 was raised. As a central position was desirable, the house and premises of Dr. John Tweedale, an early Radical, were secured. The old-fashioned structure was screened by a row of neatly-lopped lime-trees, and protected against runagate vehicles by sentinel posts with pendent chains. From the upper windows of the doctor's residence, ingratiating aspirants for political fame used to liberally outpour their specious eloquence for the instruction of the eager listeners crowding Baxters' Plain, and the salvation of the nation at large.

Plans for the proposed edifice were furnished by Messrs. Cruso and Maberley, whilst the tender (£4,150) from Messrs. J. and W. Purdy—being the lowest of the six received—was accepted. The work was satisfactorily carried out, but the contract proved unremunerative to the builders. The architects and contractors belonged to Lynn. John Stimpson bought the trees in the garden and the 100,000 bricks the house was supposed to contain for £75, agreeing, of course, to clear the ground (21st February 1853).

A broad corridor, 78 feet in length, extended from the principal entrance, with class rooms on either side. Among other apartments on the basement were the *Conversazione room* (33 by 25 feet), the *News room* (33 by 18 feet), and the *Music Hall* (82 by 45 feet). This, the largest room, 32 feet in height, was lighted by five windows; the walls were relieved with pilasters and a bold cornice at the spring of the ceiling. At the north end was a platform and orchestra. An ornate gas chandelier illuminated the room. On the ground floor, too, was the galleried room (70 by 32 feet), first used as a museum; it had an open roof with a glazed lantern. The upper floor included the *Subscription Library* (50 feet in length), with two adjoining *Reading rooms*; and a commodious room—"the *Stanley Library*"—with adjacent ante-rooms and separate staircase. The edifice, still standing, is of red brick in the Italian style. The front is surmounted by the statue of *Minerva*, the goddess of learning, corresponding with *Athena* of the Greeks, whose temple was known as the *Athenæum*.

Many enthusiastic educationists were enrolled as a committee of management, for example, the Rev. Canon Wodehouse, Rev. F. L. Currie, F. R. Partridge, Philip Wilson, John G. Wigg, Joseph Cooper, William Taylor, Lionel Self, Capt. Astell, Edward Mugridge, Robinson Cruso, Henry Smyth, Edward L. King, Charles J. Whiting, Joseph B. Whiting, Henry Ladbroke (artist), etc.

At first it was thought that the inauguration ought to assume the guise of a local trades' exhibition, but after mature consideration, it was deemed more appropriate for the display to be of an educational character, illustrative of the various purposes for which the new building was designed. The following list, suggestive of the kind of articles acceptable, was circulated:—

Fine Arts,—Sculptures, casts, models in wax or clay; ancient and modern paintings; drawings, architectural designs and models, statuettes, medals, engravings and etchings. *Manufactures*,—Models of machinery, specimens illustrating the process of manufactures, models of marine architecture, tapestry, &c. *Mediæval Art*,—Ancient and modern specimens of painted glass, embroidery, illuminated books, encaustic tiles, carvings in ivory, wood and stone, monumental brasses, arms, armour and costumes. *Photography*,—Pictures by daguerreotype, talbotype, collodion and wax paper processes [crystoleum]; coloured specimens to be accompanied by untouched specimens of the same subject. *Foreign Curiosities*,—Costumes, implements of warfare, idols, models of temples, pagodas, canoes, and any other article illustrative of the manners and customs of other countries. *Natural History*,—Specimens of preserved beasts, birds, fishes and insects; nests of birds; examples of insect architecture; geological specimens and in fact any comprised in the wide range, that claims the notice of the student in this department.

A grand civic procession should have been a feature in the inauguration ceremony; unfortunately, however, on the eve of the event, Frederick Kendle, the honorary secretary, issued a notice, asking that, in consequence of the lamented death of Lord Jocelyn, M.P., who was expected to take part in the proceedings, the procession from the Town Hall to the building might be "unaccompanied by band, banners and other demonstrations." The mayor, John Marsters, Lord Stanley, M.P., and the members of the Corporation formally opened the institution (16th August 1854). In the course of an interesting speech, his Lordship pointed out how this nation was outstripped by others, because the facilities offered through access to books were far greater abroad than at home. Nearly every town of any pretension in England, he remarked, either had established or was about to establish a *free* library—that is, one where the subscription paid was nominal, and far too inadequate to maintain the institution. The number of mechanics' institutes amounted to 800. In the north, they were spreading in all directions. Comparing the present with the past, educationists had some cause for satisfaction; if, however, the present state in England were compared with other countries, the cause for satisfaction, he declared, would vanish altogether.

During the exhibition a testimonial was presented to the late Henry Edwards, Esq., in appreciation of his "exertions in connection with the Athenæum movement." *

Before tracing the changes through which the building has passed, it may be advantageous to enumerate some of the societies, etc., which have found shelter beneath its roof.

The Museum occupied the large room with the gallery, for half a century.

The Lynn Conversazione and Society of Arts was formed by the late William Taylor for mutual help (1842). It flourished for many years; and examinations in connection with South Kensington and the Society of Arts were held, from whence originated the Technical School.

The Musical Union, for the purpose of cultivating a taste for vocal and instrumental music, was started (1851). Canon Wodehouse was president; Henry Edwards, vice-president; Henry Wallack, musical director; Robinson Cruso, junr., secretary; and John G. Churchman, librarian. In 1852 the sum of £300 was raised in £5 shares for the purchase of an organ, which was built by Mr. G. M. Holdich (London) and placed in an alcove above the platform. *The Messiah*, the first performance, was effectively rendered, Josiah F. Reddie conducting (1st September 1854). The local singing classes previously met at the school-room, Clough Lane. In 1853 there existed an "English Glee and Madrigal Union," and later the "Choral Union."

* A medal was struck, bearing on one side the front elevation of the building, and—ERECTED A.D. 1854; and on the other—TO COMMEMORATE THE INAUGURATION OF THE ATHENÆUM, KING'S LYNN. AUGUST 16TH 1854.

At the decline of the society, the organ was purchased by Messrs. Street and Son; the swell, with five stops, was removed to Allsaints' church (1867), and other parts to the church at Castleacre.

The Church of England Young Men's Society was instituted by the Rev. O. P. Vincent, a Lynn curate, the first meetings being held in his drawing-room (1860). After this gentleman quitted the town, the small society assembled in that part of St. Margaret's church which forms a vestibule under the clock; later, rooms in the Athenæum were taken. The foundation stone of a permanent home was laid by the mayor, James Bowker; John D. Thew being the president (20th August 1884).

The Subscription Library was removed from Burlingham's court to the new building; and the *Stanley Library*, with 700 subscribers, was opened the 15th of January 1854.

The King's Lynn and West Norfolk Permanent Building Society established (1861).

The Penny Bank.

In consequence of the withholding of the annual grant of £50, paid for many years by the Corporation to the Athenæum committee, the entire block was sold in 1872 for £3,500. The income derived from the rent of the rooms was insufficient to pay the interest upon the mortgages and at the same time to carry on the institution efficiently. Passing into private hands, the building was enlarged the next year, by the Blackfriars' Hall (capable of seating 400 persons), several offices, known as the Athenæum Chambers, and a large private residence, at a further outlay of £3,500.

The Government purchased the front part of the block for a central post office and telegraph station, for £4,400 (20th January 1883) and

THE KING'S LYNN FORWARD ASSOCIATION (P.S.A.)

secured the rest—an area of 2,000 square yards, including the Music Hall, the Museum room, the Blackfriars' Hall, the Bank room, the Liberal Club room, the Institute room, the private house and four suites of offices, for £5,250. The intention of the purchasers was to provide a general educational and recreative institution for working men and women, without the slightest limitation as to religious sect or political party. Lord Battersea and William Stubbs, the Dean of Ely, declared the premises open (2nd November 1898).

It may not be inopportune here to briefly trace the development of this powerful association. The first meeting, held in the Blackfriars' Hall on Sunday the 5th of October 1891, was attended by 67 men; for twelve months the weekly services of "the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon" were for men only. However, in 1892, a women's weekly meeting was started, and a year later it was resolved to hold *united* services in the Music Hall. Having acquired so important and suitable a building, £350 was expended in renovating and refurnishing; the old organ from St. Nicholas' chapel was also bought for £600 to occupy the niche, where the organ of the Musical Union formerly stood,

(2) THE MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY.

The museum at Lynn was the second established in Norfolk. Its first home was a hired house in Union Street, subsequently known as "Welwick House," and "The Armoury." After an elapse of ten years, larger and more convenient premises were necessary; a part of the Athenæum admirably supplied the want. Owing to the sale of the premises (1898), the committee approached the Corporation, with the view of obtaining a public building, wherein the valuable collections in the custody of the trustees might be safely housed. The council not only promised a site for a proposed new building, but the adoption of the Museums Act to insure the support of the institution, as soon as £1,000 should be raised by voluntary subscriptions to defray the expense of its erection. At this juncture, the Union chapel, Market Street, which originally cost over £4,000, was secured for £1,600. After a further outlay of £400, this eligible property was adapted for the purpose. The "Museum and Art Gallery" was opened by Sir W. H. B. Ffolkes, bart., on the 14th of April 1904. *

The museum contains a valuable collection of foreign birds, presented by the late J. H. Gurney, M.P. for Lynn (1854-65); the West Norfolk ornithological collection, with many rare birds; the Nelson collection, given by Capt. G. W. Manby; † a series of Greek and Roman coins (4,700 electrotypes) from Capt. Fred. T. Hamilton, R.N.; paintings and curiosities forwarded by Thomas Baines, F.R.G.S.; a case of British lepidoptera (4,000 specimens) from E. A. Atmore, Esq., F.E.S.; a collection of local flint implements from Charles B. Plowright Esq., M.D.; besides many geological, botanical and natural history specimens.

(3) OUR LIBRARIES.

The first library was connected with St. Nicholas' chapel; it was founded in the year 1617. Not to be totally eclipsed by her enlightened offspring, a second library was established at the mother church of St. Margaret (1631). If a few of these books were acquired by purchase, we may safely infer that many were presented by the generous inhabitants themselves.

In 1714 the number of books contained in the Church library at St. Margaret's was greatly augmented by a clause in the will of the *Rev. Thomas Thurlin, D.D.*, president of St. John's College, Cambridge, and, at the time of his death, rector of Gaywood. The value of the books derived from this munificent bequest was estimated at £160—their present value would of course be considerably greater. There were 179 folios, 171 octavos and duodecimos and 84 quartos—in all 441 volumes. The testator was buried in the church dedicated to St. Faith the Virgin in the parish of Gaywood.

* At first called the "Burlingham Art Gallery," after Alfred Burlingham, who was unfortunately killed by an explosion of acetylene gas (9th December 1898).

† George William Manby (1765-1854), the inventor of the mortar and grapple (now the rocket apparatus), was born at Denver; he was the eldest child of Matthew Pepper Manby and Mary the daughter of John and Mary Woodcock of Lynn. Thomas, another son, was an admiral.

Of the many, who augmented the stock of books, three other benefactors deserve notice:—

John Horne, A.M. (1644-1732), was the son of John Horne, vicar of All Saints, who sacrificed his living, because he could not conscientiously comply with the Act of Uniformity (1662). He was appointed master of our Grammar School (1678). Not only did he bequeath his books to the Church library, but he left a legacy of £680 to the Corporation as trustees. The interest of this sum is spent in apprenticing poor children.

George Hebburn, M.D., or Hepbourn (1669-1759) was also a contributor. Physician to Sir Robert Walpole, he is said to have spent much time with his patron at Houghton.

Robert Barker, M.D., is described by an inscription on his portrait, as a "benefactor to this library."

After a while the two church libraries were amalgamated and the books (chiefly medical and theological) were stored in St. Margaret's church. Although there were 1,700 volumes at one time, yet it was not strictly speaking a public library. Members of the church could probably get the loan of books from this source by special permission from their clergyman. There is no evidence that this library was ever very popular. In 1812 the collection of books was regarded as the property of the Corporation, who appointed a librarian, at an annual stipend of £2. The office was possibly a sinecure, for we find the *bookish* part of the inhabitants of Lynn, either forming themselves into little *book clubs*, the expenses pertaining thereto they of course shared, or joining small *circulating libraries* floated by speculative booksellers.

The dearth of social and intellectual intercourse was greatly felt when Thomas Littel, D.D., was vicar of St. Margaret's. The consent of the bishop having first been obtained, a religious society for mutual improvement was formed, "under the patronage of the reverend Dr. Littel" (1679). An episcopal letter warned the members to avoid all discussion about state affairs and whatever might tend to give umbrage to the government; it cautioned them, moreover, not to meet in large, but small companies. Dr. Moore evidently intended the society to be other than revolutionary or political. In 1704 it was reorganised and a library formed in connection therewith. Fifty years later the society died through lack of interest. At the beginning of the 19th century a catalogue existed, though nobody apparently knew where the books were.

THE SUBSCRIPTION LIBRARY

was established upon broader, non-parochial lines (1797). It was flourishing fifteen years after, and possessed 1,400 books, with 100 members. The books were at one time kept in a room up a passage near Daniel C. Burlingham's shop in High Street, which was then occupied by a hairdresser named Rivett.

The following quotations from the rules may prove interesting:—

Every subscriber shall pay *one guinea* annually in advance or in proportion to the time of the year when his subscription commences. And after the general meeting in 1798 each subscriber shall pay *half-a-guinea* on his admission, and

the same annual subscription as above, the sum to be paid upon admission to be afterwards increased by *five shillings and three pence* every year until it shall amount to *two guineas*. But the property which each subscriber has in the library may be transferred to any other person, who shall subscribe and conform to these rules; in which case such new subscriber shall pay nothing upon admission.

There was moreover an important proviso, that if ever the number of subscribers should be reduced to five, and continue at or below that number for three years, the whole library should be transferred to the Corporation to be added to that connected with St. Margaret's church.

THE STANLEY LIBRARY

was founded by Lord Stanley (1854). In a placard issued he says :—

The governing body of the institution has been framed on the principle of endeavouring to give an equal representation to every interest concerned. I have retained in my own hands the nomination of two members of the managing committee. The Corporation, which has liberally assisted us with a grant of £50 yearly—a sum equal in amount to that originally subscribed—will similarly appoint two members. But twice that number, or four members, will be chosen by the subscribers themselves, who will thus possess sufficient guarantee that no step will be taken contrary to their interest or wishes. . . . An enterprise set on foot for the public advantage ought to become a public care. The Corporation has done its duty in this matter: my efforts, however slight, have not been wanting: the result and our success must rest with you.—STANLEY.

Knowsley, October 18th, 1854.

A mutual agreement existed between Lord Stanley and our Corporation. He generously gave a donation of £1,000 whilst the Corporation as co-founders gave an equivalent £50 a year—the interest on £1,000.

The scheme proved a gratifying success. Rooms were engaged in the Athenæum, and the new library, which was a copy of the Free Library at Manchester, was opened with 1,700 books. At the end of the first year 46,869 volumes had been issued and the stock of books, augmented not only by the munificence of private individuals, but from other sources, to wit 377 from the Theological Book Club, 50 from the Ecclesiastical Archæological Society, 74 from the Conversazione Society, and 97 from the News Room. The total amounted to 4,106.

The promise of a grant from the town was no doubt the principal condition upon which Lord Stanley gave £1,000. The fixing of the subscription at the exceedingly low, and of course wholly unremunerative, rate of 3s. a year, or 1s. a quarter, the constitution of the committee and the management of the institution generally, were based upon a tacit understanding that £50 a year from the exchequer of the town would always be at the disposal of the committee.

The town-grant was regularly paid until the year 1860, when for certain reasons it was withheld. In consequence of the dilemma into which the committee of management were thus suddenly thrown, the case was referred to Lord Stanley, who promptly responded to their

appeal with a gift of £500. This he converted into a permanent endowment for the support of the institution, by purchasing East India stock at 5 per cent. to that amount and vesting the same in the hands of the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds, upon trust for the sole benefit of the library.

THE STANLEY EDUCATION FUND

was established by his lordship at the same time by similarly investing a second £500. The annual income was to be devoted:—

In or towards the maintenance and support of the Grammar School, the National schools, and the British and Foreign school at King's Lynn, or any one or more of them or any other school, college, class, lecture, library, museum or other educational institution or purpose whatsoever for the time being in King's Lynn aforesaid, and either generally in aid of one of the said educational institutions or in aid of such persons of such age, sex, class or condition, or of such objects, subjects or departments within the scope of such Educational Institutions as may from time to time be designated by the trustees (of whom the Mayor is one), for the time being of the said fund. [*Trust Deed.*]

If from any unforeseen circumstances the Stanley Library were to be closed for a term of six months, the £500 given to that institution would thereupon revert to the above *Educational Fund*.

In February, 1883, the property committee recommended that the carpenters' shop (once the Lancastrian school) and premises in St. James' Road should be utilised for the purpose of erecting a new building for the Stanley Library (the committee of which institution had received notice to quit the Athenæum). It was also resolved to memorialise the Treasury and the Court of Chancery for permission to use as much of the money in Chancery as was necessary for the erection of a new building.

A favourable reply was received, and in the following September the Town Council accepted Mr. W. H. Brown's tender of £1,000 for erecting a building from plans designed by Messrs. Adams and Son. On the 7th of November 1884, the Library—consisting in fact of three libraries, the Old Subscription, the Corporation (original *Church* libraries) and the Stanley libraries—was opened by our much-respected fellow-townsmen, the late Dr. Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle. The stock of books then numbered about 16,000. The Corporation, by accepting the absurdly small sum of £20 per year as rent, and by remitting a portion of the rates (for the nominal rateable value was only £5), were as in the days of Lord Stanley, doing their duty by liberally assisting.

After the feeling of the inhabitants had been gauged by voting papers the Town Council agreed to adopting the Free Libraries Act (17th January 1899).

THE CARNEGIE LIBRARY,

in the Tower field, at the entrance of the Walks, was provided by Andrew Carnegie, Esq., at a cost of £5,368, who declared the "Free Library" open, the 20th of May 1905.

(4) GOVERNMENT ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

The appalling lack of education among the children of the working classes began to be recognised towards the end of the 18th century, hence a small school, for the teaching of thirty girls, was started by certain benevolent women (May 1792). The "Charity School for Girls" met in a small apartment in Purfleet Street, but subsequently in a room adapted for the purpose, over the engine-house, adjoining the north tower of St. Margaret's church (1805). There was, however, no corresponding school for boys, who, if not employed with their parents, were left to their own mischievous devices.

The brilliant success attending the new method of teaching attracted the notice of our leading townsfolk. Inquiries were made and the kind-hearted, though recklessly improvident Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838), released a few months before from a spunging house, offered to come and explain his system of collective training. He accordingly lectured in the Assembly Room (8th February 1808). Interest was thoroughly aroused; the Corporation offered the use of a temporary building, until a school for boys should be opened.* The first *Lancasterian* school was erected on the site of the Corporation yard, near the corn water-mill, that is where the Framingham Almshouses stand (1808). The school, conducted on monitorial lines, was removed to St. James' Road, opposite the burial-ground. After the final dismissal of the second school, the long, low-roofed building was converted into "the Corporation carpenters' workshop," which was pulled down to give place to the "Stanley Library" (1883).

Encouraged by George III., the Duke of Kent, the Duke of Sussex, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Gloucester and the foremost philanthropists of the day, "The Royal Lancasterian Institution for the Education of the Poor," with Joseph Lancaster as guiding spirit, was established (1st March 1808). Much to his annoyance the name was changed into that of the "British and Foreign School Society," although the unsectarian object of the movement was the same (November 1812). About a year prior to the placing of "The Royal Lancasterian Institution" upon a firm basis, "The National Society" for the inculcation of sectarian principles was founded (18th October 1811). Here then were two educational associations, the one unsectarian and managed by nonconformists, and the other sectarian, in the hands of the clergy. From the first arose "British Schools," from the second "National Schools," each supported in a measure by state grants. The first national grant for educational purposes (£20,000) was made in 1833; the sum being increased to £30,000 in 1839, when inspectors were appointed to test the efficiency of the instruction imparted.

ST. MARGARET'S PARISH.

At a meeting of the committee of the Boys' Charity School at which William Seppings the mayor presided a letter dated the 28th

* During 1808 Joseph Lancaster took seven missionary journeys, travelled 3,775 miles, delivered 67 lectures to audiences of 23,500 persons, and was instrumental in establishing 50 new schools for the instruction of 14,000 or 15,000 children.

of November 1848, from the Rev. R. E. Hankinson, the vicar, was read. It pointed out, how "the premiums and advantages" received from government and enjoyed by other schools were jeopardised, through the defective state of the premises of their school. "At present," the reverend gentleman continues, "the only school for girls corresponding to the Charity School for 300 boys, is the one that was formerly held in a room adjoining St. Margaret's church and which has lately been transferred to a room attached to my ["The Tower"] house, fitted to hold about 60 children." He, therefore, proposed the erection of a school for 300 boys and 200 girls—a suggestion which met with hearty support (1st March 1849). The Corporation, already approached, were prepared to grant an eligible site—the south-west corner of the Tower field, where a "tar office" and other unsightly buildings then stood (February 1849). This offer being accepted, it was agreed to apply to the Committee of Council on Education for a building grant, and to the inhabitants for further assistance.

The *St. Margaret's National School* in a style corresponding with the Almshouses opposite and as lithographed by Messrs. Thew and Son, was estimated to cost about £1,400. The building was opened on the 7th of January 1850. The need of another school in the St. John's district was also apparent, hence the Town Council voted £20 towards a building fund, and to further encourage the project, promised an annual subscription of three guineas (May 1848). Funds, however, increased slowly. A bazaar in the Town Hall brought in £500 (11th May 1852); which was supplemented by a second grant—this time of £50, from the Council (1853). Messrs. Bennett and Rolin's tender of £1,130 was accepted and the *St. John's National School* erected. In 1857 two class rooms were added, which brought the entire cost up to £1,871 of which only £127 were owing. To liquidate the debt the Bishop of Norwich (John Thomas Pelham) and the Venerable Archdeacon Hankinson preached special sermons. A third school, the *St. Nicholas' National School*, in the northern part of the parish, was also built (1869).

UNDENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL.

In 1841, the *British School*, a two-storied building for 250 boys and 250 girls, was erected in the Blackfriars' Road by what was known as the British School Society. The initial outlay—the purchase of land, the expense of building and the necessary scholastic outfit—amounted to £1,301 14s. 2d. Towards this £636 3s. 10d. was subscribed and £261 10s. received as a preliminary grant from government. The payment of interest upon the deficit greatly impeded the efforts of the managers. To lighten the burden, the Committee of Council on Education offered to contribute £200, if the remaining £204 could be raised at once (1846). Chiefly by means of a subscription list in Messrs. Massey and Jarvis' Bank, the money was obtained and the building freed from debt. In 1858 an annual subscription of two guineas was voted by the Town Council. A

commodious school for *Infants* has since been erected upon a site, adjoining St. John's churchyard (1886).

ALL SAINTS' PARISH.

Towards the buildings of the *South Lynn National School* the Town Council voted a grant of £20, and promised an annual subscription of two guineas (15th November 1847). An infant school was erected (1852); and class rooms added to the girls' department, through the benevolence of Miss Margaret Blencowe (1899).

ST. MARY'S ROMAN CATHOLIC (MIXED) SCHOOL, in Church Lane, was built by the late William Bardell from designs by W. Lunn of Great Malvern, for the accommodation of 150 children. It cost £1,400 and was opened the 1st of October 1894. The teaching was at first conducted in the "Rechabites' Hall," which was built by Father Dacheux (1828).

(5) THE TECHNICAL SCHOOL

situated near the Hospital, was opened by H.R.H. the Duke of York (2nd of February 1894). The building cost about £3,000. The ground floor comprises a lecture theatre, seating about 100 students, a physical laboratory fitted with apparatus to illustrate branches of physical science (20 students), a class room (25 students), a kitchen for instruction in cookery and a gentleman's cloak room and lavatory; whilst on the first floor are the head master's room, the chemical laboratory with working benches, reagents and apparatus for 27 students, art room and class room (80 students), a balance room and lady's cloak room and lavatory. Detached from the main building is a workshop with benches and tools for 25 students, turning lathes, gas forge, etc. The committee of management consists of 11 members of the Town Council, 2 members of the Norfolk County Council and 7 co-opted members.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NONCONFORMITY.

(1) THE PRIMITIVE METHODISTS.

Early in the 19th century, our country was visited by Lorenzo Dow, an American revivalist, who greatly impressed his hearers with graphic descriptions of the out-door services or camp meetings, common in America. To Englishmen the idea was peculiarly novel, and like other strange things, it "caught on." An open-air service was held upon Mow, a low Staffordshire fell, in the pottery district. This the first English camp-meeting commenced about six in the morning and continued without intermission till half-past eight in the evening (31st May 1807). Now the Wesleyans disapproved of these "unbecoming" services, and ejected two earnest local preachers—Hugh Bourne and William Clowes—who conducted camp-meetings in the villages around Burslem. To this circumstance the so-called "Primitive" in contradistinction to the "Wesleyan" Methodists owe their origin. A society class was first formed in March 1810.

The "revival," thus started, spread rapidly. One of the early circuits established was at Nottingham, where Brother J. Oscroft and

five other pioneers were deputed to labour in the Boston branch (July 1821). It seems highly probable that Lynn was the first place in Norfolk touched by the humble missionaries from Nottingham, because in a letter written by Mr. S. Wilkinson and quoted by the Rev. O. Jackson in his *Life of the Rev. W. G. Bellham*, we read, "the Primitive Methodists are carrying all before them in Lynn" (1821).

Not long after the first camp-meeting in this district, which was held just outside the South Gates, preaching services were conducted in a sail-maker's loft in Black Goose Street, now St. Nicholas' Street. The earnest zeal of the workers in this cause is demonstrated by the fact, that about ten months after the advent of the pioneers "a plan" was printed upon which appeared no less than fifty-seven villages where services were regularly held (April 1822). Notwithstanding so remarkable an initial success, the new movement was destined to encounter a severe reverse in the autumn of the next year. Brother William Wildbur, one of the itinerant preachers from Nottingham, grew dissatisfied. Dissevering himself from the society, he began disseminating the gospel in his own way. Having secured a room in what was subsequently Coronation Square, he ministered for some time to the seventy who seceded with him. It was a severe blow to the embryo society, but under the fostering care of Messrs. Charlton and Whitby, who were sent from Nottingham, it recovered and Lynn was selected by the Conference of 1824, as the centre of a separate circuit. Three "travelling preachers" were then appointed.

No one can say (writes Mr. William Gibbard) that our ministers entered the ministry for filthy lucre's sake. William Clowes started at 10/- per week, giving up a situation to do so; his salary was afterwards raised to 14/- weekly. Hugh Bourne did not leave enough when he died to pay his funeral expenses. During the first quarter of a century of the connexion's history, preachers had barely enough to live on and support their families. In 1822 the rule was, 'that single men are to be paid a salary *not exceeding* £4 a quarter, and he shall not be allowed to bring in any bill or bills either for meat, drink, washing, lodging, or medical aid of any kind.' Married men were to be paid a sum *not exceeding* 14/- per week, with the same conditions attached respecting bills, etc. No wonder (the same writer exclaims) they were all teetotallers! and it may be safely asserted that the instances were few and far between, where the ministers got their full salaries, even at that rate . . . And what journeys they were! It is no unusual thing in those early records to read of local preachers, as well as travelling preachers, walking 20 or 30 miles in a day, preaching never less than three times at different places, and often four times, besides holding prayer meetings and paying house to house visits in the villages. And often after such journeys as these, they would return home with joy in their hearts at what God had done during the day. [*Primitive Methodism in King's Lynn: 1900.*]

THE FIRST CHAPEL.

The preaching-house was far too small, it was likewise dangerous; on two occasions the congregation was alarmed by the props, supporting "the upper room," giving way. A plot of "college land," 70 by 40 feet with a ground rent of £6 per annum, was secured, on the west side of the London Road. Collecting cards were issued, asking for contributions towards the proposed building. The response, if not general, was at least encouraging. Farthings

were collected by children, one little girl having begged ten hundred. This gave rise to the saying, "the Ranters have got all the farthings." The total number amounted to 2,486.

With £30 in hand, building was started, Messrs. Bellham and Holt laying the corner-stone (13th March 1826). The chapel, which would seat about 350 persons, cost £205, of which £150 was borrowed. It was opened by Brother Hardwick (2nd July). In 1833 the building was enlarged. The roof was removed, and the walls raised six feet; one end was taken out and 18 feet in length added, which formed a vestry or school-room and above it, as we are told, an excellent preacher's house. A gallery, moreover, was constructed, three seats deep on each side and eight in the front. It was lighted with candles, for which tin candlesticks were provided. Inaugural sermons were preached by Brother Jackson of Cambridge and Brother Bellham (Friday and Sunday, 19th and 21st July 1833). Three years later the Conference or annual meeting of the whole connexion was held here.

For many years the old chapel was used by A. W. Bone the stonemason; and now by Mr. W. H. Johnson as a motor garage.

THE SECOND CHAPEL

occupies part of the site (108 by 60 feet) of the "Old Workhouse." Half of the whole imposing frontage was purchased from Richard Munson of Walpole for £350 (May 1858), where a commodious building in the Italian style, capable of seating 800 hearers, was erected at a cost of £1,643. The late Mr. J. A. Hillam was the architect. The opening ceremony was conducted by the Rev. W. Saunderson (31st March 1859). An organ-loft (£240) and organ (£259) were added (1892).

A Sunday School was built near the chapel, in the County Court Road (1875), for 350 scholars. Mr. Hillam was again architect. It cost £894. This energetic body of dissenters have besides two smaller places of worship, one at North End, originally built by the Wesleyans (1862) and rebuilt by the Primitive Methodists (1865) and another in Highgate erected by the Wesleyan Reformers (1850); this too was rebuilt (1883).

(2) THE WESLEYAN ASSOCIATIONS.

Great uneasiness, respecting the rights of the laity in the matter of discipline and church government, existed for several years among the Wesleyan Methodists. Towards the end of the 18th century this anxiety developed into a wide-spread secession, which ultimately gave rise to the founding of another religious body—"the Methodist New Connexion"—by the Rev. Alexander Kilham (1797). As a branch of this brotherhood did not appear in our town until 1854, a consideration of this subject may well be deferred.

In 1834, the Wesleyan Conference decided upon establishing a sectarian training institution for its ministers. Now the "law of conference" insisted, that any important proposition must be laid before the quarterly meetings in the various circuits, prior to its adoption or rejection by the delegates assembled in conference. In this

case, the right of the laity to veto the proposal was for some occult reason refused, the resolution being finally adopted without the preliminary sanction of the different circuits. Such high-handed procedure caused great dissatisfaction. Dr. Warren, one of the most influential ministers of the day, strongly opposed the movement, not because he was against the proposal, but because of the unconstitutional method pursued in its achievement. He, with scores of other like dissentients, were promptly expelled, whilst many more objecting to such autocratic proceedings quietly withdrew from the society. Banding themselves together, they constituted a nucleus termed

(A) THE WESLEYAN METHODIST ASSOCIATION.

Among the numerous seceders were a few living in Lynn. They were zealous advocates of religious liberty, but being humble, unimportant individuals socially, their names are scarcely preserved in the sparse records of the movement they strove so earnestly to establish. The fiat had gone forth, and "expulsion" was the meed awarded the Lynn enthusiasts. Expulsion was not necessarily dispersion; they clung together and after a while formed themselves into a small society, affiliated with the new Association.

In four years, the movement developed into a miniature circuit, consisting of 5 local preachers, 23 members and 25 Sunday school scholars. The Rev. Robert Eckett, the foremost man of the Association, opened "a chapel," but where it stood cannot be ascertained. Inauguration sermons were preached by the Rev. W. F. Poile. From the commencement to the end, the little society was assisted by the Baptists.

The first minister was appointed about 1839, the members then amounting to 54. Except a record of successive ministers and an annual return of membership, nothing noteworthy appears, until 1845, when for some cause or other, the worshippers were deprived of the use of their chapel. At this crisis, the Baptists came to the rescue, by allowing them the use of the schoolroom in Broad Street. Moreover, one of their own members, though unsolicited, offered to build a chapel for the society. This was done. "It is situated," according to the record, "in the midst of a dense population. It will comfortably seat 130 persons, and is so built, as to admit of a gallery when required." This entry refers to

THE CHAPEL IN NORTH CLOUGH LANE,

which many can remember. It was opened the 18th of June 1843, the Revs. J. T. Wigner (Baptist) and R. Hamilton (Independent) taking part in the services. To accommodate an overflowing congregation, a gallery was added (1845). Adverse changes were nevertheless not far ahead. Under January 1846, we read: "The Chapel in Clough Lane, which some few years since was built for the Association, and which the society was afterwards obliged to quit . . . has again come into our possession, and was reopened on the 28th of December last."

The zenith of prosperity was reached in 1849, when the society numbered 113 members, 2 chapels and 3 preaching places. Ministerial changes were frequent and the career of the "Associated Methodists" was surprisingly checkered.

Chief among the founders was James Jessop, an old soldier, who settled here as a gardener. He was a man of sterling integrity and an influential local preacher, who died about 1853. Another early worker, whose increasing usefulness was cut short by death, was George Freeman, the captain of a small vessel, unfortunately lost at sea. Besides these, there were two female preachers, a Miss Dolman and a Miss Rogers. The first was a delicate little woman, who lived in an almshouse, and the other, coming from Leeds, had imbibed some of the warmth and energy of the celebrated Methodist revivalist, the Rev. John Smith. She conducted a school for children in the Windsor Road. Her neat, quakeresque style of dress was characteristic of the early disciples of Methodism. She bore an unblemished name, was an impressive speaker, and towards the end of her life was closely connected with the Primitive Methodists. There was Brother Flatt, too, whose fame rested not so much upon his elocutionary powers, as on the fact that when preaching one Sunday afternoon, several of the audience succumbed to the soothing influence of his discourse. Though fully aware his efforts were not remarkably enlivening, he could make no allowance for the somnolent hearers before him. Raising the large Bible above his head, he shouted, "If you don't waken up, I'll throw this book at you," and he meant it too. Aroused and stimulated by so terrible a threat, they stared unflinchingly at the unsympathising orator until suspense was terminated by a formal dismissal.

(B) THE WESLEYAN REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Another unfortunate secession from the main body happened in 1849, when the Conference decided upon the expulsion of three highly-appreciated ministers. The verdict, regarded as "unkind and arbitrary," caused great unrest and evoked general sympathy. Certain members of the Wesleyan body expressed their views upon the action taken by the Conference. For this offence the Revs. S. Tindall and T. Smith and a most able lay-worker, John Keed, junior (died April 1871), were promptly expelled, and two other officers were "degraded as far as possible."

A so-called Declaration was drawn up by the aggrieved members, and those who could no longer "worship in Christian fellowship and love," subscribed their names thereto, affirming an adhesion to the doctrines taught and published by John Wesley, but objecting to the "increasing power and domination of the preachers." Thirty signed this document "with deep regret," of whom 18 were local preachers. In so doing, they considered themselves not as dis severed from the parent church, but as standing aloof, until redress should be obtained at the next Conference. In the meantime, they determined "to maintain in all vigour and fulness the various means of grace, such

as public worship, class meetings, sacraments, love-feasts and prayer-meetings; and also to maintain a godly jealousy and watch over each other in the Lord, abiding by all the general rules of the Body, as far as they serve to advance their personal piety, the welfare of the Church and the extension of Christ's kingdom" (January 10th 1850). Connected with this movement were Charles Bootman, John Keed, Robert Burcham, John A. Hillam, Robert Mott, Matthew Creak, Benjamin Lock, John Nokes and William Miles.

A "building committee" was selected, funds were collected and small chapels were erected at Gayton, Grimston and other villages. In the town an edifice, called

THE EBENEZER,

was built about this time. It stands on the west side of the London Road, not far from the Catholic Church, and is now the Allsaints' Church Mission Room. This place of worship was opened by the Rev. J. T. Wigner, on the 15th of December 1850. A month before, the chapel at Highgate, now belonging to the Primitive Methodists, was also consecrated for worship. It was built by the late George Cozens and let to the "Reformers" for £7 10s. a year. Therein were seats for 50 hearers. Services were also conducted as per plan—at West Lynn, Terrington, Wiggenhall St. Germans and St. Mary's; also at Runciton, Middleton, Leziate, Hillington, Watlington, Dersingham, Gayton, Grimston, Harpley and Rudham.

Prosperity so crowned the labour of the brethren, that they determined upon building a much larger chapel in Lynn. The designs for the proposed building, submitted by Messrs. Cruso and Maberley, were accepted, as was also the tender (£1,210) from Messrs. Bennett and Rolin, builders. In a cavity in the foundation stone of

THE TABERNACLE,

on the west side of the Railway Road, which was laid on the 6th of July 1853, there were placed a carefully-prepared document by the late Charles Bootman and a "plan" of the new circuit. This beautiful edifice, which cost in all about £2,000, was capable of accommodating 890 persons. The Sunday school was held in rooms beneath. The first sermon was preached by the Rev. R. Hamilton (Independent) on the 12th of December 1853.

At this period the "Reformers" thought it advisable to abandon the Wesleyan body altogether. They were determined, as is clear from the trust deed of their chapel, "to inculcate the doctrines and practices of the Christian religion, as taught"—not in Wesley's sermons, as before, but "in the New Testament, and that the members of the church worshipping here" (that is, in *The Tabernacle*) "are to be sole judges of what those doctrines are." (1853.)

However, a year later, they believed in the expediency of amalgamating with the

(C) METHODIST NEW CONNEXION,

with whose origin the reader is already conversant. The step was perhaps greater than some imagined at the time; inasmuch as the New

Connexion knows no doctrines and ordinances, different from those which are common to Methodism universally. These were never subjects of dispute between the old and new bodies. The differences arose on questions of church, circuit and conferential government. Having been, as it were, absorbed by a smaller body, the Tabernacle was often hereafter designated the *Chapel of the Methodist New Connexion*. For a number of years the cause enjoyed a season of religious prosperity, notably so, when *three* ministers laboured in the circuit (1868), the most distinguished being perhaps, the Rev. George Hallatt, who was in the forefront of the temperance movement.

During the two next decades a serious declension occurred, through certain unpopular ministerial changes. Then was it that not a few of the more prominent supporters returned to the old Wesleyan body. This greatly retarded the growth and consolidation of the work, so much so that for twenty years the congregation was beset with financial difficulties, which seemed at times insurmountable. Notwithstanding the depressing state of affairs, the Rev. W. Stephen bravely accepted "the forlorn hope" (1888), and under his commendably aggressive superintendence, the church and circuit increased and flourished beyond the expectation of the most sanguine.

The Tabernacle proved far more commodious than convenient, hence a modern building, better suited to the needs of the congregation, was desired. The response to an appeal for funds was encouraging. The readers of the *Methodist Evangelist*, of which the Rev. W. Stephen was editor, contributed £353 10s. The building of

THE TRINITY CHURCH

and adjoining school-room, upon the old site, was therefore undertaken (1891). The dimensions of the present "church" are 54 by 36 feet, and the height at the centre of the roof 28 feet. The choir gallery behind the pulpit measures 20 by 15 feet; there is besides a small gallery over the entrances. The building is lighted from the south by a row of clearstory windows. The minister's vestry is beneath the choir gallery. The school measures 54 by 28 feet. Below the floor is a suite of convenient class rooms. The Early English style, in both buildings, was well carried out, under the supervision of the architect, Mr. A. H. Goodall, of Nottingham. The entire cost was £1,300, of which £900 was subscribed before the close of the year 1891. The opening was conducted by the Rev. H. T. Marshall, D.D., of Ashton (2nd December 1891).

Of the ministers, who have been associated with this body, we may mention: G. Hallatt (1861-3), S. Meldrum (1864-6), A. C. Bevington (1883-5), W. Stephen (1888-92), H. Hope (1893-5), and M. Hodsman (1897).

(D) UNITED METHODIST FREE CHURCH.

In concluding this brief sketch, we must revert to the Associated Wesleyans. The Rev. Edward Boaden, stationed here in 1852, was succeeded by the Rev. George Warne (died February 1901), who

urged his congregation to purchase the Ebenezer chapel, vacated by the Wesleyan Reformers. After the completion of the Tabernacle his advice was taken (1854).

Now there was at Downham and the neighbourhood a significant brotherhood of Wesleyan Reformers, who joined the Associated Wesleyans about the same time the Lynn "Reformers" threw in their lot with the Methodist New Connexion, thus constituting what was denominated the *Lynn and Downham Circuit of United Methodists*. The Rev. G. Warne was transferred from Lynn to Downham, where he remained until his removal to Scarborough, when a junior minister took his place (1861). The last return for the Lynn society, when there were 40 members, appeared in 1855. The Lynn branch was noted because of the humble position of its members, and frequent changes in the ministry. The ultimate transfer of the Ebenezer chapel to the Wesleyan Methodists was indeed owing to pecuniary difficulties.

Many of the Wesleyan Reformers, in various parts of the country, sought fellowship with the Wesleyan Methodist Association (1857) and were subsequently known as the *United Methodist Free Church*. After the migration of the Associated Wesleyans to the Ebenezer chapel, their place of worship in North Clough Lane was used for secular purposes. It served Robert Mott, as a furniture warehouse, and the late William Miles, as an auction room; but was at length swept away, with the north side of a narrow thoroughfare, so that a wide, well-paved street might be constructed.

SECESSION.

BAPTISTS AND INDEPENDENT.

About the year 1855, much disaffection existed among the Baptists and Congregationalists. Each party desired a change, hence the discontented Baptists attended the Independent chapel, whilst the aggrieved Congregationalists flocked to the Stepney chapel. Setting aside the conscientious scruples privately entertained, they, after a while, amalgamated, bestowing their patronage first upon one body of dissenters and then upon another. As the Rev. J. T. Wigner opposed their readmission to the Blackfriars' Road chapel, they apparently gravitated towards the chapel in New Conduit Street. Their adhesion was, however, merely of a temporary nature, because the advent of an unpopular minister sent them once more adrift, and indirectly contributed to a deplorable climax.

Some of the dissentients, constituting this small brotherhood, facetiously known as "the united splits," happened to be trustees among the Congregationalists, and by virtue of their power as trustees they are said to have taken possession of the Albion Hall in Broad Street, where they remained conducting services until forcibly ejected. These circumstances led to the erection of

THE UNION CHAPEL,

near the Athenæum (1861), in Market Street. In this neat cruciform edifice, which cost about £3,000, the Early English style of architecture was adopted. A spire surmounts the tower. There are

sittings for 500 persons. The whole block covers an area of 746 square yards. A commodious school-room was added at a cost of £1,500 (1887).

"It was a current assertion at the time," observes a recent writer, "that whilst the basis of the alliance was perfect liberty, with regard to infant baptism (which indeed was practised in the new chapel as well as adult immersion), when the trust deed was settled, it was discovered that the Baptist section had captured the concern, and that the Congregationalists found themselves in a very unpleasant position." Whether it was so or not does not alter the fact, that this unfortunate movement crippled two congregations for several years. An unaccountable reaction, however, slowly set in, and many of the stragglers meekly returned to their respective folds.

The first minister, the Rev. E. L. Hull, B.A., was deservedly esteemed; he published three volumes of eloquent *Sermons preached at the Union Chapel, King's Lynn* (1863; 11th Edition, 1869). Failing health compelled him to relinquish his charge. Then followed the Revs. C. Bright and Samuel D. Thomas, who resigned in 1882 and 1888 respectively. The Rev. Charles Houghton was appointed in 1889.

The Charity Commissioners concurred in a scheme for the selling of the chapel premises (October 1899), either by public auction or private contract. The net proceeds were to be applied in discharging a mortgage, and erecting a similar chapel and school-room in the fast-developing part of the borough beyond the South Gates. An admirable site was selected—a plot at the junction of the highways leading to Wisbech and to Wiggenshall St. Germans, where the toll-house once stood.

The old block, representing an outlay of between £4,000 and £5,000, was offered for sale (January 1900), but the "lot" was withdrawn at £1,850. It was subsequently secured by Messrs. A. Jermyn and J. T. Bunkall on behalf of the Museum Committee for £1,600, exclusive of the sittings, which were retained.

THE NEW "CHURCH"

is cruciform, with nave, aisles, transept, and an organ and choir gallery behind the pulpit. The dimensions are 60 by 40 feet, with accommodation for 320 hearers. The Early English style is pleasingly rendered in red brick, with white Costessey ware dressings. The windows are mainly lancets; the nave is divided from the aisles by graceful arches and pillars. The main entrance faces the east. The adjoining school-room, with red-brick facings, is in a simpler and more modern style. Although all ornament has been avoided both externally and in the interior, the building presents a pleasing appearance. The windows are large, thus yielding ample light, and they are arranged so that perfect ventilation is secured. Mr. J. L. Carnell was the architect and Mr. W. F. Smith the builder. The contract price was under £400. The buildings were opened in July 1900.

THE FREE CHRISTIAN (UNITARIAN) CHURCH.

On the 1st of March 1872 the late Mr. James Seals addressed this note to his co-trustees :—

Since the sale of the Salem chapel (1868) the money realized has remained in my hands. I am desirous of relinquishing the responsibility of its custody, and it having been suggested that the British and Foreign Unitarian Association would probably hold the money on trust till the Liberal Christians of Lynn have a prospect of building a chapel and maintaining a minister, I have corresponded with the secretary on the subject, who has intimated the willingness of the committee to do so. If you approve of this mode of disposing of the fund, be so good as to sign the note on the other side and return it to me.

The proposal was unanimously accepted, and the money forthwith handed to the treasurer of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Chiefly through the exertions of Alfred Payne Allen (1838-1906), then of Tower House, Lynn (the author of *The Ambassadors of Commerce*, 1885), and various friends in London and Norwich, money was subscribed for the erection of

A FREE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The plot chosen was on the south side of Broad Street, where the Albion Hall was then standing, and passing strange though it may appear, the exact site where the forgotten Presbyterians reared a chapel a century before, after vacating the Glass House. The Presbyterians discontinued their services about 1802. The chapel was soon afterwards appropriated by the Independents, who remained there until 1838, when, as the building was considered unsafe, they erected their present place of worship in New Conduit Street. For awhile the old building was forsaken, but after a substantial floor had been thrown across, the *upper* room—the Albion Hall, as it was called—was let for secular purposes, whilst Pickford's vans, which conveyed goods between Lynn and London, were conveniently housed below. At a later date, the floor was removed and iron stays employed to strengthen the structure. This lofty room was let for lectures and social gatherings.

After an unavoidable delay the Unitarians secured the site; the "Albion Hall" was cleared away, and the present neat edifice, consisting of church, school-room and vestry, erected—the foundation stone being laid the 12th of August 1874 and the opening ceremony conducted the 8th of April 1875. The gabled building, in the Pointed Style, is of white brick, relieved with dressings of Bath stone and red brick. The interior, with ample accommodation for four hundred hearers, is well adapted to the requirements of the congregation. The communion vessels, formerly belonging to the Salem chapel, are now in use.*

MINISTERS.

Blackfriars' Hall.—James Edward Bruce and — Appleby, 1873; William Anette Pope, 1873-4; John Towle Marriott, 1874-5.

* Two pewter cups, plated, 6½ inches high; with two handles; bell-stem and foot. One oval bread basket of white metal. Each without inscription.

Free Church (Unitarian) Broad Street.—John Towle Marriott, 1875-6; Barnard Gisby, 1877-9; James Edward Bruce, 1879-9; William Rose Shanks, 1880-3; Cyril Abdy Greaves, M.A., D.C.L., 1884-5; William Rossiter, 1885-6; George Jones Cole, 1889-90; Ulric Vernon Herford, B.A., 1893-7; George Lansdown, 1897-1900; J. B. Morton Barnes, B.A., 1905-6.

A RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE.

The 19th century dawned on a bewildering intricacy of crooked lanes and winding streets. Fantastic, overhanging houses enclosed obscure courts and alleys of indescribable irregularity. The narrow thoroughfares were for the most part unpaved and in a filthy condition. From time to time both parishes had been fined because of their inexcusable negligence; for example, the burgesses were indicted in 1792, because Crooked Lane was in "decay," when at the expense of the parish at large they foolishly agreed to traverse and defend the indictment.

An imaginary line drawn from the South Gates to the railway crossing at North End would divide the town into two almost equal parts. To the west were buildings generally cramped and huddled together; whilst to the east were fields and gardens, with a few thatched hovels, here and there. A narrow street, 460 yards long, led from one market to the other; in the middle was "the High Bridge," spanning the infectious Purfleet, with its procession of sombre "lighters." The Mercers' Row (south) and the Briggate (north) constituted High Street. Parallel with the river were Lath or Nelson Street, Wyngate or Queen Street, Little Checker Street, and King Street, beyond the Custom House. In Allsaints' parish, the low-lying ground, between "the Arch on the Walks" and the South Gates, was as a rule impassable; hence every able-bodied man, applying for relief in the winter of 1804, was set to work upon the embankment then being made across this swamp. The raised road, called the Terrace Walk, was separated from the meadows beyond by a deep ditch. Guanock Terrace and the adjacent streets were, of course, laid out afterwards. Exton's Road, Goodwin's Road and *New* Checker Street owe their origin to the speculative townsmen from whom they were named. * The Hospital stands in "Elsden's Park," where deer were once reared. To the left of Exton's Road was a brickyard, with two deep pits, well stocked with fish.

The southern entrance of the town was along Coldhurn, † that is Southgate and Friars Streets. To the left was the field of the Whitefriars, with its rope walk. The rest of the parish consisted of meadows and gardens, belonging to Giles Haylock, Edward Everard, Thomas Marshall and others. There were but three houses between the Gates and St. James' Workhouse. At the corner of Valinger's

* John Exton, apothecary, was mayor in 1735.

Coldhurn like *Northinge* ("Le Northinge street" mentioned in 1422) is an adjective and is similarly formed thus:—

North-er-en, north-ern, *North-irn* — more north.

Cold-er-en, cold-ern, *Cold-irn* or *Cold-hirn* — more cold, colder.

See Angus' *Handbook of the English Tongue* (1873), p. 135.

Road was a deep pond; a dike and a row of chestnut trees skirted what is known as Buckingham Terrace, where the Friends made a burial ground; Windsor Road, then an eerie footpath, was termed "Laudanum Lane," because a man who committed suicide was buried at the crossways. The customary precaution, that of driving a stake through the body, to prevent the perturbed spirit from wandering about, was omitted in this instance because the crumbling *coffin* of the unfortunate *felo de se* was disturbed when a gas main was laid. At the London Road corner of Windsor Road was Marshall's garden; Ffolkes' garden embraced part of Hen Walk (London Road), Hillington Square and the land as far as Vicarage Lane; a market garden extended from Hen Walk to the back of the South Lynn Workhouse (Friars Street). There were no buildings at St. James' End, except the Lancastrian school and the Bede Almshouses. Near the Clough bridge, Messrs. John and Joseph Whin started their "livery stables."

The late William Armes gives a neat description of the district south of the Mill fleet:—

Crossing the bridge and passing along the old former wall (beside the fleet) by the Jews' Burial Ground, we then turn short to the south, through what were called the *Back Lanes*, towards South Lynn churchyard, which was not then enclosed at either end, but through which, by this route, lay a considerable thoroughfare to South Lynn. At night (he continues) this was a dreary road, and well do I remember passing this way home and even in the moonlight stamping loudly, that I might hear my own footsteps, while I whistled well to keep my courage up, along that old graveyard; the faces upon whose tombs appeared half animated by moonlight and suggested awkward thoughts of light-heeled ghosts that walk at the dead of night.

Near the railway station were two or three insignificant eminences, ironically termed "the High Hills." The Echo Road—a name traceable to a natural phenomenon—was in the neighbourhood. Brushwood covered the ground almost as far as Norfolk Street. St. John's church was reared in "Allen's close," where temporary confinement, in the guise of a pound, was provided for predatory cattle. Along the terrace, now apparently dedicated to St. John, was the Corporation rope-walk. The "fleet" in Littleport was connected with "the reservoir" in Lower Canada. Blackfriars' Road was unknown, although a solitary arch of the old convent remained, just opposite to the *Golden Ball*. Stone coffins, in all likelihood containing the ashes of the pious Dominican friars, were unearthed near the *Princess Royal* and the Stepney chapel. Albert, Whincop, Providence and Union Streets cover gardens once belonging respectively to Charles Goodwin (solicitor), Robert Whincop,* Thomas Marshall and the father of the late Joseph Wales.

Many of our present street names are more or less personal. No difficulty will be felt in guessing the origin of Albert, Stanley, Port-

* Robert Whincop (1733-1803), attorney-at-law and deputy controller of H.M. Customs, was buried at North Runciton. Upon his altar-tomb is the inscription:—

"God works a wonder now and then
He thought a lawyer was an honest man."

He acted as town clerk (1785-1803), and was succeeded by his nephew Robert Whincop (1803-1833). The *Honest Lawyer*: "carrying his head under his arm"—the sign of an inn near the South Gates; we need hardly say is not a portrait of our honest clerk.

land, Wellesley, Wellington, Lansdowne, Coburg and Nelson Streets; whilst other names are complimentary to some of the inhabitants, as North and South Everard Streets, reminiscent of Edward Everard (mayor 1810), Sir Lewis Street, of Sir Lewis Jarvis (thrice mayor, 1860-1-2), Cresswell Street, of Francis Cresswell (mayor 1845) and Burkitt Street, of the late William Burkitt, Esq. (mayor 1883 and 1886).

Quite as many streets were named from public, as religious houses. To counterbalance Priory Lane, Grey Friars' Road and Austin Street, there were *Red Cow* (Church) Street, *Black Goose* (St. Nicholas') Street, *Black Horse* (Chapel) Street, *Three Crown* (Queen) Street and *Three Pigeon* (St. James') Street. As curiosities in the literature of our highways, Lynn as well as the metropolis could boast of its Pudding Lane; it had a Bird-cage walk and a Black Boy (Tower) Street, probably derived from the crest of the tobacco-pipe makers' company, incorporated in 1603. The custom of transferring names from one place to another is exemplified in *The Hill* (Tuesday Market-place), probably so termed because the market at Norwich is held on an elevation—the Market Hill. The avenue known as "The Walks" was once *The Mall*, derived from Pall Mall, London, and the promenade from the corner of High Street to the *Woolpack* inn was *The Gentlemen's Walk*, named from a similar promenade in Norwich.

An unaccountable mania for altering our street nomenclature has more than once affected the good folk of Lynn. In 1809 many absurd changes were made, so capricious and childish, that some expected no less than that the town itself would receive a new name. Harrod bewails this because "a number of associations have been put out of mind by the substitution of meaningless modern ones. Why could not (he asks) *Norfolk Street* have remained Damgate? *Checker Street*, now altered to *King Street*, immediately brought to mind the old Exchequer. *Queen Street* was admirably described in its tortuous course by Wynd-gate; *High Street* was Briggate, because of the high bridge over the Purfleet, now gone." Burnet, too, referring to our predilection for high-sounding names, observes:—

Were a stranger to hear of High Hills (near Station), the *Hillington Terrace* and the *Observatory* of King's Lynn, what an elevated position he would assign us! 'Oh how picturesque,' he might exclaim, 'not only hills but high hills.' Hills rising above hills and then acclivities studded with beautiful terraces! And what a scientific people—perhaps the descendants of Tycho Brahe! A public *observatory*! Yes, it must be public from its position on the Fort. [Which in another place Burnet styles, 'a mere platform.'] I must visit this delightful place—and then he might soliloquise till his over-wrought imagination paints Lynn, a Geneva! a city of terraces. But let him once set foot in our town and his towering hopes would be all thrown down! Down to a level with the foundations of our domiciles and they are in the fens. Instead of the *High Hills* he would find a *low road*, as low as the railway by which it is intersected, and would be furnished with indisputable proof that the altitude of our famous *High Hills* never exceeded ten feet, our *terraces*, one of them at least, in danger of being overflowed every springtide, particularly should that tide happen in January and the moon be in perigee. As for our *Observatory*, it would be found dwindled down to a pilot's look-out, scarcely superior to a respectable crow's nest of a Greenlandman (1845).

Lowell was right. There is indeed "more force in names than most men dream of," and it is our duty, neither to alter nor efface, but to preserve the old inscriptions at the street corners. Let us therefore repaint their letters with reverent hands, so that the busy toilers of to-day may not be wholly ignorant of what was attempted and what was done by our brave ancestors; so that he, who looking up, may run if so he listeth, and yet gather encouragement through a momentary glance at the past.

Acts for paving and improving the borough were obtained in 1803 and 1806. The "new road," otherwise the London Road, was laid out about this time. Complying with an order from the Paving Commissioners, the sexton's little house on the north side of St. Margaret's church, was removed to widen the street. A faculty too was sought for taking away two buttresses at the north-east corner of the Trinity chapel, in order to add 24 feet to the street. This could have been done by removing a few unsightly houses. The beautiful Trinity chapel was notwithstanding pulled down, and a debased miniature, designed by Francis Goodwin, erected as a substitute. The licence for this unseemly alteration was granted the 31st of May 1809. William Newham was entrusted with the work. The street, moreover, at the west of the church was enlarged by setting "the wall and pallsadoes" back 8 feet towards the east (1805). Many other alterations, if not improvements, were effected at this time. The last street to be "cobbled" was Nelson Street, which was done by Popjoy (1816).

MODERN DEVELOPMENT.

At the passing of the King's Lynn Corporation Act (1880), a new survey, including parts of the parishes of Gaywood and North Lynn St. Edmunds, was made by the late Charles H. Harding. The area of the *old* municipal borough is thus given:—2,670 acres (St. Margaret's parish 243 acres, and South Lynn Allsaints' 2,427 acres). The area of the extended borough covers 3,100 acres, that is, 2,670 acres in the old borough, plus 290 acres in Gaywood and 140 acres in North Lynn. Our "ancient and loyal borough" may be regarded from an historical standpoint as tripartient:—(1) the district between the Purfleet and the Mill fleet, the oldest or original settlement; (2) a tract north of the Purfleet—the *Newlonde* reclaimed from the sea during the 12th century, and (3) the independent township of South Lynn, lying south of the Mill fleet, which was not incorporated until the latter part of the 17th century. The first and second divisions were split up into nine constabularies or wards, as early as the reign of Henry VI. The following wards corresponded with the ancient constabularies, viz., the Chequer, the Jews' Lane, the Kettlewell, the New Conduit, the North End, the Paradise, the Sedgford Lane, the Stonegate and the Trinity Hall. The South Lynn Allsaints, otherwise the Southgate ward, was, of course, added subsequently.

Under the Municipal Corporations Act (1835) the boundaries of the three modern wards, into which the borough was divided, were

determined by Messrs. J. B. Munro and F. Gunning, the appointed barristers (31st October). Instead of ten small wards there were to be three, of course, larger wards—the North, the Middle and the South. The municipal boundaries were co-extensive with the parliamentary. Being, however, unequal in area, an attempt was made under the Act of 1880 to make them more alike. To this end, 324 acres were added to the North, and 106 acres to the Middle wards. The *North Ward* comprises Chequer, North End, Jews' Lane and Kettlewell wards and parts of Gaywood and North Lynn; the *Middle Ward*—New Conduit, Paradise, Sedgford Lane and Trinity Hall wards and part of Gaywood; and the *South Ward*—Stonegate and Southgate wards, and the parish of South Lynn.

(1) PAROCHIAL BOUNDARIES.

A line traced along the following streets will divide the two parishes:—From the mouth of the Friars fleet through Allen's yard and Miller's court to Bridge Street; from the north-west corner of Allsaints' Street to Coronation Square, through Providence Street, Parsonage or Vicarage Lane, Chadwick Street into Providence Street again; then, after crossing the London Road near the Brewery Buildings, along the Hospital field to the Walks gate near the "Seven Sisters."

(2) PARLIAMENTARY BOUNDARIES.

The old eastern boundary extended, from the entrance of the Walks, near "the Seven Sisters" to the "Arch," along the Walks rivulet, over the forgotten "wooden bridge"—a viaduct once crossing the railway, along the waste water drain at Highgate, and on from thence to the Kettle Mills.

In 1868 an Act was obtained and the above boundary was altered, from the "Arch on the Walks." This boundary may be mentally traced, through the Extension Walk and Laburnum Terrace, over the line and from thence along the Almshouse Lane to Albion Place in the Gaywood Road and on towards the Highgate (Gaywood) Board school. The boundary on the east was placed still further eastward in 1880. Starting from the bridge in Salter's Road, near the above school, the municipal and parliamentary boundaries are identical—along the left bank of the Gaywood river to the Lynn and Hunstanton railway, from thence along the west side of the railway to a point, where the main line branches into three. Crossing the line, the boundary is continued along the west side of the Lynn and Ely Railway branch, until it meets the parish boundary near the eastern end of Avenue Road.

(3) THE POPULATION.

for each decennial period of the 19th century:—

1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.	1851.
10,096	10,259	12,253	13,370	16,039	19,148

1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.	1901.	
15,981	16,363	18,539	18,265	20,288	Mr. J. J. Coulton.

(4) THE HOUSE ACCOMMODATION

of any town ought to increase in the same ratio as its population; in other words the supply ought to equal the demand. Great inconvenience will be felt, and overcrowding must exist when the demand exceeds the supply; and *vice versa* when the supply exceeds the demand great depreciation in the value of house-property is bound to follow as a natural consequence.

Mackerell gives the population in 1738, as 20,160—a greater number for the area than at any subsequent period. There were about 2,400 houses in 1797. Richards contends, that the population in 1801 and 1811 exceeded the above figures; he states, that in 1810, as many as 100 houses were empty, caused by the oppressive poor rates and the “*new paving law*.” In 1801 our population may be taken roughly as 10,000; it rose to 16,000 in 1861. The local increase, however, did not keep pace with that of the whole kingdom. Between 1844 and 1851 our increase was greatest, amounting as it did to 3,000. At this time 500 houses were built to accommodate the new comers. The population however did not remain stationary neither did it go on increasing at the same rate—it suddenly decreased more than 3,000, so that in 1861 the population was less than it was in 1841, or twenty years before.

Writing in 1861, the Superintendent Registrar for the district, Mr. J. J. Coulton, remarks:—

Had the population continued to increase in the same ratio, building might have very safely gone on. But there was no means of reducing the number of houses to keep pace with the present decrease of the population. . . . As compared with 1841, they had an excess of upwards of 800 houses. The consequence was a ruinous depreciation.

Year.	Number of Houses:—		Number per House.
	Inhabited.	Empty.	
1841	3,306	186	4·8
1851	3,851	143	4·9
1861	3,641	481	4·3
1871	3,753	—	4·3
1881	4,080	175	4·6
1891	4,161	345	4·3

The number of inhabited houses in 1891 (the same authority adds), appears to be 4,161, as against 4,080 in 1881, showing an increase of 81 with a diminished population, a result more satisfactory to the sanitary reformer than to the owner of house-property, who has moreover to contend with 345 houses uninhabited against 175 in 1881. The total number of houses in 1861 is greater

by 128 than in 1851, and by 630 than in 1831, 502 having been built in the first ten years and 128 in the last ten years. The number of uninhabited houses in 1851 is nearly one-fourth less than in 1841, shewing that during the intervening ten years building did not out-run or indeed keep pace with population. The number in 1861 is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as in 1841, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as in 1851, although the inhabited houses are much less fully occupied than formerly, the number in 1861 being greater by 335 (about one-eleventh) than in 1841, while the population is less. The total number of houses built in the 20 years (632) bears nearly the same proportion to the number of inhabitants who have left (4,529) that the number of houses in 1841 does to the population at that time, showing that there has been little or no building beyond the wants of the population for the time being. Could the 4,529 persons who left Lynn during the last ten years (1851 to 1861) have taken their houses with them the town would be much in the same state now as in 1841. But though the inhabitants are gone, the houses remain, a burden to their owners and the cause of unexampled depression in the value of house-property generally.

But there is no doubt that in 1851 the population was unduly swelled by temporary inhabitants, attracted by the construction of the East Anglian railways, by the Estuary works and by the house-building which was going on. During the construction of the Docks, our population suddenly increased, so that there was a great demand for houses; but, as in 1851, a dearth quickly followed, and empty houses, especially in the neighbourhood of the Dock, were general. Owing to increased work in connection with our new water supply, the electric lighting of the town and the carrying out of the new sewerage scheme, there is at present a demand for houses and houses are springing up on either hand; but the increase, we fear, must not be regarded as a permanent one. Ere many years, we fear, houses may again be "bought for an old song."

(5) SANITATION.

The health record proves, that when the great tides of disease broke over the country, Lynn suffered in common with the rest. History shews that the sweating sickness, the black death, leprosy, plague, scurvy, typhus fever, ague, and—coming to later times, cholera and smallpox, all played their part with fatal severity. The sub-soil upon which the town rests is peat—soft and yielding as a cushion, but, unlike so many of the large inland towns, Lynn possesses a natural and convenient outlet for its daily flow of sewage. Our forefathers were by no means ignorant of this, but they did not utilise the scouring of the tide to the best advantage. Instead of conveying the sewage by means of pipes directly to the river, they sent it, through hundreds of narrow brick drains, into the "fleets" by which the town was in every direction intersected. The great swelling *eager* that so thoroughly cleansed our tidal river in those days was quite inoperative in the remoter parts of these fleets. Hence foul emanations from reeking heaps of putrefaction were carried to and fro by the recurring tides, until at last they met the purer circulation of the river Ouse. By this time fresh accumulations choked the fleets. Long years of defective drainage, and the leaky nature of wooden water-pipes, rendered the spongy sub-soil not merely damp, but miasmatic to the point of saturation. From a sanitary, if not a moral

point of view, there seems to be truth embodied in the saying current years ago:—

A nasty stinking sinkhole of sin,
Which the map of the county denominates Lynn.

For nearly a quarter of a century (1720-45), smallpox ravaged the town. In July 1832, a sudden outbreak of cholera caused the greatest consternation. What a vivid impression is conveyed by a few lines from the pen of the curate at St. Margaret's:—

A family of the name of Ormiston—most respectable people—have been nearly extinguished. I buried Mrs. O. on Monday afternoon; on Tuesday morning at 6, I buried a daughter; last night at 9 o'clock I buried another daughter and to-day Ormiston himself died at about noon and was buried at 8 this evening. Others of his family, I hear are ill. This is only the 5th of July and there have been 14 funerals. I have not heard of any recoveries. . . . In ten days nine individuals of that family have died of cholera. Four Ormistons have since died in London and one I have buried here. (Rev. Thomas Edwards Hankinson).⁶

Of 99 cases recommended to the Dispensary one-third proved fatal. From Lynn the contagion spread with alarming celerity to Watlington, Stow, Pot Row (Grimston) and other villages. Figures supplied by the Registrar-General clearly demonstrate the notoriously unhealthy state of Lynn. The number of deaths from the 1st of July 1837 to the 30th of June 1840 are given for five different towns with their respective populations, abstracted from the last census returns (1841):—

	Population.	Deaths.
LYNN	16,039	439
Norwich	62,344	1,555
Bury St. Edmunds	12,537	287
Ipswich	24,940	613
Yarmouth	24,086	443

Hence, according to results deducted by George Sayle a local surgeon, the average number of deaths in Lynn per annum, when in its normal healthy state, exceeded Norwich by 30, Ipswich 45, Bury St. Edmunds 72, and Yarmouth 144, or in other words:

For 100 deaths in

Norwich	there were	100	in LYNN
Ipswich	" "	111	" "
Bury St. Edmunds	" "	119	" "
Yarmouth	" "	149	" "

There was a slight recurrence of cholera in 1848, apparently derived from Sunderland, for the master and mate of one of the Lynn ships were the first to succumb. John Dowdy too, a mate on board the *Eliza*, died whilst the vessel was lying in "the Roads" (5th October 1849). This outbreak, though three times more fatal upon the coast than in the interior, did not greatly affect Lynn. In the

⁶ See *Sherk of the Life of Thomas Edwards Hankinson, M.A.* (1862), vol. I., pp. 34-37.

Registration Districts, the deaths per 10,000 are thus recorded :—Yarmouth 36, Norwich 6, Swaffham 5, Downham 4, Thetford 2, *Lynn* 1 and Freebridge Lynn 0.

A system of drainage, incomparably better than the old, has almost freed the town from deleterious exhalations. Brick drains are gradually disappearing, the fleets are being filled up, and we are no longer troubled with a leaky water service. From a recently published guide-book we select the following reassuring paragraph :—“ All visitors testify to the cleanliness of *Lynn* streets, and not without reason. There is not another town in England better kept in this respect, and the inhabitants take a pardonable pride in the fact. They may not be superbly paved, but they are clean.” In 1892 the death rate was 21.2 per thousand, whereas in 1901, it had dropped to 18.3.

(6) LIGHTING.

In bygone times there was no system of lighting the town ; the inhabitants were compelled either to grope through the darkness or provide for their own necessities, punctually extinguishing, of course, every candle, lantern and fire at “ the knell of parting day.”

In the Coroners' Roll (30th to 33rd years of Edward I.), is found an account of the drowning of a drunken sailor who was prowling about Peter de Thorndeyn's quay after curfew, when he ought to have been in his hammock fast asleep. Attempting to board a vessel called the *Grace*, he unfortunately slipped off the “ broo ” or plank into the waters of the Mill fleet. Bacchus probably claimed even in those days as many lives as Neptune. Mention of the curfew is also made in the case of thoughtless Master Ridout, who lived at the Blackstowe—a house in the Wyngate (Queen Street). He was convicted of harbouring thieves under cover of the night, and thus endangering the peace of the town. As the delinquent found two sureties (one of whom was a chaplain), to be answerable for his future good behaviour, punishment was remitted, but he was strictly ordered not to keep door or gate open in future after curfew (1351).

There were a few public lamps at the commencement of the 18th century, which were apparently maintained by voluntary subscriptions. The meagre enlightenment, for which our forefathers were unquestionably grateful, was dependent on a supply of whale oil. In 1805, Pall Mall was illuminated with coal-gas, and for several years it continued to be the only street in the metropolis so lighted. Three years after this important innovation became general in London, our borough was lighted with gas (6th April 1826). John Malam established gasworks here, at an outlay of £14,000, which included seven miles of street piping (1825). The whole concern was taken over by the King's Lynn Gas and Coke Company, Limited, with a capital of £10,000, that is 1,000 shares at £10 each (1856). Since then the existing works, purchased by the King's Lynn Gas Company, have been considerably enlarged (1876 and 1881) at a cost of £4,000. Having declared a dividend of 10 per cent., the company sought power

to raise £10,000 for a new gas-holder (1887); again the capital was increased £3,000 (1889). In 1899 there were 412 public lamps, which were supplied and kept in repair at an average annual cost of £3 11s. each. The three gas-holders contain 140,000, 70,000 and 30,000 cubic feet respectively.

Gas is now partially superseded by electricity (1898). The generating station, Kettle Mills, was enlarged (1900).

(7) PAVING.

In 1803 when the *first* Act for paving, lighting, and otherwise improving the town was obtained, there was only one street in the parish of Allsaints, and that was only partly paved. It stretched between the South Gates and our Lady bridge, near Eyre's brewery; its course being now represented by Southgate, Friars, Allsaints and Bridge streets. Although a continuous line of houses marked the eastern side of what we have termed a *street*, yet on the opposite side there were only four or five isolated buildings. The streets too in the other parish were mere slushy thoroughfares, or they were roughly paved with cobbles whose shape obtained for them the physiological appellation of "petrified kidneys."

The following extract from the journal of the Paving Commissioners, dated December 17th 1802, and signed by the mayor, Lionel Self, junior, is interesting:—

Estimates for paving the town and for making the New or London Road.

For paving the whole town	...	...	...	...	£	8,879
" drains and grates	...	...	...	...	1,000	
" new bridge near New Walk	...	...	...	...	554	
" New Road from the South Gates to St. James's, including the purchase of land	...	...	...	...	676	
" removing obstructions and incidental charges	...	...	...	...	1,391	
" expenses in obtaining the Act	...	...	...	...	500	
" 500 new lamps at £1 each	...	...	...	...	500	
						<hr/>
						£13,500

Computed Annual Expenditure.

For interest on £13,500 at 5 per cent.	...	...	...	...	£	675
" lighting 500 lamps at £1 each	...	...	...	...	500	
" scavengers...	...	...	...	...	100	
" watchmen	...	...	...	...	150	
" repairs of pavement	...	...	...	...	100	
" expense of officers under the Act	...	...	...	...	100	
						<hr/>
						£1,625

The Committee are of opinion that the County ought to contribute:

To the interest, say	...	...	...	...	...	£650
" annual repairs	...	...	...	...	...	50
						<hr/>
						£700

For amending and enlarging the Act under which the above proposed alterations were carried out, a *second* Paving Act was obtained in 1806. Writing in 1845, an authority says:—

By virtue of these Acts, all the streets have been well paved, obstructions and other nuisances removed, and the *avenue* from the Southgate, instead of opening, as formerly, through the narrowest and worst-built streets, has been diverted in a direct line more to the East, and now presents to the traveller an approach superior to that of most maritime towns in the kingdom, being a broad and spacious street called London Road, lined with handsome modern houses, terminated at one end by the venerable entrance gate, and at the other by the slender, but lofty hexagonal tower of the Grey Friars.

OTHER IMPROVEMENTS

might be mentioned, which have greatly contributed not merely to the clean appearance of the town, but the comfort and health of the inhabitants. Macadamised roads were introduced (1860), the Littleport reservoir was converted into a plantation (1866), and our gaol, with fifteen others, was closed under the operation of the Prisons Act (1st February 1866). Purfleet as far as High Street was filled up; the "High Bridge" taken down, and the New Conduit Street paved (1866); the old Fisher fleet disappeared, when the first Dock was opened (1869), and the Mill fleet too has ceased to exist (1897). The Pilot office was erected (1865); an iron bridge over the Nar (£2,875) was constructed by Messrs. Goddard and Massey, of Nottingham (1885); a fine cattle market has been laid out, for which £5,000 was borrowed; the average annual income from this source, for five years (1894-9), amounted to £1,698. The annual net profit of £872 was applied to the borough fund. For making the old Waterworks a loan of £29,165 was necessary (1860); this undertaking yielded a profit during the same period of £1,069, which has also been added to the borough fund.

As early as 1800, the East Gate was removed because traffic was impeded through the lowness of the arch, and suggestions have been made from time to time during the past forty years to improve the town's southern entrance, either by diverting the congested road or demolishing the gateway which is unquestionably a hindrance to the speedy ingress and egress of our Marshland visitors, especially on market days. Those who advocated an alteration exaggerated the traffic along the London Road, by comparing it with that in the Strand, and the beautiful architectural specimen they anathematised as a veritable Temple Bar. Much was said, and many dreadful predictions were made, but not until 1861 was the matter brought before the Council. At that time the sluice at the bridge was being lowered, and Mr. Arthur Saunders was asked to prepare plans and estimate for a new bridge, which was to cross the Middleton Stop Drain near the *Crown*, on land belonging to the Corporation. He calculated £2,398 were necessary to carry out the work, but at any other time £80 or £100 more would be needed. The necessary alteration was at last made, at a cost of £800, from plans prepared by Mr. E. J. Silcock (1899).

From the audited accounts of the borough, prepared by Mr. G. H. Anderson, the borough accountant, and published the 31st March 1901, the subjoined figures are culled. The total indebtedness of the borough is £165,916 8s. 4d. During the year 1900-1 there was paid £10,978 2s. 3d., that is, £5,324 4s. 11d. as interest and £5,653 17s. 4d. as principal. The last repayment will be made in 1941.

BOROUGH FUND.

		£					£
1867.	Cost of issuing Stock	...	...	...	...	...	610
1868.	Dock, 1st loan	£20,000	}	...	...	...	80,000
1879.	" 2nd "	£20,000					
1881-2.	" Extension	£35,000					
1874.	" Warehouse	£5,000					
1878.	Prison	...	...	...	...	...	1,892
1878.	Cattle market	...	...	...	...	...	5,000
1884.	Stanley library	...	...	...	...	...	736
1885.	Nar bridge	...	...	...	...	...	3000
1895.	Wick Bay Act, 1894	£936	}	...	...	...	19,084
1895-7.	" " Removal	£18,000					
1897.	Cost of issuing Stock	£148	}	...	...	...	1,000
1890.	Electricity: wiring public buildings	...					
1877-8.	Hightgate school	...	...	...	...	...	1,600
1898.	Conservancy Act	...	...	...	...	...	1,496

DISTRICT FUND.

1898.	Cost of issuing Stock	...	...	...	...	...	238
1866.	New Conduit Street and North Clough Lane improvement	...	...	...	...	...	12,846
1882.	Sewerage	£7,400	}	...	...	...	19,644
1897.	"	£12,244		...	...	...	...
1897.	Paving	...	...	...	...	...	5,803
1897.	Mill Fleet Act, 1896	...	...	...	...	...	672
1898.	High Street widening	...	...	...	...	...	2,500
1899.	South Gate bridge	...	...	...	...	...	820
1900.	High Street and Whitefriars Lane	...	...	...	...	...	500

WATER WORKS.

1897.	Cost of issuing Loans	...	...	...	...	239
1896.	Provisional Order	...	...	...	...	576
1896.	New Works	£29,164	}	...	...	30,142
1901.	"	£978		...	...
1900.	New Mains	...	...	...	...	1,500
	" "	£700 to £2,700 (Treasurer)	...	...	...	699

ELECTRICITY WORKS.

1899.	Electric Lighting Works £27,000	...	...	...	24,980
	Treasurer (Temporary Loan)	...	...	...	10,149

Under security of the rates, the above sums have been borrowed. The full rateable value in 1888 was £69,246, in 1898 £72,984, in 1899 £82,541, and in 1900 £83,317.

1862.	The Highest Rate per £ Assessment	...	...	...	11s. 4d.
1880.	" Lowest " " "	"	"	"	5 8
1900.	" Present " " "	"	"	"	8 10

RATEABLE VALUES (MAY 1901).

Parish.	Area.	Buildings.	Land.	Total.
St. Margaret ...	243 acres	59,375 : 10 : 0	774 : 15 : 0	60,150 : 5 : 0
Gaywood (part)	290 "			
North Lynn (part)	140 "			
South Lynn ...	2,427 "			
		20,475 : 10 : 0	3,538 : 15 : 0	24,014 : 5 : 0
Total ...	3,100 "	£79,851 : 0 : 0	£4,313 : 10 : 0	£84,164 : 10 : 0

AVERAGE OF RATES FOR 10 YEARS, PER £.

Rates.	1861-71.	1871-81.	1881-91.	1891-1901.
Poor (St. Margaret)	5 : 5½	3 : 6	2 : 1½	2 : 6¾
District ...	—	2 : 5	2 : 8¾	2 : 7¾
Borough ...	—	7¾	9¼	1 : 3¼
Dock ...	—	—	7½	6½

The Borough rate started at 11d. in the £ (1868).

The Paving rate from 1859 to 1871 stood at 2/8 in the £.

HISTORICAL POT-POURRI (1881 TO 1900).

1881. The Police Band formed.
1882. The Drainage of the Nar Valley begun.
1883. Weston, the celebrated pedestrian, passed through the town, when attempting to walk 5,000 miles in 100 days (15th Dec.).
1883. The Lynn Graving Dock Bill, which was opposed by the Dock Company, received the Royal Assent (20th Aug.).
1885. Festivities at Sandringham in connection with the coming of age of Prince Albert Victor. The town presented H.R. Highness with a facsimile of "King John's Cup" (6th Jan.).
1885. Messrs. Walker and Son, seed crushers, made a deed of assignment, as security for the payment of 10/- in the £ in two instalments (30th June).
1885. Drinking Fountain, Blackfriars' Road, erected in memory of the Rev. E. Valentine Richards, of South Wootton (11th July).
1885. Lord Randolph Churchill (19th Oct.) and Lord Charles Beresford (5th Dec.) addressed Conservative meetings.
1887. Mr. J. Rust appointed Grand-master of Manchester Unity of Odd-fellows (3rd May).
1887. Celebration of THE QUEEN'S Jubilee; the expenses (£500) met by subscriptions (21st June).
1887. King's Lynn Seed Crushing Company, Ltd., floated with a capital of £10,000.
1887. Sugars' Almshouses, Goodwin's Road, erected.
1888. Suspension of Messrs. Jarvis and Jarvis' bank (10th Nov.).
1888. Presentation of a silver model of the Grey Friars' Tower to the Prince and Princess of Wales in celebration of their silver wedding (10th March).
1889. Fever Hospital, Horsley's Chase, built.

1889. The Pilot Commissioners opposed the Dock Company in their movement to reduce the mooring dues upon vessels entering the Dock (18th Feb.). The Company agreed to charge 1d. per ton upon the cargo instead of the registered tonnage and that the maximum tonnage should not exceed 2s. per ton, upon the registered tonnage in any year. The Corporation decided not to oppose the Company's Bill in Parliament (28th Feb.).

1889. Agreed to wind up the affairs of the Seed Crushing Company, Ltd. (2nd April).

1890. In the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice, London, before Mr. Justice Sterling, a petition (unopposed) came on for hearing, in which the chairman of the King's Lynn Dock and Railway Company petitioned the Court to appoint a receiver and manager of the Company's undertaking. It was decided that the chairman of the Company should be appointed receiver and the joint manager, with the present manager (Mr. A. G. Russell).

1890. Sporting and Art Exhibition opened by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales accompanied by the Princess of Wales, and the Princesses Victoria and Maud (24th Nov.).

1891. The Quarter Sessions of Peace adjourned from Norwich to King's Lynn instead of Swaffham on and after the 1st of January.

1891. The Lynn Oil Cake Mill Company Limited, with capital of £50,000 formed to carry on the Dock Oil Mill.

1891. The Duke of Clarence and Avondale, accompanied by the Duke and Duchess of York and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, opened a Trades and Industrial Exhibition in St. James' Hall (14th Nov.).

1892. A new lifeboat, the *Abraham Thomas*, the gift of Mrs. Burch in memory of her late husband John Burch, was launched at Yarmouth (14th May).

1892. The statue of Frederick Savage, in the London Road, unveiled (27th May).

1893. A fearful storm swept the district; much property damaged and several vessels driven ashore (18th Nov.).

1894. A public meeting opposed the promotion of the Lynn Corporation Bill in Parliament (11th Jan.).

1894. Mr. F. Tullock held a public inquiry respecting the borrowing of £41,000 for sewerage, paving, and the making of a new road (19th Dec.).

1895. The inquiry continued (30th Jan.).

1896. At a special meeting of the South Lynn Vestry a resolution was passed, objecting to the application of the Town Council for the powers of the Vestry under the Local Government Act of 1894 (26th Feb.).

1896. Inquiry by a Local Government Inspector respecting an application to borrow £26,400 for purposes connected with the water supply (11th Aug.).

1896. It was decided to proceed with the bill for the proposed Harbour Conservancy Board (30th Oct.).

1897. "Diamond Jubilee Day." Special thanksgiving in St. Margaret's Church; old English sports: decorations, illuminations, and fireworks (22nd June).

1897. Memorial stone of the new ward for children at the Hospital laid by the mayor, S. A. Gurney, Esq. (22nd Sept.).

1897. Outbreak of typhoid fever occurred; it was attributed to the impurity of the water. Between 26th October and 18th December there were 440 cases, with 43 deaths.

1897. The sewerage works of the south district carried out.

1897. Local Government Board Inquiry, conducted by Mr. E. A. S. Fawcett, concerning an application for loans for electric lighting and improving the South Gates entrance to the town (7th Sept.).

1899. Col. Slack, R.N., Local Government Board Inspector, held an arbitration inquiry concerning a dispute between the County Council and the Corporation regarding the latter's claim for the maintenance of main roads (18th Jan.).

1899. It was agreed to pay Messrs. Scott and Son £400 for setting back their new premises in High Street (1st June).

1900. The assessment of Dock premises raised from £3,500 to £5,000 (15th March).

1900. Decided to make application to the Local Government Board for the transfer of the powers, duties, and liabilities of the overseers to the Town Council (12th Dec.).

SEVERE FROSTS

happened in January 1838, when many persons walked across the harbour; it was again frozen, so that ships were detained more than five weeks (January 1854). There were exceptional frosts October 21st to 25th 1859; September 11th and 12th 1860 and December 1861.

REMARKABLE TIDES

occurred the 22nd February 1853, when the bank at Magdalen gave way; also in November 1875, when the stability of Denver sluice was severely threatened. In 1883 four hundred acres belonging the Norfolk Estuary Company were flooded, as were many parts of the town; the water at the Dock sill registered 29 feet 11 inches; the tide entered St. Margaret's church during evening service (11th March). The bed of the river dry half across, there being only 6 inches of water at the Dock gauge (22nd February 1885). On the 14th March 1891, the morning tide registered only 14½ feet, whilst on the 11th the town was in places inundated, the water reaching 24¼ feet. The Nar overflowed and many streets were submerged (29th November, 1897).

FIRES.

- 1845. Francis Cresswell's stables, King's Staith (21st June).
- 1851. Uriah Giscard's cabinet-maker's shop, High Street, near the Grass market (24th June).
- 1857. Ellis' cork factory, Broad Street (June).
- 1860. Charles H. Marriott's oil mill, Baker Lane (22nd Aug.).
- 1880. Dock warehouse: £15,000 damage (15th Dec.).
- 1881. Messrs. Walkers' oil mill (2nd Aug.)
- 1882. Messrs. Jewells', High Street (21st Jan.).
- 1882. Messrs. Savages' ironworks (23rd April).
- 1884. Alfred Jermyn's drapery establishment (17th Dec.).
- 1885. James B. Rix's general shop, High Street (23rd Oct.).
- 1886. William Warnes' granary, King's Staith (31st May).
- 1887. Primitive Methodist Chapel (18th Dec.).
- 1889. Robert W. Fayers' workshop, Broad Street (7th May).
- 1890. William Jarvis' workshop, Friars Street (24th Oct.).
- 1892. Messrs. Bristow and Copley's sawmills, £2,000 (1st Nov.).
- 1894. The Corporation stables (24th May).
- 1897. Messrs. Jermyn and Perry's drapery establishment, £150,000 (27th Dec.).
- 1898. Messrs. Scott and Son's furniture warehouse (8th Dec.).
- 1899. Henry Leake's oil mill (7th Aug.).
- 1899. Thos. W. Hayes' cork cutting factory (14th Aug.).

ROYAL VISITS.

Accompanied by Sir Charles Phipps, C.B., Major-general the Hon. R. Bruce and Major Teasdale, his Royal Majesty Edward VII., when Prince of Wales, arrived at the Lynn Station at 12.15 p.m. on Monday the 3rd of February 1862, *en route* for Sandringham. He was met by the mayor, Lewis W. Jarvis, Esq., Thomas E. Bagge, Esq., whom his Royal Highness knew when a student at Cambridge,

and others. The object of the visit was the contemplated purchase of the Sandringham estate. After an inspection of the house and the surrounding district, and a brief interview with Mr. Janson, solicitor to the vendor, the Hon. Spencer Cowper, and Mr. White, solicitor to THE QUEEN and to the Duchy of Cornwall, his Royal Highness returned to London *viâ* Lynn.

The estate, which embraced the parishes of Sandringham, Babingley, Wolferton, Appleton, West Newton and considerable parts of Dersingham and Shernbourne—in all some 7,000 acres—was purchased; thus his Gracious Majesty Edward VII. has for many years been closely in touch with the borough.

Her Majesty the late QUEEN VICTORIA, passing through Lynn on her way to Sandringham, the 23rd of April 1889, was met at the station by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Prince Albert Victor, the mayor G. G. Sadler, Esq., and the members of the Corporation. The Lynn Rifle Volunteers formed a guard of honour. After a short delay THE QUEEN proceeded to Wolferton, where the members of the West Norfolk Hunt acted as escort to the royal residence. The road *en route* was lined with thousands of welcoming spectators.

* * * * *

Her Gracious Majesty THE QUEEN died the 22nd of January 1901, after a reign exceptional alike in length and prosperity. Truly indeed did the inhabitants of King's Lynn realise that a great and wise woman, *la vraie reine*—in the words of the Parisians, when contrasting the homely yet dignified Queen Victoria with the exquisite and beautiful Empress Eugénie—had passed from their midst. Silent, inexpressible grief, like a sombre cloud o'ershadowed the noble borough, that raised the ponderous portcullis and swung back its heavy iron-flanged gate to shelter King John when fleeing before a host of enraged barons; that befriended Queen Isabel in her retirement at Rising; that hospitably entertained King Edward when hotly pursued by the much-dreaded Earl of Warwick; that bravely defied the redoubtable enemies of the unfortunate King Charles, and—that ever in days gone by was wont to welcome its sovereign with exuberant liberality and extravagant splendour.

THE QUEEN OF QUEENS was dead! and the children of the nation mourned, for a Mother in Israel was taken from them. But realising how futile it would be "to persevere in obstinate condolence," the burgesses of "the royal borough" sternly repressed every demonstration of "obsequious sorrow," so that they might congratulate their friend and neighbour, the Squire of Sandringham, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who, crowned at Westminster Abbey, became, *Dei gratia*, the King of England (26th January 1901). The same day, "Edward, the son of her Majesty the late most gracious Queen Victoria," was publicly proclaimed at the Town Hall, the Walks Gates and the Tuesday market-place,*

* On the 13th of February 1901, the members of the Corporation took the Oath of Allegiance to the King, who was accorded a hearty "welcome home" on the 18th of April; the Lynn Volunteers constituting a guard of honour to Sandringham.

where, as with one voice, the burgesses reiterated the words of England's revered laureate:—

“Be THOU the King, and we will work thy will
Who love thee.”

Still “ancient and loyal” is the dear burgh, and though Ruin's ploughshare may obliterate every venerable landmark, and the restless fingers of un pitying Time pick the precious remnants of her antiquity to pieces; though buildings, unworthy the name, may desecrate the hallowed site, where the monastic cloister, the hall of the forgotten gild and the aisles of her early churches reared their sculptured walls; though the borough be bereaved of every vestige of mediæval grandeur, so that the burgesses are constrained to call her “ancient” no longer, yet will “loyalty” abide in the hearts of her children, who will ever be,

“As loyal to the SON as to the MOTHER.”



END OF PART I.

PART II.

DETACHED ESSAYS.

HISTORICAL ESSAYS.

CHAPTER XLV.

Saxon Charters.

IN the Muniment Room, are two remarkable documents, which claim consideration, although they have no historical connection with Lynn. We refer to a Saxon charter, recording in Anglo-Saxon various privileges bestowed by King Canute upon the monks of St. Edmund's Bury (*circa* 1021); and another in Latin, purporting to be a confirmation of the same, by his son King Hardicanute. The first, Kemble regarded suspiciously, and Hickes pronounced a decided forgery; whilst the late Charles W. Goodwin concluded it was unquestionably genuine, although the second he denounced as an ingenious fraud.* Assuming both to be spurious, does not detract from their historical significance, because it was not uncommon to duplicate and reduplicate important documents. Indeed, many of the Saxon charters in the Cottonian Library are well known to be copies only. As these charters relate to "Bury," and not to Lynn, the student naturally inquires how they came into the hands of the present possessors.

It has been suggested, that these charters were accidentally included with the title-deeds of property at Brandon, bought by our Corporation. Brandon, in the hundred of Lackford, formed part of the liberty of St. Edmunds and belonged to the Bury Abbey. Endorsements upon these parchments, are believed to prove, they were at Bury, as late as 1536. Particulars, however, of the purchased estate, said to have been re-sold, we have failed to obtain.

In 1327, the townsmen of Bury rose against the monks. Houses were burnt, and the abbey was plundered—the rioters carrying off not merely treasures of inestimable value, but "divers charters, writings and muniments, as, three charters of King Canute, four charters of King Hardicanute, one charter of King Edward the Confessor, two charters of Henry the First, and other two charters of Henry the Third, which charters concerned as well the foundation of the same Abbey as the grants and confirmations of the possessions and liberties thereto belonging" (Weever). Thus, in one day twelve charters were lost!

Either the eleventh-century charters, we possess, belong, or not, to the series stolen in 1327. If stolen, they probably drifted hither and thither, like the State Seal of France (mentioned elsewhere), which was used, in an Essex village, as a 2 lb. weight. Possibly they were conveyed to Lynn by John (of) Lynne—a "feodarius," whose seal is in the British Museum, and who held lands, belonging

* See *Norfolk Archaeologia*, vol. iv., p. 93.

to the Abbey at Bury in 1419. Assuming the charters were not stolen, but *were* at Bury in 1536, there is the remote chance of their being handed over with the title deeds of certain properties in Brandon Ferry, which were granted to the borough at the dissolution of the gilds (1549).^{*} Of the estates belonging to the gild of the Holy Trinity, Edward VI. bestowed upon the burgesses "one messuage called the *Chequers*, with two acres of land thereto belonging; and another messuage called *Peppers*" [query: bequeathed to the gild by Edmund *Peppyr* of Lynn, who died in 1483, or one of his family], "with two acres thereunto adjoining; 120 acres of arable land, 3 acres of pasture, and the liberty of a fold for 340 sheep and the rent of 21 pence per annum in Brandon Ferry in the tenure of John Atmere." There was formerly an old inn at Brandon known as the *Chequers*, and a tumulus, a mile north of the town, is still known as *Pepper's Hill*.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Common and Ferry Rights.

Ten centuries ago "South Lynn" was quite unknown as the wonderful country so vividly described by Sir Thomas More. The area within the prescribed bounds of "the Parish of South Lynn All Saints" existed, of course, but was included in the *Linn*—a vague and somewhat indefinite term applied to the north-eastern corner of a vast triangular fenland. Not until the end of the 13th century is there any mention of *South Linn*, and then the name is applicable not to a town or township in its modern interpretation, but to an enclosed settlement or farmstead, around which as a centre others had perhaps sprung up.

In 1085 this district, as may be learnt from the Domesday Survey, was held by a Norman baron, named Ralf de Tony (or Toden), who, on the death of Roger de Tony, became the Norman standard-bearer, for the office was hereditary. On landing at Pevensey, Ralf voluntarily resigned this important position, preferring to take a more active part in the coming fray. After the victory at Hastings his disinterested valour was not forgotten (1066). The grateful Conqueror rewarded him with many "townships" in Berkshire, Hertfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and also with twenty in Norfolk. The whole, valued at £60 rs., included this part of the Linn, previously held by Harold, the unfortunate Earl of Norfolk, who ascended the throne and was soon afterwards slain by the invaders.

The whole country, according to

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

which William the Conqueror more thoroughly developed, was vested in the King, and thus it remains to this day; but his subjects, as tenants of the Crown, were bound to perform certain clearly-defined

^{*} With a bundle of old deeds, in a country house in Monmouthshire, was an Elizabethan copy of a long-lost charter, granted to the borough of Newport in 1477. The discovery was made by Mr. Hobson Matthews, the county archivist (1905).

services for the land they enjoyed. Fighting in time of war was considered a most honourable privilege; military service of this kind was termed *free*. But what was equally as important—the ploughing of land, the raising of banks and the planting of hedges—was regarded as an inferior and degrading occupation. Service of an agricultural nature was therefore called *base*.

Ignoring the confusing grades into which different writers have divided the tillers of the soil, it may perhaps be sufficient if we consider the various means by which property could be acquired under this system. There were four ways, each dependent upon services rendered:—

(1) By services *free* (honourable) and uncertain, as tenure by military or knight service whenever required. Subject to this, Ralf de Tony and the other proprietary usurpers retained their extensive “townships.”

(2) By services *free* and certain; known as free socage. Under this heading may be placed the five socmen who held 80 acres in this part of the Linn, and who, though perhaps not required to fight, paid rent as subtenants to Ralf, the tenant *in capite*.

(3) By services *base* (inferior) and certain—that is, tenure in villenage socage. Five bordarers, or free labourers, are mentioned in connection with the Linn; they were in a somewhat servile condition, though far superior socially to the ordinary serfs; they were allowed a cottage or *bord* and a small piece of land, for which, in lieu of rent, they were bound to supply their lord and his family with poultry, eggs and other provisions.

(4) By services *base* and uncertain—villenage or serfdom pure and simple. Of the number of serfs, who were as much annexed to the township as the rude huts in which they herded, no notice is taken. They were the lord's chattels, and as such could be sold, if he were thus disposed.

Mention is also made in the Domesday Book of five salt-pans (*salinae*) and two carucates or plough-lands, being in Ralf de Tony's lordship. Maitland estimates a carucate in this part of the kingdom at 120 acres. Each carucate was taxed at 5s., for which the lord was responsible, whether he could get it from his tenant or not (1198).

In process of time, the humblest cultivator gained a fixed title to portions of the manor, and, though sprung from a servile stock, he acquired the title of “copyholder,” and was practically a freeman, though on a smaller scale. To the primitive copyholders the lord of the manor granted

(1) “COMMON RIGHTS,”

which might be for the rendering of some slight service, subsequently remitted. Although the tenant had no right to the soil as soil, yet he could graze his cattle upon the waste or unploughed stretches which then abounded. After the 14th century villenage ceased almost to exist, but to the small nucleated village just merging from the thralldom of feudalism, the common lands constituted an important adjunct. From a parchment roll *circa* Edward II. some

nction may be gained of the services the early "common righters" were compelled to render. This is the transcript:—

There belongs to the manor [of Grimston] a profit called *lovebene*, to wit, that all the residents in Grimston, having horses with a cart, shall work for the lord, for the redeeming of the common of Grimston, one day's journey of barley-seed time, and he shall have for his breakfast one penny half-penny; and all keeping cows on the common shall do a day's work in harvest, and at 3 o'clock they shall have flesh to eat and ale to drink, and three loaves every evening, and if they refuse then it shall be lawful to distrain on this said common, &c.,—but Sir Robert de Montealto, the prior of Westacre, the Lady de Thorny, Nicholas Norman, Agnes Waceneys, Richard Beneyt, the tenants of the messuage of John Spylm—, Herbert de Bumpstead, Robert de Berton, Walter Oldman, John Skot, Sir Ralph de Botiler, Roger Skot, shall not do the day's work in barley-seed time nor the day's work in harvest, because their tenants work for them; and likewise that no man sell the common of Grimston to strangers, without leave of the said [Sir] Benedict de Breccles [lord of the manor] and his heirs, and if any strangers in Congham, or in any village is willing to have common in Grimston, he shall do the work as the others do. (Blomefield.)

In the parish of South Lynn All Saints there is a small "common" which has doubtless suffered considerably through the various unrecorded encroachments of private individuals. For the following facts we are indebted to the churchwardens' accounts—vol. I. (1605—1677), vol. II. (1677—1731), vol. III. (1731—1784), and vol. IV. (1784—1873), and also to a pocket note-book containing extracts from the churchwardens' accounts and the overseers' books, etc. This manuscript, which belonged at one time to the Rev. Thomas B. Greaves, is now in the possession of the present rector.

That the management of the common was at no distant date the prerogative of

THE VESTRY,

a meeting of the inhabitants of the parish, at which the vicar or his deputy presided, is conclusive.

Two pinners, pinders, or pounders, were chosen at the usual vestry meeting on Easter Tuesday to take charge of the cattle and "to see the order of the common kept and observed." This is apparent by the wardens' entries in 1612, 1613, 1615, 1616, etc. The pinders were regarded as parish officials, and any neglect of duty was reported at the annual assembly. "The terms of the pindership [are] to be the same as in the old book put away in the box of the parish," that is, each parishioner grazing cattle on the common was to pay the pinders 2 pence per week, and every stranger using this privilege 4 pence (1676).

The Right of Common is defined as the *right* of taking a profit in the land of another, in *common* with others,—sometimes, it might be, to the exclusion of the owner. The Vestry, however, in 1636, offered no objection to any parishioner taking away clay from the common, provided it was used in the parish; but in the case of strangers, (and this, of course, referred to the burgesses of King's Lynn,) four pence was to be paid for every load carted therefrom, and as much earth brought back to make good the waste. John Dawson, who was appointed to collect the fees, was ordered to put them into "the poor man's box for the use of the poor." For refer-

ence the churchwardens compiled a list of those to whom commonable rights belonged. It covers 82 years (1695-1777), and contains not only the owners of property, but their successive tenants. As there were no streets with specific names, the houses are stated to be either in the north, east, south or west. Among the fifty tenements four ale-houses are conspicuous—the *Goat* and the *Fleece* in the east, the *Lattice* (subsequently the *Chequers*) in the north, * and the *Eight Bells*, afterwards the *Hawk* in the south.

Although regulations for agistment were from time to time devised by the townsmen in vestry assembled, yet dissatisfaction was often expressed because of the encroachment and wrong-doing of certain "common righters." For instance, in 1628 it was arranged that in future a householder might put five sheep, or one horse, or "one coue beaste," and no more, upon the common; and that if he infringed this rule, the pinners were to demand a fine of 2d. from him, and 4d. from each stranger per week for every infringement. This was reënforced in 1679, and the pinners were strictly ordered to permit no sheep to graze upon Cooke's bank, nor any other part of the common. Twelve years later strangers were again grazing cattle to the detriment of those possessing the "right of common," and some of the parishioners were taking other than a just and equitable share of the pasturage. The pinners, were, therefore, instructed to charge 4d. for every horse or bullock whose owner had no right, and to demand a similar payment of every "common-righter" who put on more than one. Again in 1695 complaint was made that some parishioners were grazing as many as nine head of cattle by virtue of one "commonable house." To adjust matters, the vestry passed a resolution that although "the auncient and vsual custome [was] for noe parishioner to keep above one beast," yet a parishioner might hire "one beaste comon besides." The pinner was requested to impound cattle if necessary, and to take action, the parish pledging itself to "keep him indemnified." The old pound stood near a large plantation at the corner of "Pound lane," now known as Gladstone road, where the *Scotch Grey* now stands.

Occasional bickering was caused by the arbitrary letting or selling of "rights." The vestry, therefore, ordained that no parishioner should let or dispose of his right of commonage to any who were not inhabitants of the parish, and that the pinners should "proceed to act as the law in that behalf has provided" against any who "presume" to let their right to any who were not inhabitants of the parish. (5th April 1681.)

Common pasture lands were generally over-stocked, partly in consequence of persons turning out more stock than they had a right to do, and partly by persons putting their stock on the common who had no right whatever to do so. The opinion of competent judges that very great advantages would result from the general inclosure and allotment of commons, or part of them, for purposes of

* See footnote, p. 491.

cultivation, led to the passing of the Inclosure Acts (1836 and 1845). And though numerous encroachments must have been made, yet is there no record in the "accounts" before us of any Inclosure Act affecting this parish. It would be interesting to learn when and why the parish ceded the management (if not the ownership) of the common to a few individuals. One or two instances may be cited to shew how zealously in days gone by the parishioners as a body guarded their rights.

The common abutted upon land belonging to the Mayor and Burgesses of King's Lynn, and through their negligence "the poor received little or no benefit for many years." This statement appearing too indefinite, it is amended by the foot-note:—"Less for 38 years to the poor," that is, from 1631 to 1669. The strip of land was 480 feet long from east to west, and 60 feet broad from north to south; it abutted upon land belonging to the Corporation on the *south*, upon the Whitefriars' fleet on the *north*, upon the highway (Friars Street) leading to the South Gates upon the *east*, and upon a common way leading to the Whitefriars on the *west*. The Whitefriars' fleet, with whalers, keels and lighters flowed along Bird Cage Walk and emptied itself into the Nar, near Mr. R. F. Springall's saw mill. This fleet, mentioned as late as 1694, and the strip of land are marked on Richards' map (1812).

Now the boundary wall separating the Corporation and Parochial estates had fallen down, and instead of having it repaired, the Mayor and Burgesses allowed their tenant to temporarily block up the gap with whins and faggots. Subsequently, the stones, etc., were carted away, so that nothing remained but the foundation of this boundary. "Their action," the writer asserts, "is yet in the memory of some;" therefore the vestry, determined upon recovering "their just rytes," requested their neighbours the Corporation of King's Lynn to allow rent for what the parish had lost, the land being then let to Philip Moore, a ship-carpenter, at the nominal rent of 30s. a year. The vestry moreover insisted upon the rebuilding of the wall, so that the common might be again profitable to the poor. The discovery of this unjust encroachment was through "walking the bounds," hence the effete custom was revived. But as the annual expenditure absorbed the whole of the rent, it was decided to "perambulate," once in two or even three years (1675). The terrier for 1709 contains no reference to this plot, beside the old fleet.

The accounts for 1747-8 shew a payment of 1s. 9d. for the cutting down of the weeds on the common.

There is evidence that in early times the extensive tract of grazing land, liberally allotted to the copyright tenant, extended westward, beyond the Nar or Sandringham Ea. In all likelihood the Friars field was also used for this purpose, not only before the erection of the convent of the Whitefriars in the 13th century, but also after its dissolution. At a meeting of the two parishes on the 10th of April 1714, convened to settle certain grievances, the Mayor and Burgesses having agreed to keep in repair the bank of the Sandringham Ea, from the foot of the Long bridge, near our Gas-works, to a

stile or gate to the southward, "being the bounds of their pasture lying on the west side of the Sandringham Ea, next the piece of common ground over the Long bridge," the inhabitants of the parish of South Lynn determined to disclaim all manner of right, title, liberty and pretence whatever to feed or depasturing of any sheep or great cattle, or other use or benefit of the ground called "the Friars," except the use of a footpath across the field.

Stephen Allen, a Lynn wine-merchant, living opposite the western entrance of St. Margaret's church, seems to have caused the parish trouble. At a special parish meeting the 5th of October 1749, amongst other matters, it was agreed that a lease of the right of common in South Lynn granted to Stephen Allen for 99 years should be cancelled as illegal, the said Stephen Allen being asked to make his agreement, if he were desirous of retaining possession of the land, with the parishioners. No mention is made of those who granted the lease. This resolution, copied from the overseers' book, bears the signatures of ten parishioners. The following year (April 16th) Stephen Allen received notice to remove a lime-kiln which he had established on the common, and which, being near the high road, was a great nuisance. At the same time Thomas Swanson was ordered to pull down the shed he had erected, which was then in the occupation of Stephen Allen. "And if the nuisance be not removed within two months from this time," the minute goes on, "indictments (shall) be preferred against Mr. Allen for the same. Or that the churchwardens, overseers of the poor and surveyors of the highways of the said parish do pull down the said nuisances, and we do agree that they shall be supported therein at the expense of the parish." Thereafter are seven signatures. [MS. pocket-book.]

On the 26th June 1754 it was decided that action should be taken against John Paine, who had placed a quantity of wood and whin faggots on the common, and who refused to pay the usual "groundage" of four pence a load. There is an entry dated 19th of April 1756, confirming the receipt of £2 6s. 8d. for the laying of timber at the South Gates.

PRESENT MANAGEMENT.

Our so-called "common" comprises three detached pieces—a field near the site of the Old Toll-bar, 2 acres 10 poles, let to the late Mr. G. Hildon for grazing purposes; a pasture of 6 acres 20 poles on the left bank of the Nar, let to Mr. J. Gore; and a small plot opposite the Gas-works, on the right bank, now in the occupation of the Gas Company. There are about forty "common righters," and the houses to which these rights belong are, as might be expected, situated beside what was once the village street, which led through the thinly-inhabited district of South Lynn to the populous town beyond—along what we now term Southgate Street, Friars Street, All Saints Street, and Bridge Street. The huts of unbaked clay and thatch in course of time gave place to more substantial and artistic buildings, but the old rights were by no means extinguished. They exist in a modified form to-day. The "common righters" choose

five of their number to conduct their business, and a "collector" is also appointed to receive the rents. The land is let without the intervention of the vestry, and the money, we believe, is annually shared, as per assessment, among those who either own houses to which these ancient rights accrue, or those who, having retained their commonable rights, have disposed of their houses. Some three or four years ago advice was sought as to the practicability of selling the common lands. The "righters" were told they could not do so.

By virtue of one or other of the local Turnpike Acts (1765, 1786, 1806-7 and 1823,) relating to the making of a new road from Lynn to Wisbech, the Turnpike Commissioners acquired a small plot of the common land, whereon they erected a toll-bar. This plot was sold when the highways were taken over by the County Council. After passing through two or three hands, it was purchased by the trustees of the Union Chapel, who built thereon a commodious and graceful place of worship (1900).

The origin of (2) "FERRY RIGHTS"

is simple. The owner of a rude coracle, in the first instance, obligingly rowed friendly natives across the stream, and received for his trouble acknowledgments in kind—a herring, a slice of flesh or a handful of corn. The son assisted the father during life, and succeeded him at death. As the number of inhabitants at the water-side increased, the precariousness of the boatman's livelihood diminished. In course of time, the descendant of the primitive boatman, now seldom "in want of a fare," acquired a species of property, termed "right of ferry," which was conveyed from one person to another, just as if it were land.

The first mention of a ferry occurs in 1285-6, when "a deed of gift and conveyance in fee-farm for ever" was executed, by means of which "one carrying boat for (the) passage of the water of Lenne called the *Ferye*, * with all the liberty or right pertaining to (the) same vessel," was conveyed by Philip Peyteyn and his wife Agnes of West Lenn to John Ode, a burgess of Bishop's Lenn, for 40 silver marks and a yearly rent of a clove. The document was drafted by John the (town) clerk, and was witnessed by the mayor Adam de St. Edmund and others. The rights in the "ferry-boat of Lenn ferry," once enjoyed by Synon de Waynfleth, were conveyed by John Costantyn to burgess John Quytlock and his wife Isabel, their heirs and assigns, in consideration of a payment in silver. Among the witnesses are Hugh de Massingham, the mayor, and Thomas de Grangia, the bishop's steward (1296-7). In 1313, the same privileges were in the hands of John de Sissewell of St. Peter's, West Lenne. Again, John Ode transferred ferry rights (at one time belonging to William the son of Goodwin Anger de Lenn) to John de Welle, a comburgess. This, too, was witnessed by the mayor Hugh de Massingham, the town clerk John de Bauseye, etc. (1297). But John Constantyn conveyed similar rights the same year; therefore, during the 13th century, there were two, if not more, passages across the haven. Moreover, Alan,

* *Ferry*, from the Anglo-Saxon *faran* to go; Middle English *ferien*, to convey across.

a son of John Codling of West Lenne, sold his ferry rights to Alan de Lindesey of Bishop's Lenne, who, for certain considerations, released them to William de Gousele, described as a *farriar* [query : *ferrier*] of West Lenne (1300).

The Trinity Gild acquired ferry rights (1392), and accounted for the income arising therefrom (1423). In 1399, Thomas Outlawe paid the gild-brethren of Corpus Christi, 13s. 4d. for the right of a little ferry-boat; and a descendant, it may be Sir Adam Outlawe—the priest at St. Peter's church, West Lenne, bequeathed two ferry rights to Thomas Tyard—one at the Cowgate (Common Staith), and the other at the Purfleet (1501).

The right of transporting goods and passengers from one side of the river to the other, so long in private hands, was doomed, for the Corporation, disregarding personal ownership and assuming an exclusive privilege, granted to John Bird, a seven-year lease of the income arising therefrom upon two conditions—a payment of £10 per annum to the borough fund, and a yearly present of a brace of well-fatted swans to the mayor (1649).^{*} The ferry-man, it may be, experienced difficulty in carrying out the second proviso, because the Council subsequently instructed the chamberlain to pay the mayor 40s. every new year's day, in lieu of the delicious perquisite, which ought to have been provided by the lessee (1657).

During the 18th century, two lines of boats plied between Cowgate (Ferry Street), leading towards the Common Staith, and between Purfleet (King's Lynn) and Purfleet (West Lynn). At present there is one passage, the rights of which (constituting the most remunerative of the town's possessions) were let in 1850 for £370; 1851 for £400 (Messrs. Peto and Betts); 1869 for £180; 1872 for £210; and 1902 for £200 (Mr. A. Green).

In connection with the Ferry serious accidents have happened. Eighteen persons were drowned at the Common Staith ferry (1630); the boat, fouling a cable, was upset, when twenty-two met a like fate; of the eight saved, four were rescued by John Price, a sailor (March 1796); moreover nine or ten were lost through overcrowding (October 1811).

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Freedom of the Borough.

There is in the Town Library a manuscript volume, entitled—*Freeman: Bishop's Lyn 1452 to 1523: King's Lyn 1523 to 1772*. This, an almost complete list of the Freemen of the Borough, was compiled in 1772, continued by the same hand to 1779, and by different hands to 1865.

A synopsis gives a grand total of 5,628.

^{*} A manuscript in the possession of the late A. H. Swatman, entitled *The laws, orders and customs for swans taken forth of A Booke which ye Lord Buckhurst deliver'd to Edward Clark of Lyncestre's Inn to revise: Anno Elizabethæ 26^o (1584)*, refers to the district watered by the Nar, Ouse and Nene. Sir Henry Spelman says the Cāyster, of which Ovid speaks, was not more famous for the song of swans than the gentle flowing waters of the Ouse.

Entries.	Number of Freemen.	
	Paying fine.	Gratis.
From 1452 to 1552, i.e. 100 years.	1,000	0
1553 to 1615 „ 62 „	1,003	31
1615 to 1675 „ 60 „	1,054	128
1675 to 1722 „ 47 „	1,000	186
1722 to 1774 „ 52 „	614	72
1774 to 1821 „ 47 „	527	67
Total 368 „	5,198	484

In the year 1722,

THE PRIVILEGES

of the free burgess are thus set forth:—

He may buy and sell with any man that is not free, by which means his goods and merchandise, sold and bought within the precincts of the Liberties of the Borough, are not liable to forfeiture, or seizable by the officer appointed to seize all goods foreign bought or foreign sold.

A freeman saves in buying coals of a stranger who is not free 12 pence or 18 pence in every chaldron.

He makes all his men-servants, bound by Indenture and serving seven years, free.

He hath a right to have all his sons taught gratis at the Free School (Grammar School) in Lyn, if they be first taught the (Latin) accidence.

He is free of toll for all his goods and merchandise, conveyed out of the Gates or Town Liberties by water.

The eldest son of a Freeman by custom may claim a right to the freedom of the Town after his father's death, provided he was born after his father was made free, otherways his claim is not good; but it hath been adjudged the right and patrimony to that son born after his father took up his freedom. And there are precedents for it, as for example—Stephen Thacker, butcher, before he purchased his freedom had many sons born, and after his death there was a dispute (as to) which of them should inherit the father's freedom; and after a due deliberation of the matter the Hall came to this conclusion that his youngest son, Samuel Thacker, butcher, had most right to it, being the next son, born after his father was made free. The same Samuel Thacker was admitted upon that account in the mayoralty of Thomas Robinson, 1667.

Notwithstanding the before-mentioned claims of Freedom, yet none can be made free but by the vote of the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, or the majority of them.

And there are precedents that some freedoms have been granted conditionally, as for example—4th September, 1612, Dr. Augustine Steward, physician, was made free, gratis with the proviso, that he shall not by that grant claim to make his son or servant free, otherwise than it shall agree hereafter with the liking of the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council. Also Anthony Peters was made free with the like caution, 22nd September, 1615.

A freeman has a propriety to a grant of Sir Thomas White's gifts, being twenty-five pounds to trade with ten years, without paying interest or loan for the same; provided he be a person of honest name and fame, and also be an inhabitant during the said term of ten years.

A freeman is capacitated to have lent him the gift of Mr. John Crane, which is twenty pounds for twenty years, without paying interest or loan, if he be of good name or fame.

A freeman that keeps Lyn Mart pays but 6 pence a foot for groundage; an unfreeman 12 pence a foot.

A freeman pays not so much as an unfreeman to the sworn porters, for measuring corn or seed, or meting of coals or salt, or for the weighing of Scotch coals or Welch coals, or iron.

The coopers that are freemen have a privilege of working in the Mart-yard during the Mart, in opening and heading all herring casks, which an unfreeman hath not.

A freeman pays not so much by 10 pence in every arrest to the sergeant, as an unfreeman doth.

The mayor, yearly at the beginning of his office, appoints two persons of judgment and integrity to be dealers of leather, and preferreth freemen to others.

A freeman pays but half as much as an unfreeman for all his goods and merchandise landed at any of the public wharves. (See *Hall Books* about wharfrage; 19th August, 1639.) It may be judged what a freeman saveth by what an unfreeman pays in the duty of Lastage, viz., every merchant, not free of Lyn or London who shall transport corn or seed to any part within England, shall pay for every last exported beyond the seas 20 pence; and for every last exported by a freeman in a bottom, foreign either to any part within England or over seas 10 pence.

A freeman may be elected a Burgess to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Lyn-Regis, if duly qualified. A freeman, moreover, has a vote in the election of two burgesses to serve in Parliament (1772) for the Borough of King's Lyn,

A freeman may be elected a Common Council man.

Formerly some freemen by *virtue of their vote* have had the benefit of drawing wine and beer at an election, but now it is prohibited by act of parliament. (7th William iii., c. 4; f. 1.)

No unfreeman can execute the office of constable of the borough.

There are other privileges, but these are the most material.

No tolls or customs shall be taken of any Archbishop, Bishop, Earl, Baron, Knight, or any person of religion, Deans, Prebendaries, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Deacons, Clerks or Ministers of the Church. (1772.)

HOW OBTAINED.

"Sometimes," as Mrs. A. S. Green observes, "a borough threw its gates wide open and welcomed any new comer who would but choose one of the half-dozen avenues to citizenship that lay before him,—who would buy land, or marry a free woman, or pay the fixed price for his freedom, or serve his apprenticeship to a trade, or accept the franchise as a gift from the community; while a neighbouring town, looking on aliens with jealousy and hesitation, would close its doors and cling to some narrower system of enfranchisement which kept its ranks pure from foreign blood and its burghers free from anxieties of competition. Each community in fact had full liberty to order its own political experiment."

Although there were exceptions, the freedom of Lynn was obtained principally in four ways:—

1. *By purchase*, the *fine* or fee being arbitrarily fixed by the Assembly, who generally made a good bargain; £10, £20, £100, etc., were demanded. Sometimes a smaller sum was acceptable, as in the case of Adam Brethitt, who was asked to pay £1; as he did not possess the amount, it was ordered to be "worked out in iron work for the Mayor and burgesses."

2. *By a grant from the Mayor*, the fine being in this case wholly or partially excused. Robert Cauntoff was one of those lucky individuals, who by "the grace and favour of this House, to gratify Mr.

Mayor, had the freedom of the town bestowed on him without any fine (to) pay, 1634." Sir Thomas Southwell, knight, vice-admiral of the County of Norfolk, was made free at his own request in 1623, and so too was the Right Hon. William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in 1649, and many others, well able to pay. We cannot, however, suppose these to be cases of "free gratis all for nothing." Like Master Brethitt, they perhaps "worked it out" in some way or other.

3. By *Patrimony*. The son of a freeman, born first after the father obtained his freedom, could claim the remission of the fine. The authorities were, however, liable to make mistakes, as in the case of a merchant, Alexander Hall. Though well known to be the son of a freeman, they demanded £2. "He challenged not the same," but paid the money.

4. By *Indenture or Apprenticeship*. The freedom was granted, without the enforcement of a fine, to those who served seven years under a freeman, in learning a trade. The indentures had to be submitted to the Town Clerk, before the term of apprenticeship commenced. The name of the future applicant was recorded in the town register, and the deed was endorsed and signed by the clerk.

Strange entries occasionally appear. Sometimes the payment was in kind rather than in money, or it was given freely for benefits conferred. In 1521 Christopher Coo received the freedom of the burgh "for vij hogges heddi vini," that is for seven hogsheads of wine in lieu of a payment of £5. Thirty years later Thomas Sandyll was excused a like sum in consideration of two chaldron of coals for the use of the poor. Henry Morgan was charged £20, but £16 13s. 4d. was remitted because he agreed to bring for five consecutive years "one keales loading of chingle" for the use of the town (1657). The next year a butcher, one Robert Hancock, who belonged to the Company of Smiths, was presented with the freedom of the burgh, because he was a good farrier and the town at that period was greatly in need of such a craftsman. David Stone, a poor cordwainer, with a heavy domestic millstone round his neck in the shape of an expensive wife and several children, was treated with similar leniency (1658); whilst for a payment of £5 a foreigner named Humphrey Farambye was permitted to trade as a merchant, and, though unquestionably in better circumstances, the payment was excused until Michaelmas because he married "the wife of a Burgess (or freeman) of this town" (1583).

In the early times the freed man was compelled not merely to bear a share of the burden of local taxation, but to reside in the burgh, so that he might be ready, if occasion required, to defend the place against strangers and aliens. The land, house or goods he might possess were regarded as security for the payment of his taxes, etc. His freedom, though hard to obtain, could be easily lost. It might be forfeited in many ways, as for example, by neglecting to appear occasionally at the burgh mote or borough-court to establish his presence—an absence of one year and one day being considered sufficient cause for forfeiture. He was bound by oath to be loyal to the Mayor, and to be ever ready to assist him in maintaining peace.

On no account must he divulge any municipal secret or betray confidences, or expose either the poverty or the defenceless state of the community. If, moreover, he so far forgot himself as to help a foreigner, stranger or non-burgess by buying or selling goods for him under his own name, he forthwith sacrificed his freedom, and was degraded to the rank of an abject inferior. Disloyal in word or deed, his name was erased from the bailiff's book, the bellman paraded the streets announcing the fact, and a record thereof was painted upon the board or table of the disenfranchised, publicly exhibited in the Gild Hall.

THE OATH.

The form of oath administered upon admission to the freedom of the town has not altered materially during the past five hundred years.

In the 14th century, it ran thus :—

This hear ye, Mayor and Commons, that A—B—the franchise of Lenn shall truly maintain over all, without and within, by all my power and *buxom* (obedient) be to the Mayor and successors, Mayors ; and the council of this town truly *helen* (help) ; and *buxom* be to the officers of the same town in doing of her office (in the discharge of their duties). So God me help, at the holy doom.

In 1737 and 1812 :—

The Burgh of King's Lynn in the County of Norfolk. I, A—B—the franchise of this town of Lyn shall truly maintain to my power, as well without as within, and obedient be to you Mr. Mayor and to your successors, Mayors of Lyn ; and to be aiding and assisting to the officers of the town in doing their office as need shall require, and the counsel of this town truly keep, and that I shall colour no bargain or sale contrary to the privilege thereof, and that I shall all other things do that belong to a burgess to do. So help me, God.

Here is a copy of a

BURGESS' LETTER (1812).

As a specimen of typography, it must, we fear, at least try the patience of the experienced twentieth century "typo."

BOROUGH OF KING'S LYNN in the County of NORFOLK

THESE are to signify and declare THAT A—B—is a Free Burgess of the said Borough and is so registered in the Guild Hall Book of the Mayor and Burgesses there : THEREFORE he is, and ought to be, quit and free, in all Places of this Kingdom as well by Land as by Sea, of and from all Tolls, Lastage, Payage, Passage, Pontage, Stallage, Danegeld, and all other Customs whatsoever, for all his Goods and Chattels, according as the Charter of the Most Noble KING JOHN granted to the Burgesses of the said Borough on the Fourteenth Day of September in the Sixth Year of his Reign, doth testify (saving the Liberty of the City of London) : By which Charter (among divers other Grants and Liberties) it is prohibited that none do Injury, Damage, or Molestation to, or take any Toll or Custom of, the said Burgess contrary to the said Charter, under divers Forfeitures and Penalties therein contained : Which Charter hath been often confirmed by divers Kings and Queens of this Realm.

GIVEN under the seal of Office of Majoralty of the said Borough the Day of in the year of our Lord, one Thousand eight hundred and

In the usual way would-be freemen were expected to pay the following fees before taking the oath : To the Mayoress 12 pence ; fo

the swordbearer 7 pence; to the sergeant, and bellman or gaoler 5 pence; to the poor's purse 12 pence; to the prisoners 4 pence, and the town clerk 12 pence. Having settled the preliminary payments, there remained other little items, to wit, the cost of the burgess' letter 3s. 4d.; to the mayor for appending the municipal seal 1s. 8d.; to the town clerk for administering the oath 1s. 8d.; for a copy of the oath 4 pence, and for the stamp 6 pence.

In 1684 none were regarded as suitable candidates unless they had taken the sacrament during the preceding year.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

Taxation and representation, as we are taught, should go hand in hand; either should invariably be accompanied by the other. Representation in bygone days was notwithstanding considered the indisputable right of an affluent few, whilst oppressive taxation was the birthright of the masses. Occasionally the privilege of voting was accorded them, but as often as not withheld. The people's right was finally challenged after the Restoration (16th April 1660). Yielding to popular feeling the Corporation never afterwards ventured to object to freemen having a finger in the municipal pie; but more than this, they did their best to make every freeman a contented and tractable Jack Horner, whose sole political aim was to vote as "his betters" directed,

To pull out a plum

And to say, "What a good boy am I."

Batches of freemen were made exclusively for partisan purposes on the eve of many an election, and prior to the introduction of the ballot-box, an indispensable feature in our present elections, herds of "dumb, driven cattle," stifling their consciences, tremblingly recorded their votes under the scrutiny of their employers, whilst "the hero in the strife," if perchance there were one, might assuredly set out on the morrow to seek "fresh woods and pastures new."

One incident will suffice. Just before the contest between Sir W. J. M. B. Ffolkes and Colonel Walpole in June 1832, a full Hall was hastily summoned, and "no less than 51 amenable young men, all having promised, under the influence of other high caste promises, to do their duty in the right way, were admitted to the great privilege conferred by the burgess' letter. They did the duty assigned and poor Sir William Ffolkes was stumped accordingly." (Wm. Armes.)

OLD THINGS PASSED AWAY.

During the 13th century the right of self-government was bestowed upon the majority of towns having any pretension to what was then considered greatness. At last, however, these concessions ceased, not because of the reluctance of the king to bestow further privileges, but because no important unenfranchised towns existed. And whilst the qualifications of members for the county, and the mode of their election were duly settled by law, the boroughs were allowed a free hand, not only in determining the necessary qualifications but the form their elections should take. When in 1835, just prior to the passing of the Municipal Reform Bill, the Commissioners were deputed to

inquire into the various forms of local self-government adopted by the English boroughs, few indeed retained traces of ancient custom and tradition. King's Lynn was, it appears, a marvellous exception. Our Corporation then formed an imposing civic body, comprising as it did, a mayor, a recorder, aldermen, common councilmen, a town clerk, a town chamberlain, a town crier, a mayor's beadle, a governor's beadle, four sergeants-at-mace, a town gaoler, a water-bailiff, the waits or town band, and on state occasions a dozen grotesque javelin men, whose special duty was the guardianship of the mart or great annual fair.

The great social distinctions, which engendered so much illfeeling in the hearts of the townsfolk, have passed away, whilst the great brotherhood of man is more and more recognised. The voter's qualification does not depend entirely on the property he possesses, nor on the "freedom of the borough" which he may have purchased or otherwise acquired; and the unrepresented taxpayers, a great proportion of the inhabitants—the "burgesses at large"—no longer exist. The *Parliamentary Register* (January 1st, 1899), however, smacks of the old days, for it records the names of the last of the so-called "Freemen":—

Bullen, Thomas	Boal Street
Frost, Charles	Guanock Terrace
Green, Thomas	Gaywood Road
Green, Henry	9, Windsor Road
Simms, John	28, North Everard
Raven	Street

In 1837 there were 248 freemen, in 1890 nearly 100, in 1899 there were only 5, and now Charles Frost alone remains (1906).

Owing to the upward trend of democratic principles, it is now comparatively easy to participate in parliamentary, municipal and parochial elections. We are notwithstanding even now in a transitional state, and to our present social condition the words of holy Tennyson are not inapplicable,

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Mayor's Day.

THE Saxon laws exhibit two important phases; there is the splitting up of society roughly into two distinct classes, the rich and the poor; and a division of the whole country into unequal parts. With the second of these we are now particularly concerned.

Everybody knows the utility of a pair of *shears* without being told that the word is derived from the Anglo-Saxon verb *sceran*, to cut or divide; but we may not know that *shire*, that is *scire*, comes from the selfsame root and denotes one of the parts into which our pre-Saxon progenitors cut up the country for the purpose and convenience of local government.

PATERNAL RESPONSIBILITY.

Ten householders, mutually answerable for the good conduct of each other and their own individual families, constituted what was termed a *tithing* or *tything*; ten tithings, or one hundred families, each in like manner amenable as sureties for themselves and their neighbours, formed a *hundred*. Into such parts, not necessarily equal in extent, the kingdom was at one time divided. Larger intermediate sections of the sparse population, consisting of one hundred, or more, families, were adopted in some places, as *lathe*s in Kent, *rapes* in Sussex, *trythings* in Lincolnshire and *ridings* in Yorkshire. Norfolk was and is, although the form of local government has changed, divided into *hundreds*. King's Lynn is in the hundred of Freebridge.

Each of these divisions was under a chief, for the ancient Saxons had no king, who was annually chosen to preside over the rest. These primitive rulers were invariably well advanced in years and were in consequence called the *ealdor men* (aldermen). But the word used to express age was employed also to denote dignity so often, that it was retained long after the custom of connecting power with seniority had become obsolete. In our municipal parliament at Lynn, we now have six aldermen, who may not be *ealdor men* in the true or literal meaning of the term. Subsequently the head man was called the tithing man, the *lathe reeve*, the *rape reeve*, the *trything* or *riding reeve*, as the case might be, each of course acting in subordination to the "officer of the shire."

Not only were there shires, but *byrigs* or *burghs*. "In every *byrig*," exclaimed Edgar, "and in every *scire*, I will have my kingly rights, as my father had." Every person was expected to enrol himself as belonging either to one of the shires or byrigs, under pain of death, as a vagabond, if he neglected so to do. Shires and byrigs or burghs had their own separate jurisdictions and officers; an *ealdor man* in the first instance presiding over each. At a later period, however, specific names were bestowed upon the king's officers; the shire-reeve (or sheriff) for the county, and the portreeve or head-borough for the borough. In connection with the Court Leet at Lynn, this word was retained as late as 1824.

In primitive times, the people generally assembled upon a hill, or under the spreading branches of an immemorial oak to consider their common weal. The people's parliament was the folk mote or *folk gemote*; and Edward the Confessor emphatically directed that it should be held every year upon the 1st of May. For each of the shires or counties there was established at a later date a *scire gemote* or sheriff's tourn, and for the *burghs*, a *burgh-mote* or court leet. The sheriff's court was long ago held upon a hill near Fakenham, and the court of the hundred of Freebridge met under the "Oak of Gaywood" (1601).

The king committed a town to the townsmen themselves, (says Madox) at farm during his pleasure, instead of committing it to the hands of a farmer; they then obtained it in fee farm, that is, in perpetual farm, and afterwards

prevailed on the king to grant their farm to their heirs ; they lastly prevailed on him to make them a corporate body, and thus it was soon forgot that those towns had ever been holden in demesne by the king.

In England and Wales there are 307 boroughs which boast of Mayors and pride themselves in their Corporations ; nevertheless the borough form of local government was not conferred by reason of the number of inhabitants. Thirty-three are mere hamlets with a population less than 3,000. Rejoice therefore, because Lynn is by no means the least of the surviving Lilliputian specimens of our old municipalities ; in sooth with 20,000 souls it deserves other than to be relegated to the tender mercies of a cruel district council.

MAYOR—DE JURE.

Early in the morning of the 28th day of August, groups of town-folk in holy day attire are wending their way along the Briggate (High Street), and the Wyngate (Queen Street) and Lathe Street (Nelson Street), toward the market of Saint Margaret. It is the fast-day, or the vigil preceding the celebrated and long-anticipated Feast of the Decollation (or beheading) of Saint John the Baptist ; and there is an entire absence of vendors' stalls in the vicinity of the church. Evidently the populace are other than intent on purchasing commodities, though they are flocking towards the place of the market. If truth be told, they have been summoned and warned by the common sergeant-at-mace in the name and authority of the Mayor to be present at the election of a mayor and other borough functionaries for the ensuing year, which commences on Michaelmas day.

The three streams converge towards the Hall, a unique building, belonging to the aristocratic merchants of the Gild of the Holy Trinity. The spacious room, in which the brethren hold their convivial "feastings," and transact important mercantile affairs, is also used by the Congregation or Town Council. Many other trade-gilds are there in the borough, but everybody knows to whom *the* Gild hall belongs, and that being the largest room obtainable, it is requisitioned for municipal as well as purely fraternal purposes.

Let us not linger over the quaint architectural devices, which adorn the edifice, but enter by the beautifully carved door, and henceforth interest ourselves with what is going on.

The audience, numbering perhaps one hundred and fifty, consist of burgesses—potentiores and mediocres ; and though there seem to be several cliques they may all be divided roughly into two parties. Excitement is contagious, hence excitement prevails. Whilst some are speculating as to whether there may not be a brand-new set of janitors others are severely exercised about the town's four chamberlains, wondering whether as old and well-tried servants they will retain office, or be rudely thrust aside, to give place to mere novices at accounts.

Verily there are two opposing forces, and as the turmoil increases, it is no difficult task to point out, who are for Bartholomew Petipas and who for John de Wentworth and their respective nominees, because one party gets as far from the other as the limited area will permit ; silently as it were proclaiming by looks, though not by words, "*I am for Paul,*" whilst the opponents as plainly answer, "*and I*

for Apollos." The common weal of the borough seems to be quite a secondary matter. Determined to avoid personalities, let us set down the guise these mediæval elections assumed, rather than the irregularities and disturbances, which often at this period occurred.

Punctually as the clock strikes ten the sergeants-at-mace with their emblems of office, and the sword-bearer carrying the weapon, which subsequently caused the bishop so much uneasiness, enter, closely followed by the Mayor and the Alderman of the Gild of the Holy Trinity—"most honourable and venerable men," as they were always termed. Next in order, come "the noble men of the bench," the twenty-four jurats, and last "the wise and discreet burgesses," the humbler and only democratic part of the Corporation—"the twenty-seven." All, arrayed in robes of state, quietly take the places assigned them upon the richly draped dais, at the further end of the long room. It is of a surety, an imposing spectacle.

The bellman or bedeman having subdued sundry almost irrepressible murmurs of expectancy, the Mayor politely requests the clerk to read the usual yearly letter, the Bishop of Norwich, as Lord of the Burgh, addresses to the Mayor and Community of Bishop's Lenn. This preliminary act of fealty being duly discharged, the Mayor formally inquires whether there are any present other than sworn burgesses, whereupon the sergeants take a bird's-eye view of the assembly, whilst everybody scrutinises his neighbour. Then when all are assured that none of those prying inferiores have ventured to put in an appearance, as they had on one or two occasions, the sergeants simultaneously answer in the negative.

The Mayor rising and smiling somewhat disconsolately says, "Sires, it is not unbeknownen to you that this day, the 28th of August, is the day for the election of our Mayor. Will you proceed to the election?"

A unanimous "yes" is the reply.

The clerk then advances, and places upon the table a huge manuscript bible. Addressing the most noble and venerable Alderman of the Gild of the Holy Trinity, who, holding office for life, was supposed to be absolutely independent of popular control, he exclaims, "Sire, lay your hand upon the book."

The Alderman obeys, and the clerk proceeds to administer the customary oath. In a clear voice, heard by everyone present, he goes on, "Sire, you shall swear that you will well and truly upon your discretion, without affection or favour, or evil intention, choose and name four of the most impartial and least suspected persons to act upon the election of the Mayor that is to come."

A pause of breathless intensity ensues.

"So God *you* help, at the holy doom."

With his right hand upon the Scriptures, and with his eyes raised imploringly to heaven, the Alderman solemnly assents, saying, "So God *me* help, at the holy doom."

Being reminded that in accordance with the charter, those whom he selects must be burgesses other than those of the state and degree of jurats, the alderman gravely retires taking his charge, agreeably

with the form in that respect made and exemplified under the King's great seal. After a while he returns, handing a list to the clerk, who announces in a loud voice the Alderman's choice.

Great commotion prevails, as the four burgesses step forward and mount the platform, for the first and second were said to belong to one party, while the third and fourth were well known to favour the other.

The same oath is taken, and they in like manner retire to the Council chamber to select eight other comburgesses. Their deliberation seems absurdly protracted, for "according to use and custom," they remain snugly ensconced in the Council chamber until four o'clock, much to the annoyance and discomfiture of the sweltering, impatient audience.

A communicative burgess informs us, that those who are considered have to be finally named and chosen "two by two" and he gives as his own private opinion, that in the end, if truth could be known, the rival factions would be equally represented, and a vote from the Mayor must finally settle the contention. As the hour slowly draws nearer, the tension becomes almost insupportable. At length, relief invigorates the drooping interest of the crowd. The doors are thrown open; the four step forward smiling and none the worse for the mental strain to which they have submitted. As soon as silence has been obtained the result is announced.

Now after the burst of excitement has somewhat subsided the clerk prepares to administer the usual oath to the Committee of Twelve in whose hands rests the responsibility of electing the borough officials for the ensuing year.

As they arrange themselves, four at a time before the table, and place their right hands upon the bible the Clerk exclaims, "Sirs, ye shall well and truly upon your discretion, without affection or favour, fraud or evil intention, choose our Mayor—an able man, sufficient for the common profit of the year coming, from Michaelmas forth. So God ye help, at the holy doom."

A quartette of affirmative responses is heard. After this harmonious interpolation the clerk continues, for the pledge is not yet finished. "And also furthermore, ye shall choose you sufficient burgesses to occupy the office of chamberlains of this town, a common clerk, a sergeant, three porters for the East gate, the South gate and the Douce Hill gate, and two for the Gannock gates; and a bellman also. Ye shall choose them well and truly for the year that is to come. So God ye help, at the holy doom."

They formally assent.

Two similar batches submit to the same process. Then, "the twelve" repair to the mysterious Council chamber; the folding doors are again closed, and thus they remain until the decision of the twelve burgesses in committee assembled is ready.

MAYOR—DE FACTO.

A month has passed, but the result of the election is by no means forgotten; and now on the feast of Saint Michael, the Mayor

vacates the chair of office, in favour of the mayor-elect. Let us pay a second visit to the Gild Hall, agreeable reader, if so thou art disposed, and witness the important inaugural ceremony.

There is no lack of enthusiasm, although the ardour of the spirit of partisanship is somewhat abated. We recognise the same potentiores upon the dais, and the same mediocres in the body of the Hall. On this occasion several ladies are present, and their richly bedizened dresses add greatly to the quaint picturesqueness of the scene. After the bedeman has performed an instructive obligato recitative, commencing "Oyez, oyez," to a bell-accompaniment, the most noble and venerable Alderman, the president of the wealthy Gild of Merchants, rises to address the assembly. In a few well-chosen phrases, he compliments the retiring Mayor on a highly satisfactory year of office; he extols his assiduity, praises his exceptional impartiality, and waxing eloquent over his forbearing courtesy, he asserts that "he only is gentle that doeth gentle deeds." Then after gallantly referring to the benign presence of the Mayoress, he thanks them both in the name of the inhabitants of Bishop's Lenn.

As the speaker takes his seat, the clerk presents, in accordance with an old custom, the retiring Mayor with "a branch of flowers," dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels.

The applause is vociferous, but it dies a natural death, for the bedeman is peculiarly remiss. Whereupon "the most noble and venerable" Mayor with great diffidence essays to make the usual valedictory speech. "Worshipful sirs, dearly and entirely beloved friends and fellows," he begins, "it is not unbeknownen to you at this time that I have been Mayor of this worthy and noble town; and occupied the office and governance, as my Lord God gave me grace last year. I have done my diligence with good heart, so God me save, for certainly I held me never able nor worthy therein; and so I said when I was chosen, because them that chose me might have done much better; therefore I thank all my peers and fellows for their information and supportation touching the affair in my time." *

Thanking the Alderman for the gracious way in which he had referred to the Mayoress and himself, he acknowledges he has done his best, although the doing had not always been the pleasantest occupation of his life. And slyly hinting at the two aspiring factions, he declares (in the lines of William Langland, the poet), he had always striven to

—stand, as a stake that sticketh in the mire
Between two lands, for a true mark.

He then introduces the new Mayor, whom they all knew was "sufficient for these things," by which innuendo the audience understood he had an income of more than £100 a year, derivable from property within the borough. The prescribed oath is taken in the highly-to-be advocated method—the laying on of hands. Thereby the mayor elect is pledged "to govern and rule well and truly the

* *Harrold's Deeds and Records*, pp. 100-1.

community with all his might, power and diligence for the year that he shall be mayor; and to maintain all the franchise of the town, and every parcel thereof, as well without as within, with all his power, cunning and business; and all other things to do and to use that pertaineth to the burgh of Bishop's Lenn."

The ex-Mayor rises, after a series of mutual congratulations, and assures the audience that the worthy "twelve" had never made a better selection than they had that day; and after a neat peroration exaggerating the unknown virtues of his successor, he drifts into *The Wife of Bath's Tale* and finishes by quoting the following lines as specially applicable:—

Loke who that is most virtuous alway,
Prive and apert, and most extendeth ay
To do the gentil dedes that he can,
(Then) take him for the greatest gentleman.

Whereupon the clerk also hands the "greatest gentleman" a cluster of St. Michael's daisies, to the evident satisfaction of burgesses there present.

After the four-and-twenty superior, and the seven-and-twenty subordinate councillors, and the four chamberlains, and the common clerk and sergeant, and the nine constables and gatekeepers have solemnly sworn to discharge their respective duties honestly, and to the best of their ability; also to maintain their loyalty to the Mayor and burgesses, they were pleased to accept the Mayor's bountiful invitation. Retiring to the banquet chamber, they find a right down, regular royal spread awaiting them.

THE MAGNITUDE OF HIS OFFICE.

The king, as a rule, once delegated very onerous and important duties to the Mayor; he made him in fact an official immediately responsible to the Crown. When accepting the mayoralty of the borough, he became the King's servant in various different capacities; he was the King's clerk of the market, the measurer and gauger at the King's standard, and the manager of the King's assize. As bailiff, he was the King's steward and the marshal of the King's household in the borough. He stood moreover as an intermediary between the King and the Commons, and he represented his sovereign in administrative jurisdiction. Directly after taking the oath, he received from his predecessor the *scrinium* or common chest, containing the insignia and treasures of the borough, besides the standard weights and measures. "He was required forthwith to send out his councillors to the house of every shopkeeper, baker, brewer or innkeeper, that they might carry all bushels, gallons, quarts, yards or weights back to the Mayor's house to be compared with the standard models, and duly sealed. Thence it was his duty to make war on spicers and grocers, who sold by horn or aim of hand or by subtlety deceived the poor commons—on brewers who used cups and dishes instead of lawful measures; on drapers, who measured after their own devices; on weavers, who used stones and not sealed weights to buy their wool. Even merchants of the staple and country squires and foreign dealers

brought their wool to the *trove* or balance, with a fee, for the 'Fermour of the Beme.' " (Mrs. A. S. Green.)

UNDER THE GREENWOOD TREE.

But the ceremony, incident upon the election of the Mayor, was not yet completed, for mayors were not speedily manufactured in those distant days. On the morrow, as we afterwards learnt, a grand civic procession was inaugurated. Proceeding from the Gild Hall, with much demonstrative trumpet-blowing on the part of the waits, the whole Congregation, headed by the new Mayor, wended its way through Briggate, across the Grassmarket and along the Damgate towards St. Catherine's gate. As his Lordship the Bishop was not in residence at the episcopal palace near the chapel of St. Nicholas, it was of course incumbent upon the good folk of the Bishop's Lenn, to undertake what was scarcely other than an arduous pilgrimage to Gaywood, in order that they might have an interview with their Lord the Bishop at his other palace.

Arriving at the famous tryst, they were met, not by his reverence the Bishop, but by his Lordship's representative, the steward, to whom the steward of our borough formally presented the Mayor. And there, under the umbrageous canopy of the old Leet oak, our worthy townsman, according to ancient custom, was constrained to pledge fealty to the spiritual lord of the burgh, as directed by the ordinance plainly engrossed in the red bound book, carefully packed away in the town's coffer. Some suspicious burgesses did not believe the steward's statement that his lord and master was in Norwich; they contended that he, "sporting his oak," was quietly shut up in his Gaywood palace. But the slight, if there was one, was quickly forgotten in the harmless picnic which ensued, which by-the-by was paid for out of the town's exchequer.

CIVIC BANQUETS

on a magnificent scale were once the order of the day, as the kitchens and culinary arrangements in the old Gild Hall faithfully testify. The custom still survives, though shorn of its grand prodigality. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Corporation guns were drawn up on the Saturday market-place, upon every state occasion to add *éclat* to the conviviality of those in authority. As the banquet proceeded, the so-called King John's cup, filled with champagne, was reverently placed before the newly-elected Mayor. Then from the beautiful Gothic window a stentorian voice might have been heard, exclaiming, "My master the Mayor is about to propose a toast. John Cross, fire the guns!"*

According to a writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1797), Lynn possessed unusual facilities for merry-making.

There are, (contends this writer), more gentry and consequently more gaiety in this town than in Yarmouth or even Norwich; there being such plenty of eatables and drinkables, that Spelman says: 'Ceres and Bacchus seem to have established their magazine at this place; the east side abounding with corn, sheep, rabbits, hares, etc.; the west side with cheese, butter, black cattle, swans,

* Query: The survival of a Danish custom—See *Hamlet*, Act I, sc. 4, lines 7-10.

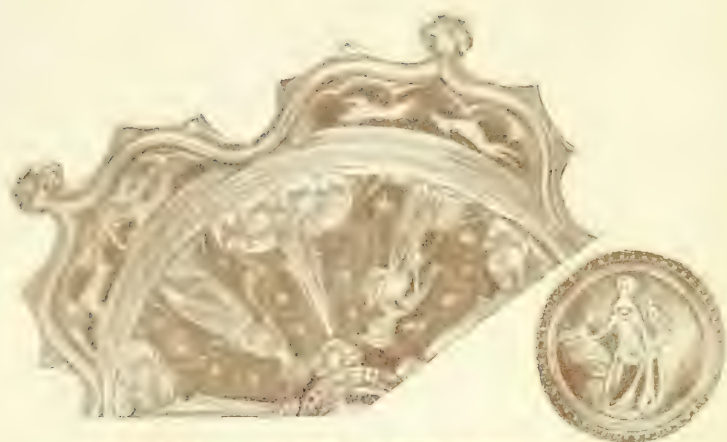


PLATE I. The Ceiling of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, and the Ceiling of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, and the Ceiling of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity.

and wild fowl common to marshes, besides the abundance of sea and river fish ; so that he thinks there is no place in Great Britain, if in Europe (which) has such a variety in so small a compass.'

When gross darkness prevailed in the muddy and uneven streets, a large, spherical lantern, at the end of a pole, was either carried before the Mayor and his jovial satellites, or borne on horse-back in front of their badly-lighted carriages. The old horn lantern, known as the *Mayor's Moon*, is preserved in the Museum. An advertisement in *Cosgrove's News* (1739), respecting the coach-service between Norwich and London, reminds the adventurous public, that "*moons* will be carried before the coach, when dark at morning and evening."

From a scarce work entitled : *Parts of the Summer's Travels; or, news from Hell, Hull, and Hallifax, from York*, LENNE, *Leicester, Chester, Coventry*, etc. (1640), the following quaint passages are selected:—

Concerning LENNE, it is an excellent sea town, and strong port ; it is gravely and peaceably governed by a Mayor, twelve aldermen and a recorder . . . The further I travelled northward the more the miles lengthened and the pots shrunk and curtailed ; but, indeed, what the liquor wanted in measure it had in strength, the power of it being of such potencie that it would fox a dry traveller before he had half quencht his thirst . . . [To the credit of our town, the author adds :] Those few drunkards which they have are very civill and fair conditioned. Did not hear any one residing there that is either schismatically opinionated with dogmatical whimseys or Amster-damnable fopperies.

This good character is strengthened by Horace Walpole, who wrote :—

To do the (Lynn) folks justice, they are sensible, and reasonable, and civilized ; their very language is polished since I lived among them. I attribute this (he continues), to their more frequent intercourse with the world and the capital, by the help of good roads and postchaises, which if they have abridged the King's dominions have at least tamed his subjects (1771).

CHAPTER XLIX.

Monks and Friars.

FOUR hundred years ago the county of Norfolk was exceptionally rich, in that it possessed 256 religious houses, or one-eighth of the entire number in England and Wales. Monasteries were common in this country long before the Conquest, and longer still ere the friars landed on our shores. Founded during the Saxon era, they passed through strange vicissitudes and weathered many a storm. Sometimes mercilessly pillaged or even burnt to the ground by marauding Danes—the heathen spoilers often ruthlessly slaying the inoffensive inmates, yet with remarkable persistency the edifices reappeared, and were tenanted, too, by a new fraternity of not less devout worshippers. When, however, the suppression of religious houses was decreed, the ancient monastic institutions, as well as those of comparatively recent date, were alike condemned—to the monk and to the friar was meted out one common fate. Some few were bold enough to attempt to stem the tide—to revive their orders ; but the brave resistance thus made was unavailing ; at one fell swoop were they all swept away.

Although monasteries had existed in England more than six centuries before William the Conqueror and his followers ungraciously obtruded themselves like unbidden guests into our midst, yet it was not until Herbert de Lozinga obligingly sheltered our burgh beneath his episcopal wing, that this benighted corner of the East Anglian diocese was blessed with a monastic institution of its own.* Herbert was an enthusiastic builder, who was unquestionably regarded by his stolid brother ecclesiastics as an incorrigible "crank," although the poverty of their language prevented them from using such an expressive mechanical term. In process of time, a priory with an adjoining church was erected at Lenne and dedicated with fitting solemnity to St. Mary Magdalen, St. Margaret, etc., etc. The faithful enumeration of "all the other maidens" seems to have filled the chronicler's heart with dismay, in that he fails to mention more than two. The beautiful building erected by the bishop was the source of much speculation; historians uncharitably disposed went out of their way to challenge his motives, and some actually record a sinister, unkind reason for such unexampled benevolence. The bishop, we are told, was a sinful man, whose natural aptitude for "sharp practice" was unusually apparent in his dealings with things other than temporal. His Holiness the Pope had positively heard of some rather shady transactions, and had forthwith ordered him to carry on a kind of ecclesiastical building business to expiate, if it were indeed possible, his manifold sins and iniquities. So notorious did this wicked prelate become, that out of the overflowing fulness of their hearts some decided upon conferring upon him an eke- or nick-name. "From henceforth," they exclaimed, "be ye known as Herbert, surnamed Lozinga." Herbert Lozinga?—that is, Herbert the Sycophant! the Deceiver!! the Liar!!! What a dreadful man of God! Yes, but undoubtedly true, retorts the learned philologist, because the French have *louanger*, "to praise," and *louance*, "flattery."† Stay a moment; to kick a man behind his back, especially when he has been comfortably reposing in the grave so many years, is a discourteous exhibition of mistaken valour. Now, William of Malmesbury and Herbert the aforesaid were living at the same period; *à priori*, the historian ought to know what he is writing about. He inconsiderately admits that there was another wicked man on the face of the earth, one known as *Robert* Lozinga—the bishop's father. Surely it does not follow that because a father hands a son an objectionable surname, he also bestows upon him a batch of paternal vices.

In all probability, the church the good bishop erected was not the first that had occupied the same site, but never before had a priory been established in our burgh. A church could exist without a priory,

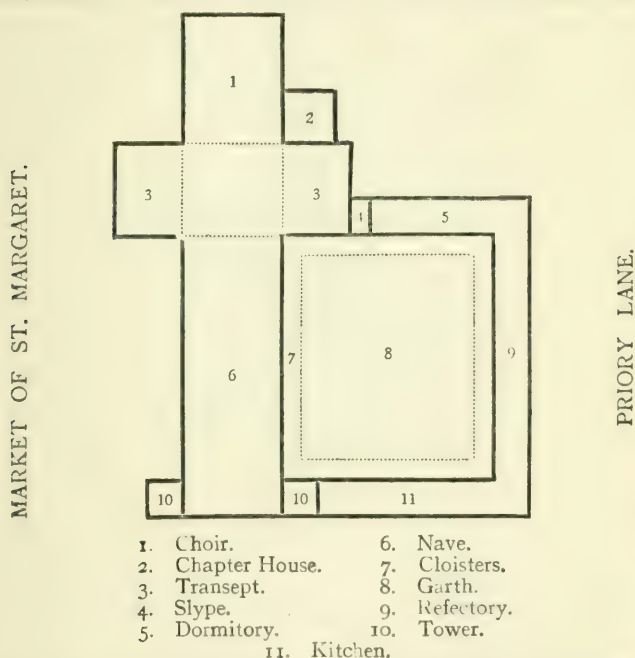
* The letters and sermons of Herbert Lozinga (1050-1119) were recently discovered by Robert Anstruther in the Library at Brussels, and were published by M. Vindall (Brussels) and by Mr. D. Nutt (London). In 1867, they were translated by Dean Goulburn and Henry Symons, of Norwich, and published with notes. 2 vols., 8vo, Oxford.

† "So schal the cronique of thi pacience
Among the seintz be take into memoire,
To the loenge of perdurable gloire."

John Gower (circa Henry IV.).

but no priory ever existed without a church, because the church was an indispensable adjunct. It might be that in the first instance Herbert contemplated building a church only, and that he afterwards changed his mind, and, regardless of pecuniary difficulties (for he had other bees in his prelatial bonnet), he determined upon the latter course.

A conventual church was in reality a *private* place of worship, reared expressly for the accommodation of the prior and the *convent*, as an association of monks (or nuns) was termed. No-one was refused admittance; the doors of God's house were never barred, but the general public were there by sufferance rather than right; they might assemble, if they so willed, in the nave, but the choir or chancel was especially reserved for the use of the monks abiding in the priory "next door." This custom was, however, upon rare occasions somewhat modified.



A general description of a conventual church and the adjacent priory ought to be useful in more ways than one, because of its applicability not only to the

BENEDICTINE PRIORY AT LENNE,

but to other religious houses connected with the Cluniac and Cistercian orders of monks, as well as to the monasteries erected subsequently by the friars in Lenne and elsewhere. There will, it is true, be minor

differences in the disposition of the apartments, etc., but these details may be profitably ignored.

The church, as for instance our church of St. Margaret, was almost invariably cruciform, or in the shape of a cross; its longest line of measurement running more or less from east to west, whilst the transept crossed this line at right angles, between the chancel and the nave. As the monks did not live in gloomy cells, but chiefly in the open air, it was a matter of moment that their habitation should be placed on the sunny side and that it should be protected as much as possible from the cold, piercing north and east winds. Hence, in accordance with a well-recognised precept, Herbert chose a suitable aspect for the new priory—the plot between the church and what is now appropriately known as “Priory lane.”

Let us cautiously test the elasticity of our imaginative powers by picturing the scene, as presented 800 years ago.

It is somewhat early, but we need not hesitate, for the brethren have long been astir. At 6 o'clock they were present at matins—in the church; they have already partaken of a frugal porridge breakfast (*mixtum*); they have methodically put in an appearance at the council chamber or chapter house; and now for the time being they are at liberty to pursue their allotted avocations.

The whole block has a gloomy prison-like appearance from the “mercate of St. Margaret,” for where not bounded by the sacred precincts of the church itself, it is enclosed with a high wall. Gaining admission through a narrow gateway—the only one we can find, we approach the broad arched entrance of the main building, which faces the west. Here we are met by the prior, a man advanced in years, who wears a black scapulary, a kind of loose sleeveless jerkin, over a white tunic. Removing his hood as we approach, and casually glancing at our credentials, he bids us welcome.

Beyond the vestibule we notice a large quadrangle with a square plat of grass, the verdure of which is intensified by beds of brilliant flowers arranged with geometrical skill. The *garth*, or open space, is bounded by a covered walk or corridor. The *tofall* or lean-to roof of the northern side of the square rests against the nave of the church. Here, where the light is brightest and the air warmest, one of the brethren is busily transcribing a quaintly engrossed manuscript, whilst another is illuminating a beautiful vellum missal. The eastern side abuts partly upon the wall of the transept, and partly upon that of the dormitory or sleeping hall, which is in a line with the transept, but separated therefrom by a narrow passage (*slype*). The chapter house was often between the transept and the dormitory; its position was not dependent upon any hard-and-fast rule; at Lenne, for instance, it seems to have been adjacent to the choir. On each side of the *slype* there is a stone stair-case, one leading to the dormitory—a long rush-strewn chamber, with rows of straw beds separated by low partitions, and the other into the church, so that easy access can be gained for the midnight services. The roofless lavatories, where the monks enjoy their daily ablutions, are at the southern end of the dormitory. The south side of the corridor is, of course, parallel with

the church nave, and skirts the refectory or great dining hall; beneath are several large store-rooms. Here we encounter several monks in sombre garments, meditating with enraptured, upturned countenances, or gazing abstractedly upon the ground; their lips are moving, and, as they hold manuscript psalters in their hands, we are inclined to think they are committing certain passages to memory. The fourth side of the cloisters is flanked by the cellarer's hall, the kitchen's offices, the *hospitium*, or guest chamber, etc.; here the precentor is training a choir of boys, and there the schoolmaster is teaching the rudiments of Latin to a group of dullards. A savoury odour pervades the kitchen, for the monks therein are preparing their midday meal; the cellarer, too, is busy superintending sundry experiments in the brew-house; the infirmarer is setting out to visit the sick ward, and the *camerarius* or chamberlain in "the chequers" is so absorbed with table and counters, preparing his balance-sheet for the audit next week, that he is quite unconscious of our presence.* The priory at Bishop's Lenne is only a *cell*, or offshoot of the grand Priory of the Holy Trinity at Norwich,* and as such, minute particulars of all receipts and disbursements have to be periodically rendered to the prior at Norwich.† What a hive of busy workers! How indeed can it be otherwise, when the followers of St. Benedict are turning hands to everything? To them nothing comes amiss. Do they not excel in baking, brewing, sewing and gardening; and are they not, moreover, expert carpenters, blacksmiths, cordwainers and brick-makers?

Having built this priory to the glory of God, the bishop handsomely endowed it. The historian says:—

Herbert gave them all he had or possessed as far as the church of William the son of Stanquin on the side of Sewaldesfield in rents, lands and men, except Seman and his land, and the salt-work which the mother of Seman held; he likewise granted the Saturday mercate (market) and the fair on St. Margaret's day, all of which he gave to his Priory of the Holy Trinity of Norwich, to which convent the Priory of Lenne was a cell; he also gave them the new mill in Gaywode marsh with that marsh, the churches of Gaywode and Mintling, the priest at Mintling, the tithes of his demesnes at Gaywode with a villein called Edward and all his land; also his salt-works in the said town, except two and that which Leofric, son of Limburgh held, and the mother of Seman; also the church of Sedgford with the tithes, and all that Walter the archdeacon had as he held it; the church of Thornham with the tithes and all belonging to it; his land at Freinges (Fring) with 70 acres of land in Sechford, free and quit of all service with the land of Owen Lakesle. (Parkin.)

The monks, voluntarily separated from the world, devoted themselves to the service of God. Like the Apostles of old, these enthusiasts had everything in common; they dressed in similar clothing, they partook of the same coarse food, and they shared in the same work. Privacy to them was an unknown luxury, for there was one refectory, one dormitory, one cloister and one church. In the course of centuries startling abuses crept insidiously into their midst. Then were they never so happy as when shamelessly fleecing the

* See page 434.

† For a list of our priors, etc., see Blomefield's (Parkin's) *History of Norfolk* (1808), vol. xiii., pp. 441-501, or Taylor's *Antiquities of Lynn* (1844), pp. 12-19, where the same matter is better arranged. Fuller, in his names of the gentry returned by the Commissioners (1453), mentions also William Calthrep prior of Lenne.

parochial clergy—their inexcusable avarice for church property was despicably mean. With an ever-increasing influx of wealth, they waxed more and more slothful, self-indulgent and worldly. And why did not the Bishop interfere, ask you? Well, in certain cases he did, but the wily monks, despising his admonitions, resorted to law under the cover of some pretext or other, and the Bishop in the end was invariably the sufferer. A corporation, be it known, is eternal—in that it never dies. One generation of monks, if the term be admissible, passes away only to be succeeded by another. There were changes, yet the institution survived, as unchanged as ever. To raise money on the lands and revenues of a priory was an easy matter; but it was far otherwise with the poor bishop, because his tenure of office was only for life; he could only claim a life-interest in the episcopal estates.

Eleven years after the Conquest, and before our priory was founded, a new order of monks from Clugny in Burgundy came on a mission to England. The Cluniacs led most exemplary lives, submitted to the most rigid discipline, and, moreover, vehemently condemned the vicious habits and fleecing propensities of the degenerate followers of St. Benedict. A grand religious revival was the result; but after the lapse of a century the Cluniac monks drifted astray, even as the Benedictines had done before them. Then there arrived a second bevy of reformers from the monastery of Citeaux, with the ostentatious object of correcting their predecessors. Hence, there were three orders of monks—the perverted Benedictines, the reformed Benedictines, or “High Church” Cluniac monks, and the reformed Cluniacs or “Puritan” Cistercians (1216). It is, however, doubtful whether the adjective *good* in its different phases of comparison could be respectively applied to these three distinct Christian brotherhoods. “In ancient times,” says gossip Erasmus, “monks were only the purer sort of laity, and there was then only the same difference between a monk and a layman, as between a frugal, honest man, that maintains his family by his industry, and a swaggering highwayman that lives by robbing.”

SS. FRANCIS AND DOMINIC.

In the year of grace 1182, a child of wealthy parents first saw the light of day in the little town of Assisi in Italy. Though subsequently renowned as “St. Francis of Assisi,” his real name was Giovanni Bernadone. When four-and-twenty years of age, he, with twelve other young men, whose consciences had been divinely impressed, determined upon strictly emulating the example of their Great Leader. Was it not right for them to do exactly what He did? But to follow in Christ’s footsteps they would have to surrender everything; the comforts of home, the gratification of riches, luxurious living, sumptuous clothing, the society of the learned, the love of friends, parents—and of those even dearer—must be sacrificed. Yet would they set out on their mission like lonely, friendless wanderers, penniless, barely clothed—homeless. “The foxes have holes and the birds of the air nests,” but, like their Master, they

must not have where to lay their heads. Thus originated the mendicant friars, and thus was inaugurated a most important scheme for the evangelisation of the world.

People talk of *Monks and Friars* as if these were convertible terms. The truth is that the difference between the monk and the friar was almost one of kind. The monk was supposed never to leave his cloister. The friar in St. Francis' first intention had no cloister to leave. Even when he had where to lay his head, his life-work was not to save his own soul, but first and foremost to save the bodies and souls of others. At best his business was to be the salt of the earth, and it behoved him to be much more upon his guard that the salt should not lose his savour than that the earth should be sweetened. The friar was an itinerant evangelist always on the move. He was a preacher of righteousness. He lifted up his voice against sin and wrong. "Save yourselves from this untoward generation," he cried, "save yourselves from the wrath to come." The monk, as has been said, was an aristocrat. The friar belonged to the great unwashed. (Dr. A. Jessopp.)

A similar movement was instituted almost at the same time in Spain by a learned man styled St. Dominic. His followers belonged to the highly-cultured classes, and did not at first surrender their wealth, but they soon gave in their adhesion to the tenets of the Franciscans or Minorites (that is, the *Lesser Brethren*), as the followers of St. Francis termed themselves. "The Order of Preachers was principally and essentially designed for preaching and teaching, in order thereby to communicate to others the fruits of contemplation and to procure the salvation of souls." [*Constitutions of the Order of S. Dominic.*]

Now the Dominicans had already been in England two years before the Franciscans landed (1224). In the second group of itinerant evangelists, three of the nine were Englishmen, namely, Richard of Ingworth, William of Esselby, and Richard, a native of Devonshire. Of the *three* one at least was a Norfolk man—Richard of Ingworth; he was the only priest in the company, and he belonged to the diocese of Norwich.

In no part of England were the Franciscans received with more enthusiasm than in Norfolk. They appear [continues Dr. Jessopp] to have established themselves at Lynn, Yarmouth and Norwich in 1226. Clergy and laity, rich and poor, united in offering them ready homage. To this day a certain grudging provincialism is observable in the East Anglian character. A Norfolk man distrusts the settler from 'the Shires' who comes in with his new-fangled reforms. To this day the home of wisdom is supposed to be in the East. When it was understood that the virtual leader was a Norfolk man, the joy and pride of Norfolk knew no bounds. Nothing was too much for their own hero. But when it became known that Ingworth had been welcomed with open arms by Robert Grosseteste, the foremost scholar in Oxford,—he was a Suffolk man—and that Grosseteste's friend Roger de Wese(n)ham was their warm supporter, son of a Norfolk yeoman, whose brethren were to be seen any day in Lynn market—the ovation that the Franciscans met with was unparalleled. There was a general rush by some of the best men of the county into that order. . . . Five years from their first arrival the Franciscans had established themselves in almost every considerable town in England, and where one order settled the other came soon after, the two orders in their first beginning cooperating cordially. It was only when their faith and zeal began to wax cold that jealousy broke forth into bitter antagonism.*

* Read Dr. A. Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars* (1889).

A reactionary movement against the worldliness of the established clergy and the undisguised luxury and selfishness of the old monastic orders gave rise to the religious crusade brought about by the mendicant friars, who advocated the strictest observance of the almost forgotten rule of Benedict, who had founded the order of the Benedictines in the 6th century.

During the later half of the 13th century, and after the Benedictine monks had held sway for more than 150 years, branches of the four revivalistic orders of mendicant friars gained a footing in Bishop's Lenne.

MENDICANT FRIARS.

The Order of—	Established by—	First settled in	
		England.	Lenne.
1. Franciscans, Grey friars, or Minorities	St. Francis of Assisi.	1224	<i>Circa</i> 1248
2. Dominicans, Black friars, or Preaching friars.	St. Dominic (de Guzman) at Toulouse, 1170.	1221	1258 or 1266
3. Carmelites or White friars.	Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem; driven from Mount Carmel by the Saracens, 1098.	1240	1269
4. Augustinians, or Austin friars.	They observed the canons of St. Augustine.	1250	1276 or 1294

Referring to the costume adopted by the monks and friars, Erasmus observes: "Dominic, he took his dress from the honest ploughman in that part of Spain in which he lived, and Benedict from the country fellows in that part of Italy in which he lived, and Francis from the husbandmen of a different place, and so for the rest." It may be added that the fabric employed was the coarsest and cheapest obtainable.

(1) THE GREY FRIARS.

The monastery of the Franciscan Friars is supposed to have been founded by Thomas Feltham, otherwise de Folsham, about 1264; Taylor, however, contends it was established prior to this date, because John Stamford, the sixth minister provincial of this order of English friars, died and was buried in the house of his order at Lenne. *

It was erected near Sunolf's fleet; hard by was Swagg's mill, which gave place to the town corn-mill, also propelled by means of descending water. Richards informs us that the buildings were in "Fullers' Row, now St. James' Street" (1812); this is incorrect. Possibly the friars' estate stretched as far as South Clough Lane, which was at one time aptly called the Fullers' Row, because the cloth-scourers lived in this neighbourhood, and obtained a plentiful supply of water for their fulling mills from the fleet in the locality. The church, a magnificent specimen of the Perpendicular style, was

* A flourishing friary certainly existed here as early as 1248. See Thomas of Eccleston's *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum* (circa 1259), in Brewer's *Monumenta Franciscana* (1853, Rolls Series).

built of brick and stone. It probably consisted of three aisles or alleys, running from west to east—a wide one in the middle and a narrower one on each side. Its length was possibly divided into a series of bays; the choir being at the east and a *spacious* nave at the west end; between was the lantern or tower, poised (as in the monastery of the Greyfriars, Newgate, London) over two parallel arches, which spanned the central aisle, where the *ambulatorium inter chorum et altaria*, or the passage between the choir and the altars, intersected the main building. The edifice was entered by doors at the north and south of this passage. In the nave, beneath the central arch, was the rood-loft, under which and against the screen were two altars, whilst there were two altars also in the eastern bays of the north and south aisles, converted perhaps into chapels.

Queen Margaret, second wife of Edward I., rebuilt the Greyfriars' monastery in London (1306-1348); assisted by Queen Isabella and Queen Philippa. Is it not reasonable to infer, that the Lynn monastery (similar in design) was built at this period, because Isabella when a resident at Rising was a feoffee of certain lands in which the brotherhood of Lenne were pecuniarily interested? The only vestige remaining is the "Old Tower"—a lantern, designed for means of ventilation or to light the interior of the church. The slender hexagonal shaft, consisting of two stages, is supported on four piers, with beautifully moulded arches, where the transept intersected the main building. There is a narrow turret on the north, containing a spiral stone staircase, by means of which the explorer (if not too obese) may reach the battlements and enjoy an extensive view. The cloisters and conventual buildings were on the south side of the nave, which extended of course westward. Probably the church had two western towers. The description of the priory-quadrangle adjacent to the church of St. Margaret is, in this and other cases, mainly applicable.

A hearty welcome awaited the little band of Grey Friars, the first of the

SALVATIONISTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES,

who ventured into our town, and many wealthy burgesses stepped forward to render the homeless wanderers assistance. Our mayor, it seems, was first and foremost, for the name of Adam de St. Omer stands conspicuously at the head of the subscription list. Desirous of setting an example to his fellow-townsmen, he purchased a piece of land of Adam Silvester, not far from the churchyard of St. James. This he intended giving to the poor friars, but he hesitated, being sorely troubled because it was encumbered with a small rent which had been paid to the ancestors of neighbour Sefull, time out of mind. In this strait, he ventured to approach the living representative of the Sefulls; he moreover explained how impossible it would be for these mendicants, who begged their bread from door to door, and who were restricted by the rules of their order from ever touching a single coin, to pay an acknowledgment rent of even twelve pence a year. Richard Sefull listened patiently to the mayor's explanatory appeal; his heart

was touched, and he there and then released the land. The gift of Adam de St. Omer and Richard Sefull was thereupon enrolled in the court at Lenne (7th of August 1287).

Then Bernard l'Estree needs must emulate the commendable doings of the mayor and his *confrère*. Was there not another plot of land just where it was wanted? Did it not seem to be placed there on purpose? Well, well, he would talk the matter over with goodman John de Lindesey. John was not in the habit of relaxing his purse-strings, although he was reputed to be immensely rich; notwithstanding, to assist in such a praiseworthy cause, he might, perhaps, be induced to accept a sum equal to the fair marketable value of the land. And it came to pass that John with "the tight fist" was prepared to sell his land even for less than it was worth, though he got exactly what he asked. In due course this plot, too, was handed, unentailed, to the brave revivalists (1287). And the friars preachers went on doing their work honestly and well. In spite of the scowling monks, a divine benison crowned their self-denying labours, and they prospered abundantly, so much so, that in 1364-5 they obtained a patent to enlarge their manse by adding a couple of messuages thereto.

It was by no means unusual for pious folks to bequeath legacies to religious houses; for instance, Adam de Geyton left various sums of money to the Carmelite, the Sack, the Dominican and the Austin Friars, besides legacies to the different churches and hospitals in the town. To the Grey Friars he left 16 marks (1276). Sir Robert Howard and Sir Robert Plaiz, knight, were also benefactors (1385). Robert Langham left them 12 pence, and Margaret Frenghe five marks to "celebrate one anniversary office for her soul and for the soul of John Frenghe, formerly her man (husband), and for the souls for whom she was bound, within the first year of her death" (1352). John Elvered, a clerk in holy orders, also befriended them (1416), as did Richard Peverel, of Tilney, who "bequeathed his body" to be buried in their church at Lenne (1423).

The friars, nevertheless, were not without their troubles—troubles of a domestic nature. They were at one time in "a tight fix" because of an insufficiency of pure water. There was Sunolf's fleet just beyond the refectory, but the water was either unpalatably brackish by reason of the tide, or disgustingly obnoxious because of upland contaminations. How was this difficulty to be overcome? Now the lord of Middleton, Robert de Scales, hearing of the dilemma in which the poor preachers found themselves, began to look about, and communing with himself, he asked: "Is there not a beautiful spring of fresh water on mine estate at a place called Herdewyk? Shall not I grant them permission to dig at the spring head and to put down everything necessary to convey the water to their house at Lenne?" The concession was forthwith made. No, there was nothing to pay; Lord Robert knew better than to ask payment of moneyless beggars. How absurd! and yet the grant was conditional. As with Mistress Frenghe, so with my Lord Robert. If they would undertake to pray for the health of the souls of Lord and Lady Scales, and moreover

for the souls of his children and his ancestors, the spring, with its crystal water, was theirs for ever and a day. How eagerly the water-famished brethren accepted the terms! The conditions were verily those which gratitude would have prompted (1301).

Did a series of exceptional droughts affect the spring; had an unkind neighbour, a friend of the aggrieved and jealous monks, diverted the course; or was their conduit defective? Who can say? It is, however, apparent that some twelve years or so afterwards the friars obtained a patent for bringing water from Buckenwell, a spring in North Runcion (1314).

When the popularity of the Grey friars had subsided, and when from a variety of causes the movement began to decline, the members of our municipal assembly voluntarily agreed to render the brotherhood pecuniary assistance, as is clear from the following minute in the Hall Book: "Sept 29: 1513. Agreed that the Mayor shall offer on St. Francis' day (14th October) 3s. 4d. and every of ye bench (24 jurats) 2s. and every of ye 24 (constituting the upper section of "the House") beside 12d., and every of ye 27 (the lower or democratic section—three of whom were chosen in each ward), 6d." This yearly donation amounted to £4 8s. 10d.

The "Old Tower" was thoroughly repaired in 1631, during the mayoralty of John Percival, as the stone beneath the lower west window indicates.* The "why and wherefore" may be seen later on.

The friars generally cultivated literature with the greatest assiduity and success. Emerging as they did from obscure towns, many developed into prodigies of erudition and deservedly became the ornaments of our universities. Of the literary achievements of the monks of Lenne nothing, however, is known, and few are the names of the friars, though eminently conspicuous in their day, that have survived.

REMARKABLE FRANCISCANS.

Nicholas de Lenne, that wonderful scholar, musician, writer and traveller, occupies the foremost place. In 1360, and at sundry other times, he sailed from our haven "to the northern islands, till then unknown to Europeans." Thus writes Hakluyt; and Sir Clement Markham in a more modern work, his *Life of John Davis*, after stating that the European worthies knew nothing of the Norse Sagas, or of Norse discoveries in the Western Hemisphere, adds, "They had a dim tradition of the wonderful discovery made by Friar Nicholas of Lynn and of voyages made from Lynn and Bristol, but no positive information could be derived from these stories." Moreover, Professor Skeat, alluding to the charts our adventurous burgess is reported to have presented to King Edward III., remarks that "it seems probable that the charts which Warton says were 'lost' were never in existence at all"; and, as if this were not enough to break the heart of every loyal burgess, Tyrwhitt must

* The insertion of stones bearing the dates of repairs and alterations was a common custom during the 16th and 17th centuries.

forsooth declare the whole interesting story a mere fable. It is notwithstanding admitted that Nicholas de Lenn was born at Lynn, and that he died here in 1369. He belonged to the Franciscan rather than to the Carmelite order, as stated by Bale. That he knew something about navigation is plain, because he wrote a treatise on the astrolabe. Chaucer, moreover, when writing on the selfsame subject, refers to him as "that reverend clerk, frère Nicholas de Lenn."

There is current in Massachusetts (America) a strange legend, which asserts that the Friar of Lynn, employing magic arts, succeeded in not merely reaching the North Pole—a statement made by the said Nicholas himself, but also in discovering America. How is this to be accounted for? May not also the old ballad, *The Heir of Linne*, refer to the same early navigator, who made several voyages according to his own statement as far as Iceland? We quote two verses:—

The bonnie heire, the weel faured heire
And the weary heire of Linne
Yonder he stands at his fathers gate
And naebody bids him come in.

* * * * *

Then he did spy a little wee lock
And the key gied linking in.
And he gat goud, and money therein
To pay the lands o' Linne.

Geoffrey of Salisbury, a brother of "most renowned sanctity" (Eccleston), who induced Alex de Bissingburne to join the order.

Robert of Thornham, first guardian at Lenne and afterwards *custos* at Cambridge; he accompanied the Crusaders, as standard-bearer to the Holy Land (*temp.* 1248).

Stephen of Belase (Bellasis) was guardian for a while at Lenne, then *custos* at Hereford.

John Stamford, although Minister Provincial (England, Ireland and Scotland), was buried in Lenne, where he undoubtedly held office.

(2) THE BLACK FRIARS,

as the austere followers of St. Dominic were called from the colour of their costume, erected their monastery not far from the right bank of the Purfleet, subsequently (North) Clough Lane. According to Parkin, the founder thereof was Thomas Gedney; Harrod, however, maintains it was founded and endowed by Nicholas le Cancur, and that the inaugural charter was confirmed by Simon de Walton, bishop of Norwich (1258-1266). Concerning this important order, the information is indeed fragmentary.

In the nave of their church, which was, we are told, where Mr. E. M. Beloe's house now stands, there was a magnificent image of Our Lady, and connected with the same building there was a chapel dedicated to St. Catherine.

Opposite the *Golden Ball*, where host Sturley once presided, stood an old archway, a remnant of the monastery. The ruins, as

they appeared in 1844, are described in Taylor's *Antiquities of Lynn*. When excavations were being made, preparatory to laying the foundations of the Stepney Baptist chapel, rows of stone coffins containing the skeletons of the friars were exposed (1840).^{*} Belonging to this religious house was an *anchorage*, which might mean either the cell of an anchoress, or a place where vessels could be conveniently moored. Wharfage, the outcome of a special concession, was payable to the friars. Within the memory of the present generation, boats used to discharge their cargoes in this neighbourhood. Of the numerous benefactors, a few names which have not yet passed into oblivion may be given:—

1292. William Lord Bardolph, Lord of Wrongay, (Wormegay) granted the Dominicans the use of a spring in Middleton called Brokewell and an aqueduct to Lenne. This grant is preserved in the Tower of London (Taylor).

1307. John Ode made provision in his will for his son James, "dwelling in the order of the Preachers," to have ten shillings each year out of his estate for a new habit.

1309 and 1329. Thomas Thorndon often encouraged these scholastic orators, on one occasion giving them a small strip of land, 18 feet by 21 feet, when they obtained a patent to enlarge their house.

1321. Ralph de Ketlistone made bequests to the four orders also to the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, Gaywood. He held the manor of Burnham Hall in Fincham and Stradsett.

1335. Sir John Plaiz.

1416. Sir John Elvered, clerk.

1442. Simon Parche *alias* Tyler, of Watlington, was buried in the chancel of the convent church. He bequeathed £16, so that the old stalls in the chancel might be replaced with new ones.

1505. The rector of North Lenne, the Rev. John Byrd, left by will "a red dole in Geywode to the black friars of Lenne."

1519. To every religious house in Norwich, Thetford and Lenne, Sir William Lovell of Hingham left 6/8.

AN EARTHLY PARADISE.

To the Dominican preachers, "the zealous watch-dogs of the Lord," we are indebted for the most celestial of our street names. No, precocious reader, we refer neither to the Half-moon nor to the Rising-sun yards, which may or may not constitute a part of the nomenclature of our local directory. We refer to "an old word—*paradise*—which the Hebrews borrowed from the Persians, and which at first designated 'the park of the Achaemenids' " (Rénan). The good-natured Jews unthinkingly lent it to the Greeks, of whom the Dominicans borrowed it, and generously handed it on to us. If we are not grateful to those black-robed friars, we really ought to be, because their legacy is a valuably significant word. The cloister-garth, the cool verdant garden to which they were wont to retire after the fatigues of an arduous day spent in the indescribable slums of old Lenne, for rest and prayer and meditation, was a veritable foretaste of that brighter "*paradise*" for which they were hourly striving. How inexpressibly soothing was the cool sequestered shade, from which the jarring elements of work-a-day life were excluded. The cloister sward at Chichester is still "the Paradise," and as early as 1501 our

^{*} See Mr. E. M. Beloe's account of *A Cemetery Cross of the Blackfriars at King's Lynn* (1884).

forefathers called the pasture, upon which the windows of the home of the banished "Preaching Friars" looked—"Paradise." The subtle association of ideas often connects dissimilar words; for instance *Eden* and *garden* invariable run together, and the stupidest school-boy knows why. Do not, moreover, *Eden* and *garden* instantly suggest *Paradise*? Hence, and for no other reason, the pasture in Webster's Row (Broad Street) became the "Paradise Garden."

GEOFFREY DE LENNE.

Lichfield may well be proud of her son whose ashes rest in Westminster Abbey, for was he not the compiler of the *first* dictionary of the English tongue? And Lynn, unconscious of her children, has nevertheless a worthy, who, in years long since gone by, was possibly as renowned as Dr. Samuel Johnson,—the *first* English-Latin Dictionary was the work of the celebrated scholar Geoffrey "of Lenne." It bore a seductive title—*Promptorium Parvulorum sive Clericorum*, that is, "The store-house of children, or even of the clergy." To-day it is extant in manuscripts dating from about the year 1440. The author thereof was a black friar, belonging to the convent at Lenne; and the work was undoubtedly compiled in the cloisters which were in the vicinity of the present Cattle Market. Indicative of the value of this early glossary, it might be pointed out that it was printed by Richard Pynson in 1499, and by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510, 1512, 1516, and also in 1528. It has recently been republished, too, the first part being reprinted by the Camden Society (1843), under the editorial care of a scholar peculiarly qualified for the task, the late Mr. Albert Way. The work, extending to 563 pages, was, however, not completed till 1865.

A similar manuscript, the reverse of the one to which reference has been made—the *earliest* Latin-English dictionary, known as *Medulla Grammaticæ*, that is "The pith of grammar," was compiled by Galfridus Grammaticus, in other words, by 'Geoffrey the Grammarian' (1440). Mr. Way maintains that this compilation is the work of the same lexicographer, the erudite friar of Lenne. The first Latin-English Dictionary *printed* in this country,—the *Ortus Vocabulorum*, or "The origin of words," was in a great measure based upon the *Medulla*. It was issued from the press of Wynkyn de Worde (1500).

(3) THE WHITE FRIARS.

When and by whom the monastery of the Carmes was founded is a matter of conjecture. Speed attributes it to the conjoint action of three pious men—Lord Bardolf, Sir John de Wigenhale and Lord Scates, who lived respectively at Stow, Wiggshall and Middleton (1269). Taylor, however, asserts in his *Index Monasticus* (1821), that they were indeed noble benefactors, but the founder was Thomas de Folsham or Feltham, who also is said to have founded the monastery in the Fullers' Row, and who died at London, when the chamberlains paid 25s. 3d.—the expenses of Robert de Cokesford at the burial (1347-8).

The edifice, dedicated to St. Mary, stood not far from All Saints' church, near what was then the "South Lane." The old high brick wall facing the row of houses on the east side of Friars street is said to have been a part of the monastic boundary. It has wholly disappeared, and now the only vestige of this important religious house is the 13th century arch or outer gateway near the junction of Bridge Street and Allsaints Street, beside the river Nar.

During the excavations in connection with the sewerage works (1900), a ring-stone or *vousoir* ($9 \times 18 \times 14$ in.), with its label ($4 \times 12 \times 14$ in.), which helped to form the crown of a Gothic arch, were found just opposite the *Goat* inn, at east end of "Bird-cage walk." And a portion of a window jamb ($12\frac{1}{2} \times 10 \times 4$ in.), also of Barnack stone, was discovered a few feet beneath the surface. The mouldings of both were of the Perpendicular period (1399-1547). These facts may help to locate a building which has wholly disappeared.

To this monastery, too, there belonged an anchorage, connected with the river Nar, and it may be with a fleet which formed the southern boundary of the friars' domain. Not far from the gateway, the arch of an ancient bridge was struck, which ran parallel with the eastern wall of Mr. R. F. Springall's steam saw-mill. This bridge crossed the *Whitefriars* fleet and led to the gateway; it was constructed of bricks ($10 \times 5 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in.) that had evidently been dried on rushes, the marks of which were clearly seen. As the arch was built up with bricks ($9 \times 4\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ in.) similar to those used in the gateway, it is assumed to be of an earlier date. This forgotten fleet was used by our early whalers.

The Carmelite mendicants practised the greatest austerity; they rose at unseemly hours, observed the strictest silence, never tasted flesh, and—as if these mortifications of the body were insufficient to react upon their nerves—they slept in their coffins. In 1285 they obtained a patent of indulgence, but how far the rigour of their "rule" was relaxed is not clear. Connected with this house there was an anchorite's cell, in which one of the brethren was partially immured for life. As he could only peep through a small opening, he was of course entirely dependent upon the thoughtful benevolence of others for subsistence.

Of those who assisted these mendicant revivalists the following deserve mention:—

1261. William le Breton gave the friars lands in South Lenne, Burgh Green, Dillingham, Brinckley, Willingham, and Carlton in Cambridgeshire.

1352. Margaret Frengle bequeathed five silver marks for them to "celebrate one anniversary office."

1379. Sir Hamon Felton, of Litcham, knight of the shire (1376-7), was buried in their church.

1384. John de Grantham, a burgess of Lenne, after leaving 40*s* to the White Friars, bequeathed $\frac{3}{4}$ to each of the other convents of mendicant friars in the burgh.

1386. William Lord Bardolph, of Stow, who had accompanied Richard II. and his army into Scotland the previous year, and was present at the sacking of Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth and Dundee, died and was buried here.

1389. John Lord Bardolph, of Stow, granted a patent for an annual rent payment equivalent to 10 quarters of barley and 10 quarters of wheat.

1408. The Hastings family were also great benefactors. It is recorded that Friar Peter, subprior of the convent at Lenne, deposed as witness at a certain trial, that the Hastings escutcheon had been emblazoned in their house for 40 years at least, and that the brethren had to his knowledge possessed a banner bearing the same arms for 38 years. This was corroborated by the evidence of Friar Alevn, a native of Lenne, at that time, the reader of divinity at the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, Gaywood.

1503. John Norris, the vicar of Allsaints, South Lenne, demised to "the convent of ffriers in lenn and South lenn, iij s, iiij d."

CONVENTUAL SEALS.

Nothing is more unaccountably curious than the knack ancient seals have of drifting about; their propensity for locomotion seems inherent; they make astonishing excursions from their homes and claim attention when least expected. A large brass seal, used by a village shopkeeper near Saffron Walden, Essex, as a two-pound weight, was appropriated some years since by the adjusters of weights and measures. Upon examination, (for the lower part was covered with pitch,) it turned out to be a French State seal—the Norman seal of office belonging to Louis the Bastard, son of Charles the first Duke of Bourbon, who was created Admiral of France in 1466 and died in 1486.* Who can conjecture how this relic found its way there? Richard, Lord Braybrooke mentions, moreover, in his *History of Audley End and Saffron Walden* (1836), that the seal of the monastery of the Whitefriars at Leicester was found in a field in the neighbourhood of Saffron Walden. Quite as remarkable is the fact that, although no impression of the conventual seal belonging to the Whitefriars monastery at Lynn has been seen in modern times, yet the actual seal was dug up some years ago in the Isle of Thanet, Kent. This matrix was in the possession of Miss Wickins, of the Close, Salisbury (1855), who received it from her father. It is thus described:—

Circular, contains double niche with pinnacles and trefoiled canopies supported on a basement of masonry; within are two full-length figures looking towards each other; one represents the Virgin and child, and the other St. Margaret with her cross-staff piercing the dragon. Above the canopies are the star and crescent, or sun and moon, so common in ancient seals and in other works in metal, the meaning of which has not been fully investigated; it may be that they have a reference to the trade or fraternity concerned in their manufacture, but it appears more probable that it was simply a method of denoting the sky or heavens in the background, on the principle of a part for the whole—a common conventional practice in mediæval designs generally. The legend round the seal is as follows:—S' COMMVN' FRVM D' CARMELO LEN, that is "The common seal of the Carmelite Friars of Lenne." Though in Allsaints parish, the style and character of the whole are much in accordance with the town seals of Lynn, and in both the figure of St. Margaret occupies a conspicuous position as the patron saint of the town. [*Norfolk Archaeology* (1855), vol. iv., pp. 56-8.] †

* This seal greatly resembles that of John the Earl of Holland, the Admiral of the English Fleet (1405). Compare engraving in Richard Lord Braybrooke's *History of Audley End and Saffron Walden* (1836) and Boutell's *English Heraldry* (1879), p. 258. The Lynn Admiralty seal, though smaller, is also like it.

† For engravings and particulars about the seals of the Austin Friars' Monastery, see Taylor's *Antiquities of Lynn* (1844), p. 149, and Capgrave's (*Hingeston's*) *Illustrious Henries* (1856), frontispiece and pp. xviii.-xx.

In 1376 there was a great commotion in Lenne owing to the behaviour of certain persons who had conspired against the peace. The prisoners were tried in the monastery of the Whitefriars. Law is said to be a dry subject, and the consumption of wine on this occasion establishes the statement as incontrovertibly true—but more anon. Our chamberlains paid 2s. 11d. for two flagons and one pottle of red wine, and two flagons of sweet wine when Lady Scales was a guest with these friars (1461), and on the Friday before the feast of Epiphany (1528) the assembly unanimously agreed that “two hogs-heads of wine, four swans and other wild fowl” should be presented to the French Queen and the Duke of Suffolk, who were then enjoying the sweet fellowship of these morbid friars. Mary, the sister of Henry VIII., when 16 years of age, was married to Louis XII. of France (1514), but the aged monarch considerably died within a year, and the youthful widow made the best of her bereavement by marrying Charles Brandon the Duke of Suffolk; she, perhaps deservedly retained her previous title, and is spoken of in the town records not as the Duchess, but as “the French Queen” (1528). This visit was of an official nature, for he had been appointed Steward of the County by Bishop Nix—a position subsequently resigned for an annuity (1537-8.)

“IT FELL UPON A DAY.”

It was in sooth “a beautiful day,” as the elated inhabitants of Lenne were absurdly telling each other. The sun beamed brightly; the sky was clear; the air was exhilarating—and the haven was as smooth as a plate-glass mirror; not a breeze—not a ripple; not a cloud—not a shower; verily the ninth of April 1631 was “a very beautiful day.” But those affable inhabitants were to be taken somewhat aback ere the day closed. One of their cherished landmarks, so useful to those navigating the Lenne Deep, suddenly collapsed after standing hundreds of years. The tower of the White Friars was a heap of ruins! Many wisely shook their heads; they expected nothing *less*, of course, but they never left on record the extent of their expectations. Had not the place been neglected ever since it came into the hands of the Corporation ninety years since? And the Mayor must needs use the tower as a dove-cote (1588), and the Assembly must foolishly grant their clerk (Mr. Valenger) permission to undermine the building for stone, in order to build those wretched little almshouses (1604); and what was most provoking, they knew—never mind how—on unimpeachable authority they knew that at their last meeting, on the 28th of the previous month, the Assembly had passed a resolution, that this important “sea-mark” should be repaired. Not a fortnight ago—and now! Ah, if only they were ward-representatives, they would shew their fellow burgesses how municipal business should be despatched.

Once were the premises let to John Fowell for £10 a year; he was to repair the walls and fences and to keep the pavement and the fleet in order (1565); later, it was agreed, that the mayor should have the profits of the dove-cote in the Whitefriars’ steeple (1588). Alas,

the tower of the monastery was past repair; but the unfortunate catastrophe taught a timely lesson. The "sea-mark" was gone; it therefore behoved them to consider the stability of one equally as important. They therefore set to work and thoroughly repaired the graceful lantern belonging to the Greyfriars, which still enhances the picturesque beauty of our town.

REMARKABLE WHITE FRIARS.

Aleyn or *Allanus de Lenne*, one of the celebrities mentioned by Ben Adam, was a native of our town, although he studied for his doctor-of-divinity degree at Cambridge. He returned and became a white friar. Though he appears to have been guilty of perpetrating nothing original, except the turning of sundry portions of Scripture into allegories, yet he was regarded not merely as a great scholar, but as an exemplary literary man. His literary output consisted of ponderous indices. Fuller observes: "His Herculean labour in this kind doth plainly appear to me, who find such a toil and trouble to make but an index of the indexes he had made of the authors following"—(thirty-three are given; the list including Anselm, Aquinas, Augustine, etc.). Bale saw these indices himself in the Carmelites' library at Norwich, and acknowledges there were yet many others he had not seen. Friar Aleyn was probably born in 1349; he was reader of divinity at Gaywood (1408), died in 1428, and was buried in the monastery of his brethren in South Lenne.*

John Barrett was born of honest parents at Lenne. He was educated by the Whitefriars at Cambridge, "when," as Fuller puts it, "learning ran low and degrees high." Instead, therefore, of receiving a preacher's diploma when he presented himself at the university, he was "sent back." This unlooked-for rebuff, however, incited him to greater diligence, so that in time he not merely gained a degree, but became renowned as a clever theological disputant. For many years he was "a painful preacher at Norwich, always making mention of Cranmer" (who refused him admission) "as the means of his happiness." He lived during the first half of the 16th century. Probably he quitted Lenne because his Protestant doctrines were unpalatable. Bale declares that in the reign of Mary "he returned to his vomit and became a great Papist;" whilst Fuller promptly retorts, "and seeing (that) wood not growing crooked but warping with weight, we charitably believe that though complying in time of persecution, he returned to the truth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning whereof he died."

(4). THE AUSTIN FRIARS.

In the year 1446, Henry VI., "in the course of the solemn pilgrimage, which he made to the holy places," stayed at Lenne, and was entertained by the Augustinian friars, who then had an exten-

* "Lenne had the honour to present the world
With Geoffrey Chaucer, Capgrave, and the curled
Pope *Allanus de Lenne*, John Barton, William Cokeford,
John Thompson, Thomas Lambe, and t'idd afford
The court a jester, Hugh of Lenne was he—
All famous in their time Lenne nursed by thee."

sive establishment in the north end of the town. Their church and monastery stood on the south side of Hopman's way, or Hognan's lane (now "Austin" Street), and their estate extended eastwards from Listergate ("Chapel Street") to the Bishop's Mill fleet (Littleport), and northwards towards St. Nicholas' chapel.

On this auspicious occasion John Capgrave was chosen as spokesman. It was a wise selection for several reasons, and it ought to have yielded unmitigated satisfaction. Doctor Capgrave was prior of the convent; he was Provincial or head of the Order of Augustinians in England and Wales, which numbered 41 monasteries, and he was moreover a native of Lenne. And if these reasons be deemed inadequate, he was besides an exceptionally clever student, who had made the study of history a speciality. Verily, verily, "a prophet is not without honour save in his own country and in his own house." Now, although Friar Capgrave did not pose as a *prophet*, there was no denying he was a *chronicler*, and he soon discovered to his annoyance that the words were interchangeable. The cruel gossip of those envious impugnors of his veracity sank deep into his sensitive heart. Let us read what our townsman wrote, some 450 years ago, concerning this matter in his *Illustrious Henries*:—

And forasmuch as many lying and double-tongued men have, as I have heard, taken occasion to say, after the departure of our King, that the place had had a founder from its very earliest days, whose name, however, they know not how to insinuate; on that account the writer of the present work, who also gave his lord information concerning this matter, seeing that his character has been partially injured by the imputation that the information which he gave his lord the king was false, here clearly sets forth the whole truth of this matter as collected from ancient charters and sealed instruments.

Be it known, then, that the said Hermit Friars of Saint Augustin first entered the town of Lenne, with the intention of making their abode there, in the 22nd year of the reign of the 2nd Edward, counting from the [Danish] Conquest. This is found to be capable of proof from the licence of the King (who wrote that he was the son of King Henry, and marks this as the number of the years of his reign,) in his charter to a certain widow of good conversation whose name was Margaret Southmere. Now the land which was first granted by this lady to the friars measured a hundred feet in length and twenty-four feet in breadth. Our place thus begun in a narrow spot, increased by the presentations of many parcels of land, as is set forth in divers royal Charters. For we have another charter to Humphrey de Wykyn concerning his land: and another to Robert de Wykyn for his message; also yet another to Thomas de Lexham for his message; also another of a larger benefaction to certain inhabitants of Lenne for five messages.

See then, most dear lord, thy little plot composed of many small parcels of ground and united into one; and impress thy heart that there are thirty priests, besides deacons, subdeacons and youthful offshoots (viz., acolytes, &c.) of the inferior order to the number of sixteen; and consider that these hold thee in special remembrance. If, however, thou dost not desire any more minute information, let thy majesty command, and thy servant will obey. May thy royal majesty live long to the honour of God, the support of the Church, and the settlement of the realm.

The King was at Lenne the 1st of August, when he issued a grant to the Crabhouse nunnery, which was built in "a desert and solitary place, that was inhabited by a hermit, but not overflowed,"

not far from the village of Wiggshall St. Mary Magdalen. The accuracy of Capgrave's account is proved by the priory seal attached to this document.

An indenture dated 26th February 1378, drawn up in the chapter house of this friary, shews how careful the friars were to provide for their aged servants. The parchment stipulates that Geoffrey de Gadgrave shall remain with them for life, and faithfully serve them in the bake-house and mill, and that he is to receive a payment of 30s. per quarter, but that when through debility he can no longer attend to his duties, he is still to be allowed access to their table and is to receive the same portion of victuals as each of the brethren. If, however, through old age he cannot attend the conventual table, he is to receive weekly at his own chamber 8 convent loaves, 7 bottles of beer, and such allowance of food as is then given every friar of the convent, upon the condition that he is in no case to sell them, as they are expressly for *his own* use.

- 1276. Adam de Geyton was a benefactor of the Austin friars (will).
- 1294. Margaret Southmere granted them a strip of land.
- 1295. Humphrey de Wykyn also gave them a piece of land, "154 pedes n longitudine et 48 in latitudine."
- 1306. Patent granted by Edward I.
- 1328. John de Beston, professor of sacred theology at the Austin Monastery, though a mendicant, lent the prior 50 gold marks for the use of the convent.
- 1329. The brotherhood now settled permanently at Lenne.
- 1330. Patent granted by Edward III.
- 1339. Robert de Wykyn gave a messuage.
- 1352. Margaret Frenghe bequeathed them vjs. viijd.
- 1360. Thomas de Lexham also gave a messuage. (?1311, Parkin.)
- 1365. Patent granted by Edward III.
- 1383. Patent to make an aqueduct to Gaywood for water, granted by Richard II.
- 1406. Patent to enlarge their manse (Henry IV.)
- 1413. The Duke and Duchess of Clarence were their guests.
- 1413. Four benevolent burgesses, William Bittering, John de Couteshale and Thomas and William Drewe, proposed surrendering five messuages held of the Bishop if his lordship would accept in lieu thereof a messuage in which Richard de Houton and Robert de Cokesford and their respective wives Alice and Agnes were interested. A royal licence effected the transfer. (?1365, Parkin.)
- 1420-1. The brethren entertained Henry V.
- 1426. The Prior and Convent at Norwich acknowledged themselves indebted 20 marks to the Prior and Convent of the Austin Friars at Lenne.
- 1446. The friars entertained Henry VI.
- 1498. The friars entertained Henry VII., etc.

In the church of the Austin friars at Lenne there was an exceedingly profitable altar, called the *Scala Celi*, or

THE LADDER OF HEAVEN.

It derived this appellation from a miraculous vision, witnessed by good St. Bernard, when celebrating mass in a small chapel near Rome, on the Ostia road. The holy man saw distinctly the souls of those for whom he was praying, ascending into heaven by means of a lofty ladder. The altar subsequently placed in this chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, became the prototype of a few others—small branches purchased no doubt for large sums of money. There was

a small oratory denominated the *Scala Celi* in Westminster, and another of the convent church of the Austin friars at Norwich (St. Michael's at Conisford.) In Chaldon church, Surrey, a large mural painting (about the year 1250) has been discovered beneath layers of white-wash; it is termed the "Ladder of Human Salvation." An obligingly polite angel stands at the foot "assisting souls in their ascent." There is, moreover, on each side of the west window of Bath abbey, a similar device carved externally in the stone-work. It is known as "Jacob's Ladder."

In the will of Thomas Whytynge, a yeoman of Gaywood, direction is given to his executors that they cause ten masses to be sung at his burial before the *Scala Celi* at the Friars Austin in Bishop's Lenne (1522). Moreover, John Foster, a gentleman of South Lenne, gave instructions to the same effect in these words: "I will that mine executrice cause to be songe a mass at *Scala Celi*, in worship of the name of Jesus" (1517).

It was then a universally accepted opinion that the saying of masses at one of these special altars bestowed extraordinary benefits upon the souls of the departed in purgatory, and was unspeakably efficacious when admission into heaven was sought. In Bale's miracle play *King John* we read:—

To send me to heaven goo rynge the holye belle,
And synge for my sowle a mass of *Scala Celi*,
That I maye clyme up aloft with Enoch and Heli.

REMARKABLE AUSTIN FRIARS.

William Wells or *Wallys*, justly renowned as a scholar, is supposed to have been born at Wells in Norfolk, rather than Wells in Somersetshire, as stated by Pits. Fuller maintains that he lived and died an Augustinian in the monastery at Lenne. After taking his degree at Cambridge, he rose to be Provincial of the Order in England; and this responsible and exalted position he held for twenty years. He wrote many books, including his famous *Moralizations upon Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Fuller, in speaking of him, remarks, he was "an industrious man and good writer, abate only the *siboleth* of barbarism, the fault of the age in which he lived." He died and was buried near the monastery in Hopman's Lane (1425).

William Gale was an Augustinian friar at Lenne, where he was probably born. Having studied at Oxford, and taken his degree as Doctor of Divinity, he rose to be Provincial of his Order—the highest position to which he could attain. Although only three of his works are extant, he was eminent in literature. The works referred to are his *Lectiones in Theologia*, his *Disputationes Varie*, and a *Course of Sermons for the Whole Year, preached to the People*. He died in 1507, and was buried with his brethren at Lenne.

John Capgrave, D.D., was also famous among the Austin friars. In a prologue to the *Life of Saint Katharine*, he dispels all misgivings as to the identity of his birthplace:—

If ye will wete what that I am,
My countre is northfolk of the town of Lynne.

In his *Chronicles of England* he writes: "In this yere (1393) in the xxi day of Aprile was that Frère (or brother) bore, which mad these Annotaciones;"—and again, in the metrical life of the Saint from which a quotation has already been copied are these lines:—

To folwe the steppes of my fadires before,
Wiche to the reule of Austyn were swore.

—There is therefore ample justification in stating that this celebrated man was born in Lenne on the 21st day of April 1393, and that his ancestors belonged to the order of St. Augustine. Nothing further than this can be gleaned about his parentage.

His early years were spent in diligent study. It has been conjectured that he received part of his education at Cambridge; be this as it may, he certainly took his degree at Oxford. He was ordained, as he casually mentions, about four years before the birth of Henry VI., at the age of twenty-four. He, too, was chosen Provincial of his Order in England; when, it would be impossible to say, but there is evidence to shew he occupied that unique position as early as 1445. His onerous duties were discharged with the greatest moderation and discretion. In 1422 he is found visiting his brethren in the metropolis. "I heard," he writes on this occasion, "the voice of the churches and the ringing of bells when the birth of our king was made known in London, for I was studying there in the fourth and fifth year after I was raised to the priesthood, and the rejoicing of the people has not yet faded from my memory."

At this period the prior of the Austin Monastery at Lenne and the Provincial of the Friars Hermits in England were one and the same. There is every reason to suppose John Capgrave resided the greater part of his life in the old friary, where he employed his leisure in compiling the annals of his country (to which our indebtedness is obvious) and writing commentaries on almost every part of the Holy Scriptures. His numerous literary works gained for him the envied distinction of being regarded as one of the most learned scholars of his time.* Nearly all his manuscripts are in Latin; a few of them have recently been translated and printed. Wynkyn de Worde produced a black letter copy of his *Nova Legenda Anglia* (1516), and Wharton printed the second volume of ecclesiastical documents, known as *Anglia Sacra*, a short but interesting sketch of the life of Henry le Speneer, (the pugnacious bishop, with whom the good folk of Lenne were often at variance,) besides extracts from the third part of *De Nobilibus Henricis*. John Capgrave died at Lenne (12th of August 1464).

* * * * *

Besides the four great monasteries, there were several other religious houses in Lenne, to which reference is made at the General Dissolution in the reign of Henry VIII.

For a list containing particulars of thirty-seven of Capgrave's works see Capgrave's (*Hingeston's Chronicle of England* (1838), pp. xiii-xx.

CHAPTER L.

Fairs and Markets.

"FROM the sublime to the ridiculous, there is only one step," said the great Napoleon, and there is no more between the religious and the profane, for many of our frivolous, if not exactly profane amusements are but the outgrowth of sacred, bygone observances.

The Lynn Mart, with all its bewildering clatter and confusion—with its swinging boats and merry-go rounds; its shooting galleries and tawdry raree-shows; its fat, over-fed giants and thin half-starved dwarfs; its double-bodied calves; three-headed sheep, and other sickening monstrosities—owes its origin to the religion of our forefathers. Undoubtedly strange we willingly admit, notwithstanding, we are constrained to add, unquestionably true!

Long before the Phœnicians introduced the deifying of the dead into this country, the villages of ancient Greece were governed by separate bodies of Elders. As, however, the welfare of the different villages in the locality was one and the same, the various bodies united to form a common council (*demos*, the people or community) whose object was the commonweal of those whom they represented. A temple, protected by a strong wall, was erected for their accommodation, where they met at certain times, not merely to deliberate upon their mutual safety, but to buy and sell goods, to feast to their stomachs' content and to offer propitiatory sacrifices to the gods. The word *polis*, whose more modern signification is "a city," was at first applied to these enclosures. "This," writes Sir Isaac Newton, "I take to have been the origin of villages, market towns, cities, common councils, vestal temples, feasts and fairs in Europe."

The Christian missionaries, despatched by Pope Gregory, found our heathen ancestors addicted to much feasting, especially when they met to offer sacrifices (A.D. 596). Saint Augustine, therefore, permitted them to build booths around their churches, so that they might continue to enjoy themselves in their own way, and yet worship, if so they felt inclined, according to the rites of the *new* religion. To this concession we may trace the village wake or feast, the mediæval mart or fair and our present market.

Every parish in olden times had its feast—a festival held yearly in honour of some saint or holy person, to perpetuate whose hallowed memory the parish church was in many instances dedicated. By degrees, less reverence and devotion were observed at these gatherings. Hawkers, pedlars, and even merchants flocked thither from great distances, and set up stalls in the churchyards. Trading and feasting were both allied with worship, and the greater the reputation of the saint, the greater not only was the amount of business, but of evil-doing and drunkenness. Fairs and markets, which were so closely connected, that they may be considered together, were usually established or continued by virtue of charters, granted to the owners of the soil, whereon they were appointed to be held. Each grantee became the owner, or as he was then termed the Lord of the Market. It may

be assumed, that as a rule, wherever there was a grant for a market, there was either a church or a religious house of some kind; moreover, that the Lord of the Manor was also the Lord of the Market, and that his income was considerably augmented by the tolls, levied upon those frequenting the place. This custom seems likely to have been introduced by the Romans, because Suetonius, before he became Emperor, "made suite unto the consuls to hold fairs and markets for his own private manors and lands." During the Saxon period markets were common in Britain, and a *toll de mercato* is mentioned in Domesday Book.

THE FEAST OF ST. MARGARET.

In the 11th century Bishop Lozinga settled all the tithes and ecclesiastical dues upon the church dedicated to Saint Margaret and the house of the Benedictine brethren, which he erected in Lynn. He likewise bestowed upon them another important privilege—all profits arising not only from the Saturday market, or as it was then called the mercate of Saint Margaret, but from the fair annually held on the feast of Saint Margaret. This seems to have been confirmed by Henry I., who granted to the priors the power of holding plea of trespass and of fining and amercing.

Long before this time, a primitive fair was in all probability held in Lynn. Five ancient fairs in this country were distinguished as *marts*, namely, Beverley, Boston, Heldon, Gainsborough and *Lenn*. One at least, that of Beverley, was the outcome of a charter granted by Edward the Confessor. From the *ferri*, or public holidays of the Romans, we derive our word *fair*; but with them all business, especially any pertaining to law, was then suspended, so that they might not desecrate the sacred season.

In lieu of certain manors in other parts of Norfolk, our prior surrendered his interest in the market of Saint Margaret and the fairs at Lynn and Gaywood to Bishop Grey. King John was apparently pleased with the exchange the Bishop had effected, and in token of his gracious appreciation, he ratified what the Bishop had done by formally granting him and his successors a yearly fair at Lynn, which was to last fifteen days—that is seven days before and seven days after the feast of St. Margaret (July 20), also another yearly fair to be held in the *Newlonde*, which was to commence on the holy-day—that is *holiday*, for both words are applicable—commemorative of the translation of St. Nicholas (August 20), and to continue for the fifteen following days. His Majesty, however, reserved to the Earl of Arundel and his heirs, a moiety of the profits arising therefrom. To encourage merchants to visit the fair of Lynn the next King guaranteed their safety.

The fair inaugurated to celebrate the feast of the martyred maiden was held on the 20th of July, up to the beginning of the reign of Edward I., when Robert de Tateshale and Lord John de Vaux obtained permission to hold a yearly fair at Boston, on the self-same day. This was awkward; because a rival so near soon proved injurious to the trade of Lynn. Hence in 1425, Bishop Spencer

decided that in future his fair at Lynn should be held on the Feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula, that is on Lammas Day (August 1st). Jealousy between different fairs was by no means uncommon. Disputes arose between the people of Lynn and Cambridge (Stirbich Fair in the reign of Edward VI.), and between Lynn and Boston in the time of Elizabeth. The right to hold a fair in any place was an inestimable boon in those distant days. Commercially a fair was of the utmost importance, because the prosperity of the town so largely depended upon the throngs, who came ostensibly to participate in a religious pageant, but in reality to lay in a stock of clothes, provisions and domestic utensils. No trade of any consequence could then be carried on without a chartered fair. The Saxon law prohibited the transaction of any business, exceeding fourpence, and even then, only in the presence and with the sanction of the chief magistrate, or some person equally as responsible. Through the munificence of our royal benefactors, Lynn was first invested with the rights and privileges which secured the blessings of unrestricted trade, a blessing subsequently fostered and encouraged by various immunities. The institution of fairs tended to increase and develop the means of internal communication, to establish traffic between places previously interdicted, and to expose to ridicule the short-sighted policy of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.

After a while all classes flocked to these church festivals (for they had become quite a national institution), the majority with no thought whatever of worship. Neither the inclemency of the weather, nor the treacherous boggy roads, nor the scores of "valiant beggars" lurking in wayside woods, deterred them from attending, because not merely the luxuries, but the indispensable necessities of mediæval life were only to be obtained at such places. The goods, however, were no longer dedicated at the altar of the patron saints, neither were they blessed by the priests. In course of time all religious ceremony either ceased entirely, or degenerated into a wicked mockery. Although many of the clergy denounced in no unstinted terms the ribaldry and licentiousness, which these feasts encouraged, it was not until 1285, that they were held on other than sacred ground. In 1448 all display of merchandise, except the bare necessities of life, was henceforth prohibited on the Lord's Day, except for four Sabbaths during the harvest. The entire abolition on Sundays did, however, not become law until 1677.

In imagination, we will visit the ancient feast of Saint Margaret.

The day has somewhat advanced, but several brethren from the adjacent Priory, unmindful of the matin hour, are earnestly haggling with a Flemish silversmith over a coveted ornament, which they are desirous of securing for their altar; a stout Franciscan is secretly bartering a beautifully illuminated missal for a stock of wine and spices, whilst a black-robed follower of St. Dominic is driving a hard bargain with a German wood-carver.

The haughty knight is come to purchase furs and silks, and costly laces for his amiable wife and lovely daughters, bowstaves for his

archers, and armour for his stalwart retinue; whilst his son, a proud gallant, is secretly buying jewellery for his lady-love, although he had ridden all the way to *Lenne*, to supply himself with a "brand-new pair of hosen." There is the well-to-do franklin, with his wagon laden with huge bales, his object being to exchange his year's clipping of wool for pans and platters for his household, frieze-garments for his labourers, tar for his sheep-fold, and iron with which he might, during the long winter months, forge harness for his horses. And yonder is His Worship the Mayor of the Burgh, who, as clerk of the market, is trying, with the assistance of "his deputy," to convince a dissatisfied stranger, whose knowledge of our language is limited, that no undue advantage has been taken, and that what he has been charged for *paage*, *pontage*, *piccage*, *stallage* and other tolls is perfectly correct. As we pass adown the long line of booths, we see wines from Spain, Burgundy and Tuscany; pitch and tar from Norway; amber and skins from Russia; swords and helmets from Milan; linen, lawns, diapers and hollands from the Netherlands; and cutlery and articles of steel from Sheffield.

Now let us consider more recent times.

The charter of Henry VIII., granted the Mayor and Burgesses two yearly fairs and two weekly markets. This was nothing more than the notification of previous concessions. The fairs were, however, to be held at the Assumption (August 15th) and at the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (February 2nd), that is on the so-called Feast of Candlemas. It was likewise ordained that "no one foreign to and outside the freedom of the borough may henceforth buy aught or sell aught *in gross* to any like foreigner, within the limits of the burgh, except only at the time of the fair under pain of forfeiture to the king, his heirs or successors, of the things so bought and sold" (1525).

On the 6th of July 1559, Letters Patent of the Exemplification of an Act of Parliament, begun 23rd of January, were issued, respecting the renewal of a fair, commencing after the Feast of the Virgin; it was to last six days, but no mention is therein made of a second fair. The fair in question seems to have been held in the neighbourhood of Norfolk street (the Damgate), but owing to a severe visitation of the plague, it was soon moved to the Tuesday market-place, where it has ever since been held, except in 1681, when the Common Staith was used for that purpose. The Assembly fixed the stallage at six pence and ten pence per square foot, for townsmen and strangers respectively (1659). Seven years later "the mart" was postponed, because the town was suffering from another outbreak of plague.

Some time afterwards the Assembly was uncertain as to the benefits the mart was supposed to yield the town, hence the following decision appears on the minute-book:—"That for and upon divers good and reasonable considerations, it cannot be profitable for this town to have any mart here" (1554). The mart has nevertheless continued to this day; but since the alteration in the style in 1752,

it has been proclaimed on St. Valentine's day instead of the 2nd of February.

MARKETS.

The Saturday market, which is undoubtedly the older, was and has for many centuries been held not far from St. Margaret's church; but the houses gradually encroached so upon the open space, that in 1782 the present defined area was paved, and the traders were asked to remove their stalls from High Street. For some time, they stubbornly refused to quit this narrow, inconvenient thoroughfare.

Our Tuesday market, said to be one of the largest in the kingdom, is now held in a spacious, well-paved area, covering three acres. This market owned an independent existence as early as the reign of Richard I., when it was known as *Forum Martis*.^{*} During the troublous times, incident upon a civil war, the people were warned not to bring out grain, from either the Tuesday or Saturday markets, to the hurt of the Corporation, neither were any permitted to sell victuals "at the water" (river-side) contrary to the mayor's proclamation (1436).

Here punishments in bygone days were publicly inflicted. Many were burnt at the *stake* for witchcraft, heresy, and murder; others were hung for shop-lifting, and a maid servant was, we read, boiled to death for murdering her mistress (1531). It was furnished, moreover, with a pair of *stocks*, and the watchman received special instructions from the Assembly (1483), that if he found any persons breaking the King's peace, he was to forthwith apprehend them and place them in the stocks, and there the offenders were to remain until set at liberty by the mayor. Four years after, a new pair of stocks was deemed necessary, and Robert Mathew, the smith, was commissioned to make them. This he did in a business-like way, but instead of placing them in the market, he, for his own gratification, fixed them in front of the house wherein he lived. Now, the Assembly were not to be trifled with, in this manner; they therefore resolved, that if the said Robert did not immediately obey their ordinance, he should enjoy the fruit of his own labour. As nothing further is recorded of this self-willed son of Vulcan, we may infer, that seeing the error of his way he quickly repented.

There was likewise a *pillory*, from which the thoroughfare, beside the *Duke's Head*, was formerly called "Pillory Lane." As late as 1782 a woman named Howard stood in the pillory. Possibly there was also a *whipping-post*, for offenders, as in other towns, were publicly flogged in Lynn. The late William Armes remembered seeing a man thus punished in our market.

Though far too often the scene of barbarous suffering and cruel death, yet, at times, this market-place re-echoed the merry laughter of the inhabitants.

^{*} The third day of the week was named after the god of the war; *Mars* among the Romans (*dies Martis*), and *Tui* among the Anglo-Saxons (*Tuis dæg*), hence *Forum Martis*—the Market of Mars—the Tuesday Market.

THE MART.

All public notices were once made from the steps of the cross, and it was legally necessary when "proclaiming a fair" to state definitely how long it was to continue (1309). Our present Mart, though wholly devoted to pleasure, is the survivor of one of our earlier fairs; it is still proclaimed, but with a mere travesty of the original *éclat*.

Its importance at the beginning of the 19th century may be estimated by the fact that six weeks were devoted to its erection, although the sides of the stalls and booths were brought to the market-place already constructed. Stourbridge Fair and the Mart at Lynn were then the only places where small traders in Norfolk and the adjoining counties supplied themselves with their year's stock. Merchants from London, the provinces, and even the Continent visited our town. Every conceivable article from "a bunch of blue ribbon" to a ready-made house (framed) was easily procurable.* The thrifty wives deferred their purchases for the Mart, and strictly avoided the "mart prices," which our local shop-keepers exhibited at their windows, surmising that a transitory reduction of 15 per cent. meant an imposition during the rest of the year. Adapting the words of the poet Cowper our forefathers might well inquire:—

— Where has Commerce such a Mart,
So rich, so throng'd, so drained and so supplied
As ——— Lynn?

The opening ceremony was far more imposing than it is at present. On the morning of the memorable day, the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council clad in scarlet, and having been formally "warned over night," met in the Gild Hall "to make" the usual yearly batch of freemen; where, nervously awaiting their pleasure, were assembled some twenty or thirty gawky, ill-favoured youths, whose motley apparel demonstrated the varying degrees of shrinkage, to which cloth, under trying circumstances, is capable. They bow awkwardly, as the civic dignitaries pass through the cold Stone Hall to the Assembly-room beyond. These young men, apprenticed to *freemen*, had honourably completed the seven probationary years, necessary to attain the desired proficiency in their several callings. After their indentures had been examined and pronounced satisfactory by the town clerk, the Mayor gave each instead thereof, a parchment with ribbon and pendent seal, thus conferring upon them the freedom of the borough. Henceforth, as freemen, they were not merely excused the paying of certain local charges, but they were allowed a voice in voting for those who represented them in parliament.

Being joined at one o'clock by twelve decrepit old men, called "Red Coats,"† from the colour of their costume, a procession was formed, whose goal in the first instance was the Tuesday market-place. Here the *proclamation* was read, and after the attendant

* From *Iron Lane* and *Padling Lane* on the west, and *Woodpark Street*, otherwise the Woollen market, on the east of the market-place, derived their names from goods once sold in the vicinity.

† They were paid 10/- each, "for the season."

throng of children had "scrambled" for *hot* halfpence, etc., the members of the Corporation repaired to the Common Staith yard, where the clerk read the following notice:—"All persons, that have any lastage, wares or linen-cloth to sell by wholesale, shall lay the same in the Common Staith yard or in warehouses or booths or chambers there, as heretofore hath been used, or as they or any of them shall be thereunto appointed. God save the King." And finally at the porch of the Custom House:—"All manner of persons, that have any action, suit, or plaint to enter or prosecute for any matter, cause or thing, arising within the jurisdiction of the *Court of Pie-powder* here to be holden for and during the time of this open mart or fair, let them repair to this place, and the same shall be received. God save the King." Then, after remaining at the Custom House for half-an-hour to reinvigorate their flagging energies, by drinking His Majesty's good health, the civic fathers returned to the Gild Hall to participate in a banquet provided at the expense of the mayor.

The obsolete court of *Pie-powder* was held every day, during the continuance of the Mart, in order to settle grievances, and to punish flashmen, cut-purses and defaulters of every kind, so that traders from distant parts might enjoy the advantage of summary justice, in case they should be defrauded. That precautionary measures were necessary must be admitted, when we consider a letter forwarded to William Paston, the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk (31st January 1565). The writer, Thomas Jermy, tells of "sundry suspicious and lewde disposed persons—a great brotherhood of them, who be cutte-purses and notable thieves, that are appointed to meete at Lynne Marte." They were clean and well-horsed, and sold wares like other respectable traders. Their names and the name of their accomplice—Begnall, of Watton—are given, with advice as to the best means of capturing the clever rogues.

In the old Market-Cross there was a so-called Guard Room. Here the veteran guardians of peace and property, the Red Coats or Javelin men, were accustomed to hold watch and ward, armed *cap-à-pie* for the nonce, with three-cornered hats, thick hob-nailed boots and staves, superbly decorated with a crown, a pelican and a boar's head. These old men, who lived in the Framingham Almshouses, were, it would seem, chosen for this important office because of their special imbecility and general incompetency. Regardless of the valuable goods, for whose safety they were solely responsible, they assembled every evening during the inclement "mart weather" in the snug Guard Room, and there regaled themselves with bumpers of hot purl, which the most active of their number fetched, alternately from the *Maid's Head* and the *Angel*. With commendable persistence a small detachment of the light-fingered infantry visited the scene, but owing to a providential supply of acute vigilance on the one hand, and obtuse stupidity on the other, a fatal collision never happened between the daring gang of thieves and the town's well armed though drowsy "Red Coats."

The Market Cross, the pillory, the whipping post, the maypole, and, we are constrained to add, even the statue of the arbitrary king, are all swept away, and the purl-loving custodians have long since emptied their last froathing pewters. In an altered guise, however, the old mart is still proclaimed, but the bazaars, shows, ghost illusions, cinematographs, gramophones, electrical machines and other scientific wonders, which would have affected our grandparents past recovery, are now clustered round a handsome lamp and drinking fountain, which was presented to the town by the late John Malam, and is said to have cost over £300 (1858).

CHEESE FAIR.

The modern representative of the other annual fair was held the 17th of October in King Street and on the neighbouring quay. It generally lasted two days. In 1878, it was abolished as a nuisance. From the large quantities of cheese at one time offered for sale, it was called the "Cheese Fair." A few cheeses were indeed offered for sale in 1853. Onions and potatoes were also staple articles. As facilities for internal communication increased, this fair degenerated, until it became a mere resort of pleasure-seekers.

THE CATTLE FAIR

was formerly held in a field where the Gas Works stand. In 1826 the Paradise field (drained in 1630), was turned into a convenient stock market. The land was granted by the Corporation for this purpose, but the expense incurred in providing pens, etc., was met by public subscription. The great fortnightly cattle sale at Setch was moved to Lynn shortly afterwards. In 1832, our market was leased for 21 years at £80 per annum. It was repaved by means of a loan of £5,000 at 4 per cent. raised by the town (1878); of this loan £800 was unpaid in 1901. Two important sales are held yearly; the second weeks in April and November. In 1897, the returns were as follows:—Hogget fair, 22,299 sheep entered; cattle fair, 1,168 beasts entered.

CHAPTER LI.

Forgotten Industries.

A GENERAL idea of the relative importance of the bygone pursuits of the inhabitants of Lynn may be gained by a careful perusal of the manuscript list of the burgesses, upon whom the freedom of the burgh was conferred. In the subjoined epitome, extending over just one hundred years, that is from the middle of the 15th to the middle of the 16th century, there is clearly a preponderance in the commercial and manufacturing classes.

(a.) *Mercantile.*

138 merchants, some of whom sailed their own vessels; 23 connected with shipping—11 watermen, 5 mariners, 3 shipmasters, a sailor, a boatmaker, a keel-man and a rower.

(b.) *Woollen Manufacture.*

5 merchant adventurers (included with the "merchants"), who obtained new charters in 1604 and 1617 confirming the extensive privilege they enjoyed of exporting English woollen goods to the Netherlands and Germany; 29 weavers (13 coverlet weavers, 12 woollen weavers and 4 weavers); 15 drapers or wholesale dealers in cloth (12 drapers, 2 woollen drapers and a *Kendale* man who sold the famous "Kendale green"—a speciality for foresters—originally made in Kendal in Westmoreland; the livery of Robin Hood and his merry men was made of Kendal-green); 2 haberdashers, sellers of *napertas*—a cloth the width of which was settled by the Magna Charta. A *hapertas-er* was a seller of *hapertas-erie*; 14 shearmen or shearers, engaged in raising the nap; 77 tailors; 1 costumer, a dealer in costumes; 4 fullers, cleaners or bleachers of wool; 6 dyers, of whom 4 are entered as *listers*; 6 hosiers, who made *hosen* or coverings for the legs.

(c.) *Miscellaneous.*

52 butchers, fleshers or fleshmongers; 7 flayers (A. Saxon, *flean*, to skin) 3 skimmers, probably *twayers*, i.e., skin-dressers or parchment-makers. The skimmers must not be confounded with the *pelterers*, who dealt in *pelts* or skins. 5 tanners and 3 curriers; 10 saddlers assisted by 4 (leather) joiners; 9 barkers, who stripped the trees for the tanners. Du Cange mentions "barking-mills" and "bark-powder;" 59 shoemakers, of whom 17 were "cord-wainers," who at first worked up goat skins or *Cordovan* leather; in 1390 and 1426 they were prohibited from tanning hides; 1 cobbler or shoe-mender (Latin, *copulo*, to join); a distinct trade; the cobbler was legally restricted to mending, and could only use pieces of leather, below a certain measurement; in 1409 re-soling was the legal prerogative of the cord-wainer; 3 sutors or suters (Latin, *suo*, to sow), another name for a cobbler; 4 pattenmakers—a "pattyn" was a wooden clog, shod with iron; 17 glovers; 1 spicer; 13 grocers, who sold wholesale or by the *gross*, hence *gross-ers*; often termed pepperers; 25 mercers, vendors of small wares; 3 chapmen, that is *cheap-men* or salesmen who travelled the country with packages of goods (peddars or peddlers); 36 bakers, of whom 9 are entered as *baxters*; 3 fishermen and 23 fishmongers; 3 masons—a *freemason* was one who worked in freestone, in contradistinction to the "rough mason"; 8 carpenters, and 8 tilers; 3 painters (peyntours); 2 plumbers (plombers); 5 glaziers; 4 turners, who plied "the trade of the lathe"; 1 wright, and 2 shipwrights; 26 smiths (including 4 blacksmiths, 4 locksmiths, and 2 bladesmiths), sometimes termed *jabri*; they worked in other materials besides iron; 9 braziers, workers in copper and brass (*repousse*); 6 pewterers; pewter was substituted for utensils of wood, tin and silver; articles of pewter, being exceedingly dear in the time of Elizabeth, were generally hired; 1 hardwareman; 1 bow-maker (bowyer); 1 arrow-maker (fletcher); 2 arrow-head-makers; 1 spur-maker (spuryer); a *lorimer* made spurs, bits, &c.; 6 rope-makers, of whom 6 were "ropers;" 12 brewers, and 22 coopers; 5 vintners, who sold meat, fish and other refreshments; 2 "innholders"; 1 physician ("flesysion"); 2 surgeons, doubtless adepts also in the tonsorial art; 12 barbers; as skilled in blood letting and surgical operations as they were in shaving and hair-cutting, hence barber-surgeons; 14 chandlers, of whom 6 were wax-chandlers; 1 oil-maker; 1 tent-maker; 1 miller—it was compulsory to grind corn at the town-mill and pay a fee to the lord of the manor, hence millers were scarce; 5 goldsmiths, one being entered as an "aurifaber;" 2 furbars or fubishers, i.e., polishers or cleaners of metals, who sometimes mounted sword-blades; 1 organ-maker; 1 cook, possibly a "pasterer" or pastry-cook; 4 porters, or carriers; 1 dexter, or helper (a right-hand, as it were).

There can be no doubt, that during the Middle Ages, Lynn was a manufacturing town, and that its manufactured goods formed the foundation of its commercial prosperity.

(1) OUR OLDEST HANDICRAFT.

The woollen manufacture was probably introduced into this country by the Romans; prior, however, to the advent of the Normans

the roughest materials were woven. The Saxons collected the fleeces, and, retaining a few for actual coverings, sent the rest into Flanders, which was at that period and continued to be throughout the Middle Ages the centre of the European woollen manufacture. To the development and perfection of this industry in England, we are indebted to the natives of Flanders, who were the best weavers in Europe, and companies of whom, at different times and for various causes, migrated and settled in this country.

A few Flemings, following in the train of the Conqueror, were the first to begin the revision and improvement of our crude process. East Anglia, a purely agricultural district, quickly assumed the lead. From the yarn spun on a distaff, with a primitive spindle, the ingenious folk of Norwich manufactured *burel*, which was, although a comparatively coarse fabric, not only used throughout the kingdom, but largely exported. Nevertheless, until the dawn of the 14th century England must be regarded as far other than a manufacturing nation. At that period there flocked into our towns many "strangers" from the Low Countries. Luckily among the crowds of copper-workers and artificers were cardmakers, combers, weavers, fullers, dyers and shearmen, who were of course necessarily interested in the textile trade.

Influenced by a beautiful wife, Philippa of Hainault, Edward III. was exceedingly well-disposed to all foreigners, and particularly to the Queen's countrymen did he outstretch a welcoming hand, thus giving a fresh impetus to the manufacture of cloth and woollen goods. The Queen also greatly assisted. She sent for John Kempe, an expert weaver in Flanders, promising him that if he would "come to England with the servants and apprentices of his mystery, and with his goods and chattels, and with any dyers and fullers who may be inclined willingly to accompany him beyond the seas, and exercise their mysteries in the kingdom of England, they shall have letters of protection and assistance in their settlement." He came accordingly and dwelt for a time in Norwich, but subsequently he established the manufacture of the famous "Kendal" green in Westmoreland. Miss Strickland terms Kempe "the patriarch of the Norwich woollen manufacturers." In the city there was a building known as "Queen Philippa's House." About the same time (1331) two Flemish weavers were induced to start a business in York, whilst Thomas *Blanket* founded an important industry at Bristol, which has perpetuated his memory. But Kendal, York and Bristol were soon to be totally eclipsed by the burellers of Norwich. By initiating the Norfolk weavers into the art of producing superior fabrics, Norwich—

THE MANCHESTER OF MEDIEVAL TIMES—

was evolved from the cradle of our earliest handicraft. Around Norwich grew a vast manufacturing district, not dotted with noisy mills and factories, but with quiet hamlets and homesteads where spinning, weaving and worsted-making absorbed the attention of every household. To the weavers and merchants of Norwich was accorded the exclusive right of supervising the woollen trade of the whole

country (1348), but this system did not work satisfactorily. The wealthy cloth contractor continued to impose upon the poor weaver, until the management was at last handed over to the mayor, sheriffs and commonalty of the city, who were credited with impartiality (1409). They, as the *alnagers* appointed by the Treasury, examined all cloth before it was placed upon the market; and collected the tax imposed upon the production thereof. At great inconvenience the weavers were compelled to bring every web to the *tokeners* or inspectors, who after accurately ascertaining the length, the breadth and the quality of the material, affixed a leaden *token* as a guarantee to prevent purchasers from being defrauded. A law passed in 1442 instructed the weavers to choose four wardens of the city every year, who should in their turn choose two inspectors or overseers for the surrounding places, to examine all fabrics. Of the faulty goods, which were of course forfeited, the wardens and overseers each took a half. Three years later, the city weavers were ordered to select four wardens for Norwich and four for the county, who were to make laws conducive to the trade. This method of industrial government was so fraught with mischief that by "An Acte concerning worsted-making in the Citie of Norwich, Lynn and Yarmouth" (1494), the worsted-shearers of Norwich were prohibited from making any ordinance, except with the consent and approval of their mayor and aldermen.

THE STAPLE

was an organisation peculiar to this country. It was an appointed place at which certain goods, such as wool, wool-fells, skins, etc., might be brought for sale. For a century or more Bruges was generally selected, but Edward III., as if not knowing his own mind, shifted hither and thither. At last Calais was chosen as the most convenient and advantageous centre. Every dealer was compelled to carry his wares by a prescribed route to the staple, unless he was prepared either to pay a high tax to the Crown or to purchase, at a startling price, a free-trade licence of the king.

"Thomas the clerk" journeyed from Lynn to London to transact important arrangements in connection with "the staple of wool." He afterwards received of the borough chamberlains twenty shillings to defray his expenses, and forty shillings for himself and his associates, who attended the last parliament with him (1332-3). Eight years later the Commons granted the King 30,000 sacks of wool—a tax payable either in money or in kind. An assessment of the several districts may be seen in the Rolls of Parliament for the year 1341. Norfolk was at that time the richest county in England, and therefore contributed most largely to the wool-tax. It was assessed for 2,206 sacks, 20 stone 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs., which at £4 per sack amounted to £8,828, or, in actual weight of silver, three times as much.

Carracks of Genoa carried English cloth to the shores of the Black Sea; galleys of Venice fetched them to the pits of the Venetian dyers; merchants of the Hanseatic League sold them in the very fair of Novgorod; English traders travelled with them to the inland markets of Prussia and gave them in exchange

for casks of herrings in Denmark. At the close of the (15th) century the English Merchant Adventurers exported about 60,000 pieces cloth yearly; and in the beginning of the 16th century the cloth dealers boasted that never before in the memory of man was so much cloth sold out of England. The 60,000 bales rose in 1509 to 84,789 pieces, and in 1547 to 722,354; and the dealers claimed further gratitude and admiration of their country, for the fact that they had 'by their industry' raised by a fifth the price demanded from the foreigner. (Mrs. Green.)

The principal mart for the disposal of English and foreign cloth was Stourbridge Fair, which was held in a large meadow about two miles from Cambridge. It lasted a whole month, attracting crowds of sellers and buyers, not only from all parts of England, but also from Western Europe.

Among the State Papers is a note from Peslowe, a collector of *alnage* (1602), containing the names of 60 persons, living in Norwich, Lynn and Yarmouth, besides the names of 75 country weavers, who had neglected to pay the tax upon lace, cloth, stuffs, etc. The sums imposed ranged from 4s. to £10. The annual amount then averaged £4,888 11s. 4½d.

TRADE-NAMES.

Whilst Norwich was early celebrated for its fustians and bombasins, and Aylsham for its linen (*lyng'teille d' Eylesham* of the 14th century), Lynn was renowned for the manufacture of bed-coverlets. Many of the Flemings, who at first were sojourners in Norwich, ultimately migrated to Lynn; and to them our forefathers owed their prosperity in a great measure. This is established by the fact that the surnames of many of our townfolk are of Flemish origin. The following names, culled from our records, are distinctly Flemish:—

15th century: Sibert Hase, John Growte, John Misaundre, John Chantrell, John Gott, Robert Carrant, Richard Ampleys, William Stibien, John Alesaundre, Nicholas Josson (a fuller), Peter Janrys (a coverlet weaver), Philip Beys (a maker of baize), etc.

16th century: Richard Campyon, Lawrence Toche, Henry Dewplack, Roger Grymoche, Richard Dussant, John Sourmere, Stephen Cherburgh, Richard Jankynson, John Betruch, Thomas Roose, Christopher Purdewe, William Lambard, etc.

The *Return of a Fourth Payment of a Subsidy* (1551) gives nearly 30 per cent. as foreigners.

When Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes and persecuted his Protestant subjects during the 17th century, 50,000 refugees fled into Norfolk and settled there.

This large influx of foreigners did not please the good people of Norfolk, who saw not the gain which would accrue to them from the superior skill of the newcomers, but a certain diversion of their own work among fresh hands. Petitions were drawn up and Government aid demanded, whilst for years open displays of ill-feeling were frequent. For their part, the foreigners kept aloof from the jealous townfolk, had their own quarter, their own places of worship, and their own wardens, until lapse of time cured the soreness and the English were ready to recognise them as, not only peaceable and law-abiding, but skilled workmen, who were not averse to share their trade secrets. Among the many light fabrics the French introduced at this time was crape, a manufacture which added considerably to the wealth of Norwich. It was soon in enormous request,

and gradually increased in popularity until, under the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, it was ordered for Court mourning. (Isabel S. Robson, in the *Antiquary*.)

The antipathy our tradesmen evinced to strangers is illustrated by a little incident which happened in 1458. John Nicholasson, a Fleming, was chosen to fill the mayoral chair. Now Simon Oldmedow, a smith by trade and a Saxon by descent, in an unguarded moment expressed his dislike to foreign interlopers by reminding the most noble and venerable mayor of an English burgh that he was "Flemish bred." The epithet, though mild as milk, was not to be excused. The insolent burgess was mulcted heavily for his temerity.

In the letters patent, dated 1413, as many as 172 burgesses are mentioned as being bound in various sums to maintain the King's peace in the burgh of Bishop's Lenn. The consideration of the names therein given may not be out of place. Surnames were first used in the 11th century. Some in the list before us are derived from the places from whence the person came. Thus John of Bilney is termed "John Bilneye" to distinguish him from his namesake, who lived at Wormegay, and who was designated "John Wormegay"; some were named after certain qualities—physical, mental, or moral—the person in question was supposed to possess. There is Adam Whyte and Thomas Scarlet. John Trothe and John Frank. Robert Brightowe and Robert Sadd, Richard Dandy and Robert Noble. Others were distinguished by their social position; there is a John Swayn and a Richard Constable.

But by far the most interesting are the trade-names, a few of which may be enumerated. For example: John *Spicer* (a spicer), Edmund *Belleyttre* (a bell-founder), Adam *Candeler* (a chandler), Geoffrey *Joynour* (a joiner), Adam *Marchant* (a merchant). Robert and Andrew *Fourbour* (metal polishers), Walter *Baxter* (a baker), John and Nicholas *Barbour* (barbers), Roger *Loksmythe* (a locksmith), William *Pcautrer* (a pewterer), John *Steynour* (a wood stainer), Hugh *Cook* (a pastry cook) and Thomas *Lynnour* (lyner, a maker of cords and lines).

Associated with our woollen industry these may be cited:—John *Draper*, William *Wolman* (woolman), John *Wystede* and Thomas *Worsted* (probably weavers), John and Nicholas *Shermon* (cloth finishers), William *Pressour* (a calendar or cloth-presser), John *Parmenter* (a tailor), Stephen and Richard *Lyster* (dyers), and Richard *Letthour* (a maker of leach or lye used by the fullers).

In the original document the *trade* of the person is invariably omitted if the surname express the calling he follows. With misleading surnames the trade is always given, thus—Thomas Walsingham, *bocher*; Thomas Wyrngeye, *skynner*; John Walpole, *bocher*; William Wesenham, *cordwaner*; John Crosse, *skynner*; John Love-day, *sporyour*; John Balder, *skynner*; John King, *bocher*; John Brown, *taylour*; John Candeler, *wolman*; John Clerk, *barbour*; John Swayn, *fletcher*; John Botthe, *draper*; John Gocche, *glover*; and Roger Brown, *barker*.

Nine weavers of coverlets were admitted to the freedom of the burgh in thirty years (1459 to 1489), four of whom, having served a seven years' apprenticeship, paid nothing; whilst the others each paid the sum of forty shillings. That the woollen trade was well represented during the 15th century is conclusive. A shuttle, a pair of shears, a stocking and the arms of the Merchant Tailors' Company are devices which were common on the tradesmen's tokens struck during the 17th century.

A very important acquisition to our almost forgotten weaving industry was

THE CRAFT OF THE TAILORS.

As early as "ye olde tyme"—to quote from a page in the *Red Register*, relating to the mid-fifteenth century,—our municipal authorities made a statute of the Hall or a bye-law affecting the business of the local tailors. Their object was two-fold—first to protect the trade against the many adventitious strangers, who were setting up businesses and opening workshops in the burgh; and secondly to insure a supply of high-class goods, combining excellent workmanship with a perfect fit. "If any person complain of any man of the said craft, that he hath hurt by miscutting or mis-shaping any part of his clothes, taken otherwise than in true form . . . he shall make amends to the party or parties so grieved." Owing to an influx of tailors the Assembly re-affirmed this bye-law, and devised others for the good government of this branch of the woollen industry (1449). There were eight-and-thirty competent tailors in the town who agreed to the various regulations, which were of course entered in the minute book of the Assembly. They were bound to meet in the Guild Hall every year, within two months after the feast of St. Michael (29th September), and in the presence of the mayor to select two of their craft to act as headmen, who, upon oath and "under pain that belongeth to the Hall," were bound to faithfully discharge certain duties. In conjunction with the mayor, they were to test carefully the sartorial abilities of every new comer, whether he plied needle or shears. If the stranger were of sufficient cunning, he was allowed to follow his calling either as an alien or as a denizen enjoying the rights of a burgess. Inducements were offered him to become a burgess; if, however, the craftsman declined to purchase his freedom, he was compelled to pay 40 pence to the mayor, 40 pence to the "Commons of Lenn" and a like sum to the headmen, which was to go towards the sustentation of the procession upon Corpus Christi day. Besides these large amounts, he had to pay a similar fee, for every apprentice he might take. This money was also set aside for the purpose already stated. But if he were willing to become a denizen, he was excused payment to the mayor and also to the commons; but he paid 40 pence notwithstanding to the headmen towards the procession, and one farthing for every sewer (denizen) if engaged by the week, but if for the quarter, two pence. And for every sewer (alien) employed, a double payment was demanded.

Moreover, any of the fraternity of tailors, guilty of crafty slander, were fined 40 pence each, and punished as advised by the

mayor. If a person, other than a tailor, maligned a tailor, he was not subject to the usual fine, but his punishment rested entirely with the mayor. All debates and controversies, arising between the shaper or fitter and the sewer were to be settled by the headmen; if, however, they failed to reconcile the disputants, the matter was to be laid before the mayor, whose decision must be accepted, as just and final.

The above regulations, reinforced in 1449, fully account for the extraordinary number of tailors, who paid heavily for their freedom.

OLD STREET-NAMES.

It was usual in bygone times for artificers and craftsmen to live in the same locality; they fully recognised how good and how pleasant it was for brethren to dwell together in unity. Moreover, copying the Roman custom, they gave the name of their particular calling to the street wherein they dwelt.

The custom of congregation (writes Sir Walter Besant), was useful in more ways than one—it gave dignity to the craft and inspired self-respect in the craftsmen; it kept up the standard of good work; it made craftsmen regard each other as brethren, not enemies; it gave them guilds of which our trades unions, which think of nothing but wages, are the degenerate successors; and it brought each trade under the salutary rule of the Church.

The skimmers, fur dressers and parchminers or parchment makers, were located, as might reasonably be anticipated, in the *Skinners' Row*, the western end of St. James' Street. They formed an important section of the community, and on one occasion received twenty shillings by way of reward "for their labours about the procession at the Feast of Corpus Christi" (Edward IV.). Skinners' Row was subsequently called Leeds Street, probably because the goods sold there came from the great Yorkshire emporium. Our readers have often noticed the old public-house signboard, bearing a good pictorial representation of three pigeons, hence "Three Pigeon" Street. This sign we are inclined to trace to the arms of the Tallow Chandlers' Company, which are thus described: Per fesse, azure and argent a pallet counter-changed; *three doves* on the last, each holding in the beak an olive branch, or.

If in quest of bread or flour our forefathers wended their way to Fynne's Lane (Tower Street), which, after the settlement of the baxters or bakers was termed the *Baxters' Row*. There was a horse-mill just over the Baxters' bridge, where the bakers ground their wheat and barley. It was in the Newland and was "run by the Bishop." If meat were needed, possibly it might be bought in the *Butchers' Lane*, subsequently Bulwer Row (Surrey Street). Apparently there were, in the words of William Langland,

Baksteres and brewesteres
And bochiers manye,
Woollen webbesters
And wevers of lynnyn.

Our *Wool Market* was of course in the *Woolpack Street*, which took its appellation from the silver woolpack, emblazoned upon the red shield of the Woolmen's Company. Here in the *Woollen Street*

was the mansion of William Conynsby, who in 1536 represented our borough in Parliament (1536); and here, too, stood the Wool Hall, with its fine entrance; its undercroft, so convenient to the dealers; and its broad *staeger*, or outside staircase, leading to the spacious upper room, where woolmongers and clothiers (as the wool buyers were then called) have wrangled over many a hard bargain. Afterwards this thoroughfare was called Black Goose Street, from an inn; and now St. Nicholas' Street, from the church.

A little colony of weavers or websters lived beside Colville fleet, in whose waters they used to rinse their webs of cloth. The *Websters' Row* has given place to Broad Street (1629). Possibly a community of spinners dwelt in Enguald's Lane (1329), now Cattle Market Lane, but at one time *Spinners' Row*. Being so near Websters' Row, it seems very probable.

In the *Fullers' Row* (St. James' Street) the cloth-scourers or fullers resided, and here no doubt were several fulling-mills. Their fabrics were spread out to bleach in a meadow called *Le Balle*. The dyers or listers might have been met in *Lister gate*, or *Listers' gate Street* (Chapel Street), as the name is given in the will of Margaret Frenghe (1342); and finally the mercers, who, in the words of the old song,

Delte in divers *marcerye*
Right as that pedlars were,

monopolised the southern half of our present High Street, which was then yclept "*ye Mercers' Row*."

WORSTED AND HOSIERY.

A peculiar method, the carding of wool with hot iron combs, and a tighter twisting of the fibres in spinning, was devised about 1340 at Worstead, a village, some ten miles north-east of Norwich. This process rendered the fabric, soon in great demand for wall draperies and bed-hangings, stiffer in quality and higher in price. It continued to be called *worsett* or *worsyl* from the place where it was first woven, long after the industry was transplanted to Norwich and Lynn, where the clever Flemish strangers perfected the process. It has already been stated that migration was the cause of the decline in the East Anglian woollen industry. To prevent the departure of the textile trades from the old centres, various repressive measures were put in force. As for example, Henry VIII. enacted that "no one should dye, shar, or calender wool, but in Norwich." This caused great inconvenience to the worsted weavers at Lynn. Hence in 1670, as there were neither calenders nor dyers at hand to press or dye their webs of cloth, they earnestly implored the Assembly to use their influence to benefit a local industry by obtaining an Act providing for the permanent settlement in their midst of a calender and a dyer. An agitation to repeal the old Act would have been a more sensible course. During the 16th and 17th centuries worsted-weaving was one of our chief industries.

Worsted yarn was employed in the knitting of hosen or stockings. In 1685, a serious decline arose, not only here but in other

parts. It was entirely owing to the introduction of a new process—the application of weaving in the production of hosiery. Hundreds of women and children, who gained a livelihood by plying their knitting needles, were rendered destitute. A petition was therefore presented to the Assembly, who, being unable to avert the coming catastrophe, politely handed it to Sir Simon Taylor and Sir John Turner, the town's representatives, whom they entreated to place the grievances of their fellow-burgesses before the parliament. Nothing, however, was done by the State to alleviate the distress. Five years later the Assembly was again memorialised, as is clear from this entry in the Hall Book:—"January 17th, 1689-90. On petition of the Hosiers of the town in behalf of the poor against the new invention of *weaving worsted hose*, whereby many thousands of the poor are destitute of employment, it is ordered and agreed that a petition from this House to the Honourable House of Commons representing that grievance, now read, be sealed with the common seal of this burgh."

To encourage the woollen trade an Act was passed, that everyone who died should be buried in a woollen garment (1678). This Act was emphasized and reinforced in 1690. The person who laid out the corpse was compelled to make an "affidavit upon oath" in the presence of the minister and two witnesses that the deceased was wound, wrapt up and laid forth in woollen only and that no other material than that made from sheep's wool had been used. The minister was responsible for the careful registration of an affidavit for each death.

Special mention is made in the churchwardens' accounts for South Lynn of a Mrs. Mary Foster, who was buried in linen, and who made provision for the payment of the fine—a common procedure—by bequeathing fifty shillings to the poor (1761).

DORNIK.

The manufacture of this inferior kind of damask was started at Pulham, a few miles from Harleston, almost simultaneously with that of worsted. It was composed of silk, linen and woollen threads, into which gold was sometimes woven; it derives its name from *Doornik*, the Flemish name for Tournay in Hainault.

For some time Pulham was exclusively celebrated for this manufacture, but after a while it was made at Lynn. Edward Carver, a "dornick weaver," was presented with his freedom, because he "formerly took as an apprentice a poor child-of-the-town and promised to take another" (1620); Thomas Donne, a weaver of the same material, purchased his freedom for £10 (1656).

In 1631, the making of silk lace was carried on here; duty was paid on "linen cloth" in 1601—a manufacture thriving in 1669.

THE DECLINE OF OUR WOOLLEN TRADE.

The lucrative textile industry, which contributed greatly towards making Lynn and Norwich what they were, was doomed, although the beautiful fabrics produced in Norfolk were far superior to any

others. Unfortunately the workmen, conscious of the fact, grew not merely more and more independent of their employers, but they demanded absurdly exorbitant wages. No wonder a "Norfolk nose" was proverbially an infallible sign of covetousness. Jack thought himself equally as good as, if not better than his master any day. In Yorkshire the weavers were less capricious and more thrifty; they were other than grasping, because the haste to grow rich had not undermined their integrity. They lived, moreover, on humbler fare—oatmeal porridge and milk chiefly; and, what was of greater importance, they could be depended upon; whereas the southern weaver was at best a troublesome, dissatisfied, spasmodic worker. Hence the woollen trade gradually declined in East Anglia and correspondingly increased in the West Riding of Yorkshire. "The glory of Norwich departed," writes Mrs. Green, "as cloth-makers pushed along the moorland streams of Yorkshire to Wakefield and Huddersfield and Halifax, and set up fulling-mills among the few peasant huts of remote hamlets." The queen regent of Scotland, Margaret Tudor, wrote to the Duke of Norfolk desiring safe conduct for two ships to come to Lenne to buy stuff for the King's household (1525), but in 1550 huge bales of English goods were piled up on the wharves at Antwerp, unsold "through the naughtiness of their making;" and woollen goods "fraudulent in make, weight and size were exposed in the square of St. Mark's (Venice) with the brand of the Senate upon them to testify to the decay of English honesty." When too late the Norfolk weavers discovered, that their arbitrary cupidity had sacrificed one of those remarkable birds which lays phenomenal eggs.

To ameliorate the prevailing distress, the mayor and sheriffs of Norwich consulted with the Duke of Norfolk (1565), and it was agreed to invite divers strangers who were on the point of leaving the Low Countries because of the cruel persecution instituted by the Duke of Alva. They accordingly sought refuge in London and Sandwich. By virtue of a licence, 300 of the refugees took up their abode in Norwich. In five years the number increased to 3,000. The manufacture of bombasin was then introduced, whilst that of bays (baize), says, arras, mockades, etc., gradually improved. Norwich, however, was never again to hold the foremost position.

Many Walloon and Dutch artisans found their way to Lynn, and ere long the people of Norwich evinced a feeling of jealous annoyance. Mindful that their textile industry had years before been destroyed by the steady competitive weavers of Yorkshire, and that it now seemed to be reviving, they were particularly anxious to guard against a rival, especially one so near at hand. Hence, prompted by his crafty brethren the mockade weavers, Anthony de Potter was persuaded to do his best in outwitting the weavers of Lynn. After a lengthy debate in court, an order was granted "that the wardens of the Walloons in that city should search and seal all commodities brought from Lynn." They wished to exclude all Lynn-made stuffs from their market and thus secure a profitable monopoly.

Again, when the Mayor and Corporation of our borough petitioned the Council to grant them leave to establish the spinning of worsted yarn and the manufacture of stockings in the St. James' Workhouse, a letter was sent from Norwich to the Privy Council (June 27th, 1623), pointing out what great injury the poor of Norwich would suffer if the Lynn petition were granted. The communication stated that the poor in the city were numerous and verging on mutiny, that Norwich had no lucrative sources but her manufactures, whereas Lynn was a sea-faring place and was also engaged in the culture of land.

Several abortive attempts were made to find employment for our poor at St. James' Workhouse. Each of the following failed after a brief existence:—

1580. The manufacture of baize.

1586. The dressing of hemp and the making of string and "tows" for our fishermen.

1623. The spinning of worsted yarn.

1682. Unsuccessfully revived, when the "spinning-school" was established for the children of our collectioners—those who received weekly relief out of collections made every Sunday at the churches.

(2) GLASS

Brother Daniel was *vitrarius*—glazier or glass-maker at the abbey of St. Benet's-at-Holme, near Acle. He died in 1135, and was buried in the church, whose windows he had beautified. Information, however, respecting the manufacture of glass in this country during the Middle Ages is somewhat meagre. The horners and bottle-makers constituted one company, but of their trade achievements little is known. In the *Breviary of Philosophy* we read:—

As for glass makers they be scant in this land

Yet *one* there is, as I do understand;

And in Sussex is now his habitation

At Chiddingfold he works of his occupation.

This was written by Thomas Charnock in 1557, who is wrong at least in one point—Chiddingfold is in Surrey and not in Sussex. The manufacture of glass was carried on as early as 1300 in Lynn, for Jordan de Verrer (French, *verrier*, a glass-maker) made a window for the Town Hall.

The old glasshouse at Lynn, a round building in Spinners' Row (a site included in the Cattle Market), was not built before the middle of the 17th century. There was, as there is at present, an abundance of sand in the neighbourhood; yet the outlay, in bringing coals to Lynn, greatly contributed to the failure of this industry. Shortly after the Restoration, the Presbyterians converted the building into a chapel.

In a *Groundplat of King's Lynn* (1561) there is marked a rectangular "Glasshouse," near the Fisher fleet.

I see no reason (wrote William Armes in 1872) why glass should not be manufactured in Lynn. We are accustomed to send sand of a very superior quality, and found near the port, to be manufactured in Newcastle and Sunderland, and the glass in large quantities, when made, is returned to Lynn and the south at considerable cost of transit; the whole expenses so incurred being much more than sufficient to balance any advantage in the price of coal at the north

ports. Flint stone, also an important ingredient in glass manufacture, is found in large quantities near Lynn. The manufacture of glass is carried on to a considerable extent in Birmingham and London, to both of which districts Lynn formerly sent sand for the purpose.

(3) SALT.

In the Saxon era there were many salt-works in the vicinity of Lynn; at the beginning of the 11th century there were no less than thirty in Gaywood, twenty at Wootton, twelve at Rising and eight at Babingley. These pits or pans were conveyed in the usual way, "with the vessels for boiling salt" and "with all the utensils and wells of salt." Their value increased in proportion to their nearness to the sea-shore. Salt was not only employed in barter, but for the payment of debts. East of the ground held by the Black Friars in the reign of Edward I. was a messuage and eight or ten acres of salt marsh, which Thomas, the son of Nicholas, hired of the Bishop. As tenant he was to pay 6s. 8d. and two coombs of salt yearly. Now the aforesaid Thomas having an eye to business, sublet the estate to William de Couteshale on remunerative terms—one penny as rent of the messuage and for the marsh 8s. and two coombs of salt.

It is highly probable, that before the days of prohibitive duties, the manufacture of this commodity was largely carried on in Lynn and the surrounding district, and that the adjacent inland counties derived their supply from this neighbourhood. Referring to a survey of the "Estate of the Mayor and Burgesses of King's Lynn" made by William Newham (1809), we notice four plots of land (6 acres, 1 rood, 28 perches) between *Salter's* road and the adjacent sea-bank, which were then let to Thomas Allen at a yearly rental of £27 5s. These "salt coats," as they are designated, were no doubt ancient *salinæ* or salterns.

Our salt-works declined, in Elizabeth's reign, if not before; for in 1654 the Queen granted to Caspar Seeler the sole privilege of making white salt for a term of twenty years. The next year her Majesty unfairly granted a similar licence to "a stranger born"—Francis Bertie, of Antwerp, the Crown claiming one-tenth of the profit. In 1580 William Harbrowne applied for permission to make "salt upon salt," that is *white* salt, by boiling *brown* or bay salt previously deposited through the heat of the sun. His licence was to be exercised in Yarmouth only. Nine years later Thomas Wilkes held a similar patent for manufacturing white salt within the ports of Hull, Boston, and Lynn; but as certain persons disputed his right, application was made to the Privy Council to silence "the impugnors by strengthening his patent" (July 1589). Although at that time the production of salt was beginning to be general, yet there was an apparent scarcity, because in return for the corn exported to Spain and Portugal, we were restricted to take in exchange bullion, oranges—and salt.

(4) SHIPS.

"For shipbuilding there is no better town in England than King's Lynn." So the late Mr. Bottomley used to declare, and his

opinion was reiterated by the late William Armes in these words: "I have always thought Lynn to be as good a port for this branch of business as any one in England." Shipbuilding was carried on in Lynn to a much larger extent in former years than has been the case recently; "and within living memory," he continues, "vessels for the Royal Navy have been launched here, besides several merchant ships of large burden for the East and West India trade."

Our forefathers were not unmindful of the natural advantages Lynn possessed, and the building and equipping of ships probably constituted one of the early occupations in which they were engaged. Margaret of Sweden, unable to cope with a band of plunderers called the "Victual Brothers," begged permission of Richard II. to hire three suitable vessels from Lynn for the protection of her kingdom; and writs were repeatedly issued to our Mayors to furnish vessels for the defence of the kingdom. The *St. Paul* of London was built at Lynn (1629). Coming to later times, the following launches were recorded by the late Francis Aldrich:—

August 15th, 1795, the brig *Thetis*.

November 17th, 1796, the warship of *Auspicious* of 600 tons, having been built in the ship-yard near St. Ann's fort. Referring to the "good ship *Auspicious*," the *Bury and Norwich Post* (November 23rd, 1796) remarks: "She is pierced for 20 guns, and is the *largest* vessel built in that port." This may not, however, be the case.

September 20th, 1797, the gunboat *Haughty* for the service of the Government from the same shipyard.

March 19th, 1798, from the same yard, the *Victor*, which was pierced for 22 guns.

July 18th, 1799, the *Ida*.

October 28th, 1799, the *Nelson*.

January 29th, 1800, the *Duke of Kent*, from Brindley's yard.

When vessels were constructed of English oak, our port was in direct river communication with some of the finest timber districts in the country; and when Baltic timber was imported for that purpose it was equally as well situated. Some years since a government contract for what was then termed "a large ship of war" was abandoned because of the defective state of our channel. The discontinuance of the industry was owing in a large measure to this cause.

Fifty years ago there were three shipyards:—

1. Larkin's, situated behind a house in Chapel Street, where Mr. Pindar lived. In 1812, the *Lord Cawdor* (300 tons) was launched from thence.

2. Lister's, on the site once occupied by Messrs. Turner and Co.'s workshop for engine building in St. Nicholas Street.

3. Bottomley's, near the South Gates, from whence the *George the Fourth* was launched. He succeeded the late Mr. Ayre, and was himself succeeded first by Mr. Reynolds, and then by Mr. William Shipp. The following vessels were launched from this yard:—The *Hebe* (1845), the brig *Lady Jocelyn* (1847), the brig *Calyпсо* (1848), the *Undine* (1849), the *Emily* (1850), the *Galatea*, a brig of 190 tons (1852), the *Parthenia*, a brig of 350 tons (1853),

the *Young England*, a clipper of 600 tons (1853), the *Macedonian*, a bark of 400 tons (1854), the *Arethusa*, 600 tons (1855), the *Royal Arthur*, 500 tons (1855), the *Marie Josephine*, 213 tons (1855), and the *Harcourt*, a brig of 400 tons (1856).

A dry-dock was constructed on the Friars, near Mr. F. W. Lane's Steam Saw Mills, about a century ago, by Mark Watson of Blyth (the maternal great grandfather to the Rev. E. J. Alvis); he built the *Phanix* for one of the Bagges, who presented him with a silver goblet on which the ship was engraved. The first vessel to enter for repairs was the *William* of Lynn, the property of the late Mr. R. Freeman (November 2nd, 1796). Messrs. William and Thomas Bagge hired the Friars Field (10 acres 21 pls.), with the Dry Dock from the 21st of December 1803 for 65 years, at an annual rent of £100 and a fine of £1,500, covenanting to receive vessels for repair at certain fixed rates. This was indeed a disastrous speculation! The dock becoming quite useless, has lately been filled up.

James Seals had a slip at West Lynn, where for a time vessels were overhauled. A few years since certain gentlemen began making a graving dock, not far off (1883); but their design was never completed.

(5) MINOR UNDERTAKINGS.

The vicar of Allsaints, the Rev. John Norris, refers in his will to an Oyle House outside the East Gates (1503), where sperm oil for lighting purposes was apparently stored. But the "oyle mills" of later date, as we learn from old engravings, possessed sails, but no chimneys; hence they were erected for crushing linseed. During the 18th century, an oil mill might have been seen in the Tower Field; on its site "a tar office," where pitch was converted into tar, subsequently stood. There was also an oil mill in South Lynn, which resembled a warehouse attached to a lofty wind-mill. This building, the framework of which was brought from Holland (1638), was destroyed by fire (30th July 1737). In 1668, it belonged to Mr. Southerby of London, and was let to Alderman Henry Bell and Mr. Robert Bell at an annual rent of £20—conspicuously the highest in the parish, the next in order being £12. Now as Henry Bell, the local architect, would be about 15 years of age, it is reasonable to infer that *brothers* were in partnership. Robert died in 1681 and Henry in 1686. The mill then changed hands, but the same exceptionally high rent is paid to a Mr. Goore by "Henry Bell," who seems to have succeeded his father in business; he owned moreover a house in the same parish assessed at £13, besides 13 acres of land (1687).

In more recent times, there was another oil mill, standing upon the *western* bank of the Ouse, at no great distance from the present Bentinck Dock. It was "run" by Mr. Featherstonhaugh, who lived at West Lynn.

Early in the 18th century, starch was manufactured near St. Ann's Fort and on Buckingham's premises in Coldhirm Street, not far from the South Gates.

White paper was made here some forty years since, in Munns' factory beyond the Gates, afterwards used by Robert Dye, the builder.

Messrs. Marsters and Sons were engaged in the scotching, etc., of flax (1866), and the making of oil-cake at the Boal Mills.

The manufacture of cocoa-nut matting was successfully carried on by Messrs. Armes and Son, in premises near the north-east corner of the Tuesday market-place. The industry was removed to Sudbury (1887).

CHAPTER LII.

Mediaeval Benefit Society.

"THERE is no new thing under the sun," exclaims the author of that book of proverbial philosophy which is now known as *Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher*. The force of this axiom, propounded some two thousand years since, becomes more and more apparent, when we studiously compare the present with the past. Human nature is quite the same, and the social relation between servant and master has not materially altered. If we find the employer unfeeling and exacting; if we hear him, with the heartless inconsistency of an Egyptian task-master, urging those beneath him to make bricks without straw; do we not also find the servant incurably shifty, and have we not, moreover, discovered how ingeniously he has striven to do what he has done as badly as possible? Ah; as it is now, even so was it hundreds of years ago.

"No new thing under the sun!" Not only do the Friendly Societies and Trade Unions of the 20th century exhibit certain characteristics of the mediæval confraternities, but the Employers and Workmen Act of 1875 is found to be a modern version of a long series of Labour Laws, the earliest of which was passed in the beginning of the reign of Edward III., whose common object was to make employers reasonable in their demands, and on the other hand to curb the intolerable tyranny which combinations of unscrupulous craftsmen might inflict upon a dependent community by extorting unfair wages.

PEACE GILDS.

With our Saxon forefathers, every freeman was expected, when he reached the age of fourteen, to find sureties who would be answerable for his good behaviour. He must do this forthwith, or be punished as other than a law-abiding subject. Hence in sparsely-populated districts it became convenient for *one* family to be collectively responsible for the conduct of every individual member of that family. This system spread and developed, until it became the custom for *ten* families to bind themselves together for the benefit

of the common weal. They pledged themselves either to produce him who might violate the law, or to make adequate restitution to the injured party, whoever he might be. That this laudable object might be successfully carried out, a fund was raised, to which each alike contributed. These voluntary fees were termed *gilds*,—a word no doubt closely allied to the Anglo-Saxon verb *gildan*, to pay.

During the ninth and tenth centuries frith-gilds, or peace-clubs, became general throughout England, but the tendency towards their establishment on the Continent was summarily nipped in the bud. In the younger of the English towns, they were organised on similar lines to those of the country at large. As the basis broadened, the tie of blood or consanguinity gave place to one of mutual fidelity, and instead of gathering beneath the family roof-tree, monthly meetings were convened in rooms specially set apart for the use of the association.

Let all share the same lot, (ran the law,) and if any mis-do, let all bear it. A brother should look for aid from his gild-brothers in atoning for any guilt incurred by mishap. He could call upon them for assistance in case of violence or wrong; if falsely accused, they appeared in Court as his compurgators; if poor they supported, and when dead they buried him. On the other hand, he was responsible to them, as they were to the State, for order and obedience to the laws. A wrong of brother against brother was also a wrong against the general body of the gild, and punished by fine, or in the last resort by expulsion, which left the offender a *law-less* man, or an outcast. (J. R. Green.)

MERCHANT AND TRADE GILDS.

From these early, self-constituted, self-governing, self-helping bodies sprang the merchant-gild, the humble though no less useful craft-gild of the 11th century, and our own trade unions, burial clubs and the various benefit societies, so justly esteemed by the thrifty working man as well as by the conscientious poor-law guardian. Every parish had its group of gilds; sometimes, however, one group did duty for two or three parishes in the same neighbourhood. Each association owned a patron saint, and each was more or less closely connected with the church, or with one of the religious houses which then abounded. The ritual adopted was of a semi-religious character, tinged of course with the prevailing superstition of the time.

Followers of the same trade or handicraft bound themselves together—the bowyers and the fletchers, the carpenters and the tilers, the pepperers and the dry salters, the websters, the listers and the fullers—each founded a brotherhood, among the members of which every honest tradesman aspired to get his name enrolled. The regulations of the craft-gilds, though stringent, were nevertheless strictly enforced. The quality of the work the members pledged themselves to produce was not merely minutely described, but provision was made to guard against undue competition in labour. The time for toil, too, was definitely fixed; the hours for work being those between daybreak and curfew. Full membership could only be gained by serving a seven-years apprenticeship.

No less than seventy-five gilds existed at different times within our burgh, the names of which Mr. Walter Rye has carefully

collected.* In 1371-2, thirty-eight contributed money towards amending the defects in the town defences; they are thus arranged:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Ascension of our Lord (£27). | 20. St. Anne. |
| 2. St. Nicholas. | 21. St. Mary Magdalen (£12/11). |
| 3. St. James. | 22. St. John Lateran. |
| 4. St. Lawrence. | 23. St. Helen. |
| 5. Purification of the Virgin. | 24. Epiphany. |
| 6. St. Peter (£19). | 25. Trinity (£2). |
| 7. St. John. | 26. Corpus Christi. |
| 8. St. John Baptist (£15/19). | 27. St. Laud. |
| 9. Translation of St. Thomas. | 28. St. Andrew. |
| 10. St. Stephen. | 29. St. Michael. |
| 11. St. Bartholomew. | 30. St. Peter and St. Paul. |
| 12. St. Edmund the King. | 31. St. Etheldreda. |
| 13. St. Giles. | 32. St. Apollonia. |
| 14. St. Margaret (£10/6/2). | 33. Annunciation of the Virgin. |
| 15. Assumption of the Virgin (£10/2). | 34. St. Leonard. |
| 16. St. Katherine. | 35. Holy Cross. |
| 17. St. Christopher. | 36. Resurrection of our Lord. |
| 18. Nativity of the Virgin. | 37. St. Thomas the Martyr. |
| 19. St. Martin. | 38. St. Paul. |

Other important gilds were subsequently established, as:—

St. Agnes.	St. George the Martyr.	Gild of Jesus.
St. Audrey.	St. Lovis.	Red Gild.
St. Anthony.	St. Michael and King Henry.	Shipman's Gild.
St. Austin.	St. William.	Shoemakers' Gild.
St. Barbara.	SS. Fabian and Sebastian.	Tailors' Gild.
St. Cyprian.	SS. Giles and Julian.	Twelve Apostles.
St. Erasmus.	The Conception.	Young Scholars.
St. Ethelred.	Our Lady.	

To the *Gilda Mercatoria*, the Merchant Gild, or

(1). THE GREAT GILD OF THE HOLY TRINITY,

the *élite* of our town belonged. Let it, however, be borne in mind, that all gilds were entirely distinct from the municipal body.

In the reign of Richard II., a statute was made, demanding a full account of all lands, etc., belonging not only to the religious houses, but also of those pertaining to gilds and fraternities. As alderman or president of the gild, Thomas Botesham accordingly answered this writ of inquiry, and from his certificate we learn that at that time "its origin was not known."

After John de Grey, who was successively Bishop of Oxford and Norwich, had obtained from King John a charter which conferred upon the burgesses of Lynn the same privileges as those enjoyed by the folk at Oxford, he prevailed upon the King to place this gild upon a better footing. The fact that many foreign traders were now beginning to settle in the town, perhaps influenced the King in his decision. In 1205, John granted letters patent to the town for the reïnauguration of our gild of merchants, by the terms of which the members were bound, under a forfeit of a gallon of wine, to have mass celebrated every Trinity Sunday in St. Margaret's church.

for the soul not of the generous monarch alone, but for the soul of his insidious adviser as well. Hence King John and Bishop de Grey were afterwards regarded at the founders of the gild.

The revenue of this opulent society was derived from various sources. In the early years of its existence the brethren owned the Common Staith, with various appurtenances, from which was derived £42 6s. 8d. annually. In those distant days this was a considerable sum; for be it remembered that the present equivalent, according to Dr. Jessopp, would be a sum 19 or 20 times as great. Thomas Botesham estimated their goods and chattels, their stock of divers merchandise, and the £60 ready money they held, to be worth in all £260 13s.

Large fees for admission, self-imposed fines for trivial offences, voluntary donations, legacies from deceased members, and the enormous profits arising from trade transactions, (for the gild held a monopoly in the sale of mill-stones, grave-stones, paving-stones and marble), all helped to augment the wealth of this prosperous fraternity.* There was also at one time a certain income derived from the passage of a boat beyond the port. This probably referred to the ferry plying between the Common Staith and Cowgate or Purfleet, on the other side of what we may term the *new* river, for previous to the reign of Henry III. the Ouse found an outfall near Wisbech.

Among the many benefactors to this gild Thomas Walpole shall be mentioned. By will he bequeathed "to the broderhoode of the Holy Trinity at Lenne Bishop certain lands and tenements in Walpole to the intent that the alderman and skyvens of the said gylde shall find and pay yearly viii. marks to the wages of an abil prest to syng mess perpetually for his sowl and the sowl of Jane his wyfe in the Chapel of our Lady in the chapel of Saint Nicholas in Lenne. And that the said preste shall be at commons and in the college of the Holy Trinity so that he be ordered by the statutes of the place to have vi s. viij d. of the said college yearly."

This apparently refers to the College of Priests founded by Thomas Thoresby. It may safely be inferred that the institution was a gift to the Merchants' Gild, because it was near their hall, and because it was built to accommodate *thirteen* priests, the exact number the gild was bound to provide for the services of the churches in the town. Out of their income the gild generously undertook the maintenance of the thirteen chaplains with *certeyns* or stipends equal to £50 or £60 a year, who were "daily and yearly to pray as well for the king, his ancestors, and for the souls of all benefactors of the said gild, also for the souls of all the faithful deceased; six of which" (of the chaplains) "officiated in the church of St. Margaret, four in the chapel of St. Nicholas, and three in the chapel of St. James in Lenne, who all day, as they are stated, celebrate high mass by note and on Sunday and other festival days celebrate mass at Mattins and Vespers by note."

* The best mill-stones came from Paris, or from Andernach on the Rhine. A mill-stone might cost from £3 to £4; paving stones and grave stones were sold at from 20/- to 30/- apiece. (Mrs. A. S. Green.)

The brethren of the gild, moreover, calculated, that they expended on an average £30 a year for the support of poor brethren, including lepers (women as well as men, near and about Lynn), those who were lame and blind, and clerks or scholars keeping school. They found money, too, for the repair of the churches and for the maintenance of their own chapels connected therewith. In St. Margaret's church, St. Nicholas' chapel and St. James' chapel there were richly ornamented smaller chapels specially devoted to the use of the gild. At a later period there was, moreover, one in Allsaints' church, which was established in 1498. John Norris, the vicar, desired in his will, dated 1503, that his body might rest in the "high quere" of the parish church. His lands, etc., he left to provide a priest for the altar of the Blessed Trinity, for the better "sustentation" of the Gild of Allsaints, also for the burning of a lamp day and night before the sacrament in the chancel. He left also his "portous of paper rail" to be chained in the chapel of Our Lady in Allsaints'. A chantry priest was, moreover, to pray daily for the soul of John Norris, for the soul of his father Jeffrey, and for those of the deceased brethren of the Trinity Gild.

Besides this, they assisted the four orders of friars with occasional bounties; they helped to maintain the roads and aqueducts; they provided wax with which to light the churches; and they supplied torches for the brethren's funerals.

The Corporation was largely indebted to this gild for pecuniary assistance, which was seldom withheld. Liberal contributions were subscribed towards every local undertaking. If the town defences were defective, or a conduit was in a bad state, or its bridges going to decay, or the roof of the church needed attention, funds were always ready for the purpose. In 1422, the community appeared among the gild's debtors for sums, which would now amount to over ten thousand pounds. This company of wealthy citizens was in fact the chief bank of the people, and whilst its prestige was good its alderman and officers were the strongest men socially, as well as financially, in the district.

Now Henry III. followed his father's wise example, by bestowing royal favours upon the gild of the Holy Trinity at Bishop's Lenne. By letters patent he granted that one of their company should be Mayor, that the alderman or *custos*—the chief officer of the gild, who was chosen for life (except he was forced to resign through infirmity) should rule and govern the company, and that the alderman should act as deputy mayor during the mayor's absence from the town. All valuable plate, vestments and sundry goods were to be held in trust by the alderman and four other men of the gild called *skyveyns*, who should every year distribute alms for the fraternity.

These *skyveyns*, *scabins*, or custodians,* whose appointment was purely honorary, were allowed "to merchandise" with the revenue

* Mr. James Hooper points out in the *Norfolk and Norwich Notes and Queries* (p. 328) how *Skyveys* (*skivins*) is derived from *schivin*, an alderman (at Brussels, for example), and that *scabin* comes from the Low Latin *scabinus*, the old High German being *skepens*.

of the house, but by oath they were bound to render a faithful account of their stewardship.

The ordinances by which this gild was conducted in the time of Edward I. consisted of twenty-three paragraphs. We propose giving an epitome thereof.

Fines of different sums were levied :—

- $\frac{1}{2}$ mark for offending any brother, or for acting contrary to rules.
- 12 shillings for refusing to obey the precept of the alderman or dean.
- 32 pence for disclosing the business of the gild to any stranger, or for neglecting to stand by any brother who might be impleaded, either within or beyond the boundary of the town.
- 12 pence for not attending the *prime*, or general meeting of the gild.
- 4 pence for calling a brother any rude name, for sleeping either at the general meetings or at the feasts and drinkings and for entering the hall before the alderman with a hood on, or bare-footed, or in any like rustic manner.

From this we may infer that it was then customary for even those belonging to the highest families to go about without either stockings or shoes.

Should any poor brother die, the Alderman of the gild must see that his body is honourably buried, and the expense of the interment defrayed from the common fund; whilst the dean must immediately request every member to attend an extraordinary meeting, in order to make an offering for the soul of the departed. If any member should be unable to attend, he must give one halfpenny at the next meeting "for the soul of the defunct." Out of the proceeds thus collected, fourpence is set aside to remunerate the dean for convening the assembly.

When an influx of strangers from different Continental towns set in, the brethren of the gild, alive to their own interest, determined to make foreigners pay the maximum fee, who desired to cast in their lot with them. Technically all were accounted "strangers" who dwelt in the town less than a year and a day, but having wed a wife, presumably a native of Lenne, a man might leave the town and return whenever he chose, without being deposed into the section of strangers.

The admission fee was fixed at one hundred shillings; there were also some minor disbursements to be met, namely, two-pence each to the dean and clerk. Out of the enormous sum paid for admission, the cost of one sextary of wine (probably about four gallons) was spent, for the "good of the house," or, in other words, for the enjoyment of those present. This was the general price paid for admission; smaller sums, however, were accepted from those in less affluent circumstances. A payment of four shillings, probably now equal to about £4, was considered sufficient to confer the full benefits of fellowship upon the legitimate son of any fully enrolled member. The proposed new member was expected to attend the hall, neatly dressed, but before acceptance he had to serve the gild, wearing a circlet of gold or silver, as a sign of his probation. Women were also admitted as members by paying the usual fee. Absolute equality prevailed between the men and women; yet the "sisters" more

especially participated in the *spiritual* benefits of the association. An undated bede-roll which relates to the early part of the 14th century proves that there were then 867 brethren belonging to this gild.*

THE DEAD HAND.

Between the old town and the more recent settlement stretched the sluggish Purfleet. It was, indeed, the boundary, yet not exactly so, for from a survey taken about 130 years after the enclosing of the outlying marsh, we learn how the old town "had increased beyond its original limits, previously to the laying-out of the new landes . . . and a strip westward, fronting the river, did not form a portion of this new district." (Mr. E. M. Beloe.) It was, therefore, highly necessary for the bishop to erect defences, especially where an enemy might so easily step ashore, and because, as well he knew, the monks would not go out of the way to protect his interests. Hence the bishop erected a bretask, block-house or wooden tower, as near the foreshore and as near moreover to the mouth of the Purfleet as he could.

There was at one time, between the bretask and the Purfleet, "a vacant plot of ground," which belonged to Sir William Howard, knight, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who lived at East Winch, and from whom the illustrious family of the Dukes of Norfolk descended. So closely was he connected with our town that many presents, posted in the chamberlains' accounts, bear witness to the appreciative gratitude of the burgesses. For instance, there was paid :—

6s. for a carcass of an ox and sending it to Lady Alecia Howard at [East] Wynch.

13s. for wine sent twice to Sir William Howard with two calves, and a collar or shield of brawn, and

11s. for two salmon sent to Sir William Howard on the vigil of Easter week.

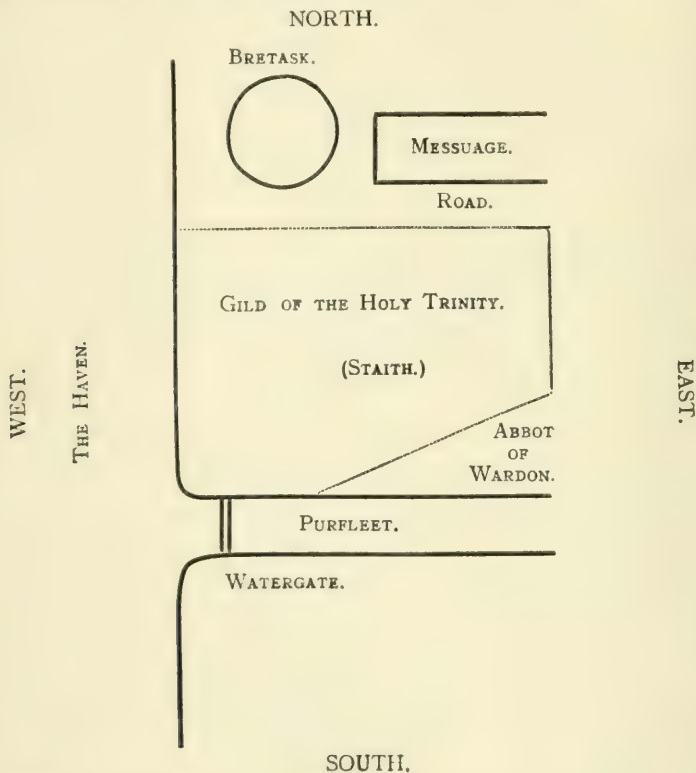
About the year 1270 Sir William Howard sold this land to the Gild of the Holy Trinity.† To the deed, which is carefully drafted, are appended the names of several important witnesses:—Robert de Scales, the 5th Lord Scales, of Middleton; John le Botiler of Babingley, the son of Sir Ralph le Botiler of Grimston, who married Ida, the daughter of John of Babingley; Robert de Rungeton or Runcton; Philip de Fenne; John, Lord of Freyton or Fritton, near Norwich (a relative, for Sir William Howard's second wife was Alice, the daughter of Sir Edward Fritton, knight), and others. (*Norf. Archaeology*, 1849, vol. ii., p. 193.)

The land is described as being "in the town of Lenne, by the Haven, adjoining the common sewer, near the land of the Abbot of Wardon." (Bedfordshire) "towards the south, and the Bretask of the Bishop of Norwich towards the north." (The Abbot also owned

* For the rules of the Trinity Gild see Richards' *History of Lynn*, vol. i., pp. 454-467, and Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, vol. viii., pp. 546-8; for list of plate (1416-7 and 1437-8), Harrod's *Deeds and Records*, pp. 31-3, and (1421-2) *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, pp. 227-8, and 1438-9, also pp. 230-1.

† This eminent lawyer died in 1308-9, and was buried in All Saints' church, East Winch, in the Howards' tomb chapel, a building on the south side of the chancel, which, "irreligiously defaced" as early as 1531 (Weever), has since disappeared, and with it the knight's arms emblazoned in the east window. Upon the font the Howards' arms may yet be seen, as they might also a short time since in St. Margaret's church at Lynn.

a messuage in Iron Row, Tuesday Market-place, 1436.) Further, we learn that "the plot stretches towards the east the full extent of the messuage originally belonging to Nicholas de Brentham on the one side of the Bretask, which messuage he held of *the gift of William, formerly Lord Bishop of Norwich*" [William Raleigh, 1239-1245], "and towards the west as far as the water." From the annexed sketch, which seems to be a reasonable interpretation of the text, it is clear that the quay adjoining the present Custom House once belonged to the Merchants' Gild.



Now it was illegal to sell lands to any corporate body, because under the feudal system, the lands thus held might not inappropriately be said to be "in a dead hand" (*mortmain*, or *mortuâ manu*), as far as the lord of the fees was concerned. Because a corporation had a perpetual existence, the lord lost the profit of his lands, which, under the strict system of tenures, he derived either from the services of the tenant while alive, or from the death of the tenant, or other circumstances. Apropos of this Coke observes:—"The lands were said to come to dead hands as to the lords, for that by alienation in *mortmain* they lost wholly their escheats, and in effect their knights'

services for the defence of the realm, wards, marriages, reliefs and the like, and therefore was called a dead hand, for that a dead hand yieldeth no service."

But Sir William certainly sold the land, although no purchase money is mentioned. It was a strictly legal and honourable transaction and was brought about in a straightforward and legitimate manner. There was, indeed, a somewhat expensive way, as will be seen later, by which the claims of the lord of the soil could be rudely set aside; but Sir William, being a prudent man, first consulted the Lord Bishop of Norwich, and then proposed terms, which were agreeably accepted.

The sale was conditional. For this advantageous strip of fore-shore, and for the sand which accumulated thereon, the brethren were bound to pay the Bishop and his successors "two shillings as tax," or ground-rent, in two equal half-yearly instalments, "in lieu of service"; furthermore "reserving to the Lord Bishop of Norwich and his successors a road ten feet in width, encircling the said Bretask between the said plot of ground and the said Bretask."

A close consideration of the above incident establishes an important fact, namely, that the jurisdiction of the monks north of the Purfleet was waning; also that at this period the Purfleet was the sole boundary between the Old and the New-land. The messuage held by Nicholas de Brentham was the gift of the Bishop, and Sir William Howard could not alienate his land without first arranging an adequate compensation payable to the same person.

Near the Trinity quay, and not far from the "West Bretask," as it was sometimes called, was a sluice or water-gate, fixed at the mouth of the Purfleet to regulate the in-coming tides. For blocking this with refuse, several evil-disposed persons were convicted and fined. The gild immediately repaired not only the broken sluice, but also the bretask, for which the town repaid them five shillings (1330).

Besides owning the staith, near the Custom House, and the Common Staith, the gild secured a third, although its position defies conjecture. When at Beverley, Richard II. issued letters patent of alienation, permitting John de Brunham and Thomas Coutessale to give and assign five messuages, a quay, the passage of a boat beyond the port, and a rent amounting to £10 6s. 8d. to the merchant brethren. As a special favour, and upon the receipt of a persuasive *solatium* amounting to £120, the King granted the request. These privileges and emoluments the corporation of Trinity merchants were "to hold for ever, the statute of mortmain notwithstanding" (1392).* Here we perceive another instance of the miraculous manner in which money can overcome what are foolishly regarded as insurmountable difficulties, and make Himalayan mountains and precipices as level as the Marshland.

* The seal of this gild, upon a deed dated 1450, is round and about 1½ inches in diameter: it bears for legends the words—+ *Sigillum comune gilde mercatorum See trinit.*—the inner circle being beaded. In a lozenge is a seated draped figure with upraised hands, and with feet resting upon a globe. The sun is apparently radiating from behind. See engraving in Mackerell's *History of Lynn*, p. 256.

NOTES ON OTHER GILDS.

(2). *Corpus Christi* [St. Margaret's Church]—Licence granted to John de Brunham, etc., to endow the gild with a messuage, a shop, and rights in a ferry boat (1379)—Gild Rolls, 1387 to 1460, with breaks—Gild Book, 1493 to 1501. *

(3). *St. George the Martyr* [St. Margaret's church]—Letters patent, 4th December 1429, granting licence to John Brandon, etc., to establish a gild in honour of St. George, licence also to hold a certain tenement in a street called "the Checker" (King Street), with a quay adjoining, at annual value of 10 marks, for the maintenance of one or two chaplains to pray for the souls of Henry IV., his consort Joan and others. The "Hall" of the gild was built upon the site of the present wool warehouse in King Street. Letters patent, 16th December 1461, confirming those of 1429, and granting licence to acquire property to the yearly value of £10 more, for the better sustentation of the chaplains, who were henceforth to include in their prayers Edward IV., George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, George Bishop of Exeter, Richard Earl of Warwick, etc., besides, of course, the brethren and sisters belonging to the gild. By a will dated the 10th of April 1456, John Skyphon of Ely left 6s. 8d. to this gild. †

There is in the British Museum a sulphur cast (4,469) and a gilded gutta-percha impression (4468) of the seal (2 inches in diameter) of this brotherhood, upon which are depicted the combat of St. George and the Dragon, two Kings in a square tower on left-hand side, and a crowned queen upon a rock, holding a small dog by a cord, to the right. The legend—+ SIGILLUM: FRATERNITATIS: SCI: GEORGIJ: MARTYRIS: TENT': IN ECLIA: SCE MARGARETE: LENN EPI—is between borders, the inner carved, the outer beaded. (See engraving in *Taylor's Antiquities of Lynn*, p. 149.) Perhaps the alto-relievo figures of St. George and the Dragon above the door of a humble cottage in the *George* yard, Norfolk Street, once adorned the palatial gabled entrance of the hall of this gild.

(4). *SS. Giles and Julian* [St. James' chapel], was inaugurated by Edmund Belleyeter, Thomas Constantyn. Mary, his daughter, and William Inot (1384). In the paper Gild Book (1392 to 1445) are posted the expenses incurred in making the renowned and efficacious Horn of St. Julian (1395), which cost in all £5 10s. 4d., thus: the horn itself 5s. 6d., the silver mounting for the same 30s. 4d., that is, 14 ounces at 2s. 2d. per ounce, for gilding 26s., and for "polluting" (or perhaps first using it) 6 pence. In 1532 the Bishop—Richard Nix or Nykke—granted an Indulgence of forty days to those who should drink from St. Julian's Horn "with good devotion." Connected with this gild was a charity company, also an alms-house, upon the site of which the present Bede-houses were most likely erected. On four parchment leaves is preserved a list of the members in 1402-3. †

* For list of altar ornaments, see Harrod's *Deeds and Records*, p. 34.

† For further particulars, see Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. I., pp. 419-420.

‡ For the rules, see Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. I., pp. 422-8.

(5). *The Young Scholar* [St. Margaret's church] was founded about 1383. It was no uncommon thing for the trade gilds to encourage learning by establishing schools; the numerous free grammar schools which sprung up in many parts of the kingdom were the work of the merchants rather than the clergy. The primary object of this gild was to preserve the memory of a youth named William Jurnepin, who was said to have been crucified by the Jews at Norwich. Different dates are affixed to an event which must be looked upon as purely legendary. "The Jews inhabiting the prime cities did use sometimes to steall away, circumcise, crown with thornes, whip, torture and crucifie someone of their neighbours' children, in mockery, despite, scorn and derision of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, crucified by the Jews at Jerusalem." (Weever.) Besides St. William of Norwich, and little St. Hugh of Lincoln, there were others. Dr. Jessopp believes these "stock stories" owe their birth to a similar incident recorded by Socrates, which happened in the reign of Theodosius (A.D. 430). The members of this gild were bound to keep six wax tapers burning on every festival before the tabernacle of their patron saint in St. Margaret's church.

(6). *St. William*.—An independent gild, named from the same juvenile saint, traded largely with Bergen. The passion day of the boy martyr was observed on the 24th of March, perhaps conjointly by the two gilds.

(7). *St. John the Baptist*.—When presiding over a convivial assembly, the alderman's and the steward's fees were two gallons and one gallon of ale respectively, but the clerk and the dean had to make merry with one pottle apiece; moreover, every brother or sister detained through sickness was consoled with a pottle of "old John Barleycorn."

(8). *Holy Cross*.—This gild "gives an early instance of the payment of allowance of what is since so well known by the name of *promotion money* in the modern process of the formation of a company. A certain John Clerke is released from the usual payments to the society, in acknowledgment of the pains he had taken at the foundation of that gild" (Toulmin Smith).

The certificate of the Gild of the *Holy Cross*, named after the relic "invented" (*i.e.* found) by St. Helena, is preserved in the Record Office.

(9). *St. Anthony*.—Gild Book, 1485 to 1536 (Hist. MSS. Com. Report), 1505 to 1536 (Harrod).

(10). *St. Margaret*.—Founded by Letters Patent in 1407 (Parkin).

(11). *St. Anne*.—Mentioned in an Inquisition in 1561; perhaps the chapel dedicated to this Saint stood near "the Fort" (Parkin).

(12). *Our Lady*.—Founded in 1330 (Parkin).

(13). *St. Francis*.—Founded in 1454. (Richards). Half the members were friars, and their meetings were held in the monastery of the Grey Friars. In 1512 they contributed money and materials (lime, laths, and lath-nails, etc.) towards repairing the north aisle of the "Grey ffryers churh."

(14). *SS. Fabian and Sebastian*.—Founded by John Wells, a priest. Meetings were held in St. George's gild-hall. The brethren met their alderman on the 23rd of January at the "Red Mount" in order to "sing an anteme to oure Ladye" at 9 o'clock; and every one was compelled to make an offering at her shrine or forfeit half a pound of wax. On the 20th of the same month—the day dedicated to their saintly patrons—candles were to be kept burning before the altar; if neglected, every brother had to forfeit half a pound of wax "to the light-ward." This gild prided itself on having four minstrels.*

(15). *St. Audrey*.—The miraculous smock of this saint, so venerated in Thetford, must have induced many members of this gild to undertake pilgrimages to her renowned shrine.

Thomas Thoresby built his college for priests upon land belonging to the *Gild of Jesus* (1510). There was, moreover, a *Tailors' Craft Gild*, for which the Mayor and his brethren drew up a series of rules. The fines, to which the thirty-eight tailors then resident in Lenne submitted, went either to the town treasury or to help to sustain the annual pageant, connected with the Gild of Corpus Christi, with which they were perhaps affiliated (1448).

In SOUTH LENNE, and connected with Allhallows or Allsaints' church, there were two Gilds:—

(1). *Trinity*.—A certified copy of proposed rules bears the date 1394. Letters patent, dated at "Leycestre" the 27th May, 1400, invested John Prentys, Thomas Throthe, John Berwyk, John Meye and Robert Ferroure of South Lenne, and Robert Wynteryngham, presumably of Bishop's Lenne, with power to found a fraternity to the praise and honour of the Blessed Trinity; licence was moreover given to William Gaysle, a chaplain, to assign a messuage and a rent of 12 pence to the support of the association. The foundation charter is dated 1401, yet the *Gilde Sce Trinitat de Suth Lenne* is mentioned in a grant dated 26th August 1392. †

(2). *All Saints*.—Gild Book, 1498 to 1546 (Jeaffreson), 1498 to 1538 (Harrod). The title page gives the names of the brethren and sisters of this Gild, which was founded by George Pyerpounte, alderman, in 1498.

DRESS AND DEPORTMENT.

There is a great similarity in the different gild rules, and what pertains to one is also in a greater or less degree applicable to the others. In the gilds of *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, *St. Edmund* and *The Conception* no man was permitted to come before the aldermen and the brothers and sisters during their "drinkings" in slovenly apparel; neither naked legs nor bare feet were permissible, neither might an untidy dress be concealed beneath a tabard or cloak. The head must be uncovered on entering the assembly; and when servants came with messages for their masters the janitor took charge of their hoods and cloaks. Having completed their errand, they were permitted to drink once or twice, standing, before going (*Holy Trinity*).

* For the rules, see Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. I., pp. 475-9.

† See Chadwick's *Memorial of South Lynn Vicarage House*, p. 39.

If any members succumbed to the potency of the beverage, and fell asleep or neglected to pass the bottle, they were—as novices in inebriation will admit—*unjustly* fined; if their unguidable tongues became a nuisance to the less excitable and more stolid brethren, they had either to pay a fine or do penance by holding a rod (*St. Thomas of Canterbury*); if their wrangling became unbearable, or they indulged in using offensive epithets to their neighbours, they were fined half a pound of wax (*St. Peter and St. John the Baptist*); and if, unluckily, they drifted from words to blows, they were compelled to forfeit four pounds of wax or be summarily expelled from the confraternity (*The Holy Cross*). Moreover, if any so far forgot themselves as to break the laws of the Holy Church, they were immediately cut off from the benefits of the gild, until adequate amendment had been made (*St. Leonard*). “Disputes among the members were, as much as might be, to be settled by agreement or reference; and no member could bring a suit at law against another without obtaining leave from the alderman, and no member,” continues Mr. Walter Rye, “was allowed to become a pledge or surety for another in any plea or suit without similar leave” (*Shipman’s Gild*).

“THE OLD TOWN HALL,”

so termed to distinguish it from the adjoining newly-erected Municipal Buildings, was the home of the influential body known as the Merchants’ Gild of the Holy Trinity. Alternate black flint and white stone panelling of the chess-board pattern gives the building a somewhat unique appearance. This style of architecture—a chequer-work of stone and dressed flints—seems to be peculiar to Norfolk and Suffolk. The church of SS. Peter and Paul, Cromer, that of St. Mary, Worstead, and the Gild Hall, Norwich, etc., may also be mentioned as specimens. Sometimes the flints are cut with such accuracy and fit so closely that with difficulty the blade of a knife can be inserted between the joints. At first flints were of constructional value; subsequently mere depressions cut into stone were filled with thin flakes, purely for ornamental purposes. In all likelihood the employment of cut flints for building purposes was but a further development of the flint-knappers’ art, which has been carried on at Brandon probably since the days of Neolithic man.

The Hall of the Gild of the Holy Trinity has not escaped the relentless hands of time; much of its pristine beauty is irreparably gone. The large southern window of Perpendicular tracery still remains, giving a faint idea of the *tout ensemble* of the original design. Across the lofty window runs a transom; and above this horizontal line of stone-work are seven glazed lights, whilst the openings below, formerly furnished with shutters, were to admit air. In the mullions are traces of the hooks on which the shutters once hung.

The gable facing the Saturday Market was begun in 1421-2. The ancient Gild Roll of the period throws much light on the subject. Under the Latin title—*Constructio Novo Aule* we read;—“xxxv li. xvs. iijd. (that is £35 15s. 3d.) spent in wages of divers masons working on the *New Hall* from the feast of Trinity to the same feast

at the revolution of the year." There are entries also for stone, "waltye," "thactyle," lime, sand, "anchors and other iron things" bought for the same work. Again, "xxxiii. li. vs. vd. (£35 5s. 5d.) paid to Nicholas Rollesby, of Bakton, in the county of Suffolk, for timber for the said hall, and the building of the said hall, (which) is declared more fully and evidently in the separate account of Philip Franke." "xxi. li. (£21) spent in wages of John Turnour's workmen during the same time" (1421-2).

The "New Hall," as you will observe it was then called, occupied the site of an earlier building, which was unfortunately destroyed by fire, when the messuage of Geoffrey Cattley adjoining was also burnt down (1420-1).

The hall itself was originally a very handsome, well-proportioned room, but the cutting off of some thirteen feet at the north end—which is now completed by a miserable wooden partition—makes it really look shorter than it is. The Hall Rolls tell us that the Burgesses of Parliament stood up under the great north window of the Hall (which doubtless matched the existing south window) and recited the 'acts of the preceding parliament' to the burgesses assembled. . . . I saw (Mr. Harrod continues) the original north wall [an alteration made in 1554] myself last summer (1865) thirteen feet into the Assembly Room; the floor being then up. No doubt this was done (when) an Assembly room was wanted. It was the exigency of a moment; and although there was room to extend it northward thirty feet, the massive wall of the Hall was plucked down, no doubt at great additional cost, to add thirteen feet at the south end of the Assembly room.

The following dimensions are given:—The old Town Hall 58 feet long, the ball room 60 feet long and the card room 27 feet long; all being 27 feet broad; and the rooms excepting the first being 22 feet in height. The forgotten music gallery is described as "a shelf between two chimneys" (1781).

On each side of the small central niche outside, there was a pointed door and a square window. The two windows, ornamented with Tudor roses, remain, but the door-ways, partly built up, are converted into windows. In 1422, a staircase was erected, which ran from the street towards a door on the west. This was covered by a pentice or sloping roof. The present entrance, described by Mackerell as "a lofty portico, with an ascent of fair, large steps," is of the Renaissance period. It consists of an arched door and a handsome square window, over which the crumbling remains of the arms of Queen Elizabeth may be seen. Surmounting the façade are the arms of Edward VI., which were removed from St. James' church to the present position (7th August 1624). The two inscriptions, now almost obliterated, were—"William Wharton, Mayor 1664, Gregory Gurnell mayor 1624," and beneath "Edward Waters, mayor in Queen Elizabeth's time, 1570." Our Corporation rented this building as soon as it was erected, and have retained possession ever since.

Three distinct establishments found accommodation within the walls of the old block: a hall used as a court of justice for the borough and county, with a police-station, council and committee-rooms; and the assembly, and card-rooms.

The Stone Hall occupies the greater part of the more ancient portion of the building, and is historically the most interesting. It is sufficiently lighted by the noble window to which reference has already been made. Beneath the floor were the cellars, where the "brethren" stored their stock of mill-stones, grave-stones and a liberal supply of wine. In 1571 the cellars were converted into "cells," in which prisoners were confined, until by virtue of the Prisons Act (1865) the town gaol was abolished (February 1866). Adjoining was the Bridewell or House of Correction, where the beating and dressing of hemp was supposed to yield a salutary effect.

Adjoining the Stone Hall is the Assembly, or Banqueting, Room. By means of folding doors these two apartments can easily be combined. In the Assembly Room are several portraits in oil, which deserve attention, namely, King John, Henry IV., Edward VI. (presented by Alderman Robinson in 1698), Charles I., William III. and his consort Mary (painted by Sir Peter Lely or Sir Godfrey Kneller), and George III. (copied from Beechey's canvas by Samuel Lane). Besides the above, there are portraits of the under-named local celebrities:

Sir Robert Walpole, K.G. (1676-1745), of Houghton; 1st Earl of Orford; celebrated prime minister; M.P. for Lynn, 1702-1742. Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Hon. Horace Walpole (1719-1797); 4th Earl of Orford; youngest son of Sir Robert, renowned as an author and wit; M.P. for Castle Rising 1754, and for Lynn 1757-1767 (resigned).

Sir Benjamin Keene, K.B. (1697-1757), a native of Lynn; a diplomatist and ambassador to the Court of Spain; buried in chapel of St. Nicholas.*

Sir Thomas White (1492-1567); a successful London tailor; a great benefactor to the young tradesmen of Lynn and other towns.

Lord William George Frederick Cavendish Bentinck, known as Lord George Bentinck (1802-1848); son of the 4th Duke of Portland; M.P. for Lynn 1828-1848. Portrait by Samuel Lane.

Lord Horatio Nelson (1758-1805); "the Norfolk Hero," slain at Trafalgar. Portrait copied from Hoppner's canvas by Samuel Lane, for which the Corporation paid £210 (1807).†

FESTIVITIES.

It was in the "old Town Hall" that the *morowspeches*, ‡ or grand assemblies of the Trinity Gild, were held. The principal "dayes of spekyngges tokedere for her comune profyte" were:—

1. On Friday, first week in Lent: the special business being to decide what benevolences were to be granted during the year.

2. On Friday next before the feast of the Holy Trinity in Whit or Pentecost week: to choose officers, etc.

3. The Vigil and Day of the Undivided and Holy Trinity, and—

4. On Friday next after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross: to look into the financial state of the fraternity, to receive

* An engraving (7 by 10 in.) was published by C. Musket, Norwich, in 1841, from an "aqua fort" by W. C. Edwards.

† An artist of considerable merit, who painted also the portrait of the Rev. Thomas E. Hankinson, M.A. (1804-1813), the Seatonian poet, now in the Public Library. Samuel Lane (1780-1850), a deaf mute, was the brother of Frederick Lane (1788-1846), town clerk for 13 years, who died through injuries received at the burning of an hotel at Travannes, in Switzerland.

‡ *Morowspeche*, from the Middle English *morwe*, *morwen*: Anglo-Saxon *morgen*, the morning, e.g., "Good morrowe Valentine," that is, "Good morning, Valentine." Anglo-Saxon *spreac*, a later form of *spreac*, from *spreac-an* to speak. Hence *morowspeche*—the morning speech, a business meeting of the gild.

arrears and to discuss further mercantile speculations for their mutual benefit.

Whitsuntide was a season set aside to festivity. On this occasion the Alderman was allowed one sextary of wine (cost tenpence), the dean, the clerk and the scabins half a sextary each. Should the celebration be prolonged, the alderman was granted half a sextary more, the other officers one gallon and the attendant half a gallon, each evening. The anniversary or saint's day of the gild was, notwithstanding, the most imposing spectacle of the year. Everything that could be devised was done to add even more *éclat* to the ceremony.

In those days the lofty walls of the Hall were hidden by fine arras hangings, * the benches were draped with choice fabrics "powdered by owls and parrots (citacis)," and the floor was strewn with clean rushes. There was a magnificent display of costly plate, and the savoury odour pervading the room was indicative of what would shortly follow. The Mayor and the Aldermen—"the most noble and venerable men" of the gild, the Jurats—who graced the aldermanic benches, the Seven-and-Twenty—"the wise and discreet burgesses of the common council," stood, with the scabins and other officers of the gild, beside the *scrinium*, the iron-bound treasury chest, with its huge pendant locks, at the north end of the Hall. All were arrayed in gorgeous robes. There was the dean with his silver wand, and the bellman too, holding in his hand the heavy parchment bederoll of the brotherhood. There were, moreover, the thirteen white-robed chaplains, and throngs of well-attired burgesses besides, with their comely wives and beautiful daughters leaning gracefully upon their arms.

Chaucer † gives a faint glimpse of the pageant in the prologue to his *Canterbury Tales*:—

An Haburdassher and a Carpenter,
A Webbe, a Deyer and a Tapicer,
Weren with us eeke, clothed in oo lyveré,
Of a solempne and gret fraternite.
Full freissh and newe here gere piked was;
Her knyfes were i-chapud nat with bras,
But al with silver wrought ful clene and wel,
Here gurdles and here pouches every del.
Wel semed eche of hem a fair burgeys,
To sitten in a geldehalle on the deys (daïs).
Every man for the wisdom that he can,
Was schaply for to ben an aldurman.
For catel hadde they inough and rente,
And eek here wyfes wolde it wel assente;
And elles certeyn hadde thei ben to blame.
It is right fair for to be clept *madame*,
And for to go to vigilies al byfore,
And han a mantel rially i-bore.

* James Tudor was paid £5 more than was stipulated, because of "his good performance in refreshing the ancient hangings in Trinity Hall" (1636).

† Ben Adam includes Chaucer among the notable persons born at Lynn. This theory has been carefully elaborated by Mr. Walter Rye: see *The Songs, Stories, and Sayings of Norfolk* (1897).

When all had taken their places, the bellman read in a clear voice the names of those, whom Death had summoned to the mysterious beyond. How impressive the scene! Fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, ah!—Death, even then as now, was other than a respecter of persons.

The wealthy vintner of the Woolmarket grimly set his teeth, yet his face involuntarily turned pale at the sound of his dear boy's name; the richly-bedizened matron clutched convulsively at her good man's arm, when her daughter Lilian, the sweetest, purest flower of earth, but newly admitted to membership, was named; the grey-haired widow could ill conceal her agitation, she sobbed aloud, whilst tears were quietly stealing down the cheeks of the young damsel beside her—both alas! were thinking of a loved one sleeping peacefully beneath the elms yonder.

At length the long list was ended. Then with garlands in hand the solemn concourse quitted the hall. In grand procession, they crossed "the conduit" in the market, and paused momentarily before the rood or cross, near the western entrance of Saint Margaret's church, where requiems were about to be sung for the souls of the departed brethren and sisters.

How inconceivable the splendour of the sacred edifice! Expensive scarlet and purple banners, rich vestments, superb ornaments and books, each the gift of some pious devotee, met the eye everywhere. Life-like pictures, illustrating passages of Holy Writ, adorned the hoary walls. The white marble floor before the high altar was tinted by a blaze of glory, streaming from the eastern window; whilst around the elaborately carved and bejewelled screen there hovered a halo of rich colour. Regardless of the bewildering magnificence, every face turned instinctively towards the altar of the Holy Trinity in the little chapel of Saint Peter, which was laden with priceless vessels of gold and silver.

After a serious yet consolatory service, the gild was marshalled on the "Mercate of Saint Margaret," and when all was in order the pageant started for the cross in the other market, near the chapel of St. Nicholas. Sometimes a direct route through Briggate (High street), the chief thoroughfare of the town, was chosen; at other times the "brethren" passed Master Folkard's house on the left, and the chapel of the Gesynge of the Blessed Mary on the right, wending their way through Skinners' Row (*Three Pigeon* street) where a little colony of fur-dressers and parchment-makers (parmenters) resided. Turning to the left they marched through the Bakers' or the Baxters' Row (Tower Street), and, having crossed the bridge which spanned the Purfleet near the corner of Burgharde's Lane (New Conduit Street), they came in sight of the old horse-mill where the *bakers* ground their wheat. Next they proceeded along Websters' Row (Broad Street), where no doubt a few thrifty *weavers* were busily washing their cloth in Colville fleet. From thence their course lay through the Grass-market and on to the other market. Here, a pause was made, and their ranks were probably swelled by deputations wearing hoods

and gowns, distinctive of the gilds in the *Newland*. Then on, past the Hall of the Gild of St. George the Martyr (King Street), past the ducking-stool beside the malodorous waters of the Purfleet,* and then through the tortuous Wyngate (Queen Street), † until at length, arriving at their destination, a sumptuous feast awaited the members of the procession, to which they unquestionably did ample justice. The performance of specially-engaged jugglers and minstrels, or the representation of a grand spectacular miracle play, usually brought the day's proceedings to a close.

After the accession of Edward VI. the Gild of the Holy Trinity was dissolved; and its vast possessions, consisting of lands and tenements not only in the town, but in South Lynn, Hardwick, Gaywood, Sechehithe, Middleton, West Winch, Snettisham, Shernbourne, Eaton, Ingoldisthorpe and Brandon, were transferred to the Mayor and Burgesses (21st May, 1548). And thus this noble institution, having

——— run its bright career,
And served men faithfully,
And acceptance won,

becomes but a memory of past years. The members of the benevolent brotherhood have attended their last *morowspeche*, yet the good they did ought never to be forgotten, whilst the unselfish principles, for which they laboured so strenuously, survive—whilst the *Old Town Hall*, the architectural monument of their worth, remains in our midst.

CHAPTER LIII.

Forts and Fortifications.

The earliest settlers in this neighbourhood needed no artificial fortifications; their rude, wattle huts were reared upon the almost inaccessible islets which dotted a treacherous swamp. Nature was sufficient. In the tangled fastnesses of the intricate *linn*, they could scornfully defy the depredator, who would violate the sanctity of their primeval home. But in course of time the water receded, and more and more dry land appeared: then it was embankments became necessary. The oldest portion of our town between the Mill river and the Purfleet was the first to be fortified. An encircling earth-work, strengthened either by trunks of trees planted vertically side by side as in a stockade, or by heaps of felled timber, was the method adopted.

The burgh occupied a very advantageous position. An arm of the sea protected it admirably on the west, whilst the diverted "fresh

* A roughly constructed chair, attached to the arm of a long lever, stood near the present Custom House. It was here, the viragoes of Lynn, suffering from chronic *nag-icitis*, made acquaintance with "the crystal stream." Mistress Hannah Clark was the last of our fair sex, who was "ducked for scolding" (1754), but whether Hannah's propensity for nagging was permanently affected by this hydropathic treatment, history, alas! recordeth not.

† Wyngate, from the Anglo-Saxon *windan*, to twist or turn round, and the Danish *gata*, a road or way; akin is the Scotch *wynd*, a narrow, winding alley. The tortuous character of this thoroughfare, named "Queen Street" by the Paving Commissioners, may still be seen. Baker Lane was once the Little Wyngate.

water river" from Gaywood in its southern sweep formed a moat or defence on the east. To the south, there was the usual mill leat, a continuation of the loop, and beyond, the river Nar. The north was protected by an artificial embankment, a ditch, and a treacherous sea-board; which, though a source of apprehension to the brave Newlanders, was unquestionably a salutary warning to any would-be invaders.

1. OUR TOWN WALLS.

Bishop Turbus, who died in 1174, reclaimed the Newland from the sea;* and he or one of his successors determined to guard the newly-acquired district from the incursions of depredators, for it speedily developed into a fruitful source of income to the speculative man of God. A rude wall was therefore constructed, from the point where the river bends at Kettle Mills, along the right bank quite up to the Purfleet. This, often spoken of in our town records as the *stone wall*, was the only wall ever built, except perhaps an insignificant curtain on both sides of the Gannock gate. To state definitely when this wall was constructed would be impossible; there are, however, reasons to suppose it was pieced together during the 12th century.

King John, when harassed by the barons, and driven from pillar to post, sought refuge here. Parkin infers, and we think rightly, that our town was at that period "a place of great strength and fortified." With the statement advanced by Stow—that King John *began* the fortifications, we cannot agree, because the part of the *stone wall* now standing near Kettle Mills greatly resembles the remains of the wall which once encircled the castle at Rising; and this was, as we know, erected during the 12th century. The Rev. E. Edwards says: "It may be doubted whether the walls were ever continued so far as this edifice"—that is as far as the Red Mount. His conjecture is true, for the point where the stone wall abruptly stopped was favoured with a specific name, which appears in the old surveys of the town. The name is indisputable and conclusive because the spot on the bank of the Purfleet was denominated the "Town Wall's End." Hadrian, you will remember, constructed an earthwork or rampart in year A.D. 120 from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne; its eastern termination was similarly called the *Wall's End*, and the name is still preserved in "Wallsend coal."

THE STONE WALL

remained in its entirety until a part was cleared away to give place to our railway enterprise. In style the Lynn wall resembles that at Great Yarmouth, and consists of a compact rubble, composed of Norfolk flints, masses of clunch and hard flat bricks, which are firmly united by concrete. The front is more or less faced with stone, and some of the blocks of stone built into the wall are worked and may have formed part of some disused ecclesiastical edifice. There are five buttresses remaining, but the ramparts or battlements which once surmounted the ruins are entirely gone. Each arch, on the inner side, was provided with a loop-hole for the cross-bow, and a

* May not the high ground, behind the houses on the east side of Pilot Street, and at the north-west end of Austin Street, be part of the Bishop's embankment?

step on which the soldier might place his knee, when aiming at an approaching foe. In time of great emergency, the gates would be closed and built up with stone and lime; a huge earthwork would, moreover, be thrown up along the whole line of fortifications, hiding not only the arches in the wall, but the gateways and the protections as well. On the top of the temporary earthwork, watch and ward was rigidly kept; along the battlements pieces of artillery were placed, and here the assaulting party must be repulsed, and their scaling ladders hurled back into the water of the moat. In the time of Henry VIII. all the gardens within the town of Yarmouth were destroyed in order that sufficient earth might be provided to rampire the walls.* The arches, with which we are familiar, are about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, but the level of the ground on the other side is four or five feet lower. Hence we may assume that after the siege in 1643, a part only of the embankment was removed and that our arches, like those at Yarmouth, were originally nine or ten feet in height. Of course our wall underwent alterations at different times. It was strengthened, at a cost of £51 4s. 7d., in the reign of Edward II.; repaired with broken glass, terras (or bricks), and mortar (1501), and re-cast with black mortar (1579); but it was never prolonged, either one way or the other.

Two drawings of the town wall, when in good preservation are yet extant. In Buck's "Eastern Prospect of Lynr" (1741), the whole stretch appears, beginning at Kettle Mills and ending at the Purfleet. This view, which was taken from the north-east, from the then called Norwich road—is somewhat misleading. The wall seems to stop nearer the Red Mount than is actually the case, but a consideration of the perspective quickly dispels the illusion. The Rev. E. Edwards made a sketch in 1800. This the late William Taylor has perpetuated in an admirable etching. Towards the left is the White Tower, conspicuous also in Buck's picture; the Red Mount appears as through a breach towards the left; whilst a flight of stone steps in the centre leads to the battlements—a favourite resort of schoolboys, who seldom wearied, when bounding along the ruined parapet, or playing hide-and-seek, among the crumbling arches. For many years (as at Yarmouth) the "Corporation rope makers," as they were absurdly styled, made use of a part of these remains.

This embattled wall was once, we are told, defended by nine bastions or projecting buttresses. The names of two towers connected with the fortifications are recorded. There were the *White Tower* and the *Black Tower*.

At the beginning of the 13th century, the town was in a measure defended by four

WOODEN TOWERS,

or block-houses, termed the north, south, east and west Bretasks. The east and south bretasks were respectively near the East and South Gates. Indeed it was customary at this period to erect a barbican or watch tower near the principal entrances of castles and

* The road, beside the Lynn town-wall, is on an embankment, for the gardens to the west are also much lower.

fortified towns. The north bretask, which in a deed dated 1270, is styled the "Bretask of the Bishop" was no doubt on the outskirts of the Newland; and by analogy we are tempted to conclude it was in the vicinity of St. Anne's gate and not far from the chapel of St. Nicholas. The position of the remaining bretask was on the foreshore, facing the haven; but its exact site must continue shrouded in mystery. We know it was near a water-gate, and may reasonably adjudge its position to be not far from the mouth of the Purfleet, because from the Leet Rolls (1330), we learn that Thomas Valour and five and fifty citizens were each fined threepence for stopping the common water-gate near the west bretask. These important watch-towers are not mentioned after the time of Richard II.

Portable wooden towers were also used: they could be kept in reserve and erected when needed. In 1298, the tallage, which Benedict de Weasenham ought to have paid to the community, was remitted, in lieu of the rent he sacrificed in storing a timber bretask for eighteen months. Nicholas le Martial was about the same time excused the payment of four shillings—a similar amount—for keeping a bretask. In the chamberlains' account for 1377, there is an entry to which your attention is directed. A sum was paid to the carpenters for repairing the bretasks and for a large quantity of sedges for the wall at Gannock and for boat loads of earth for it. The wall at Gannock? And was there, then, another wall? Yes, there was a wall at the Gannock, but not a *stone* wall. The sedges and earth conveyed by barges up the Mill fleet were to repair the embankment, which runs between the "arch" on the Walks and the Purfleet. It is important, we remember, these earth-works were sometimes called *sea-walls*, but generally *walls* merely. In the time of Edward III., a small sum was paid—and the wording of the entry must not escape our notice—for "mending the *earthen* walls at end of the *stone* wall near the South Close." The Hall Book yields a passage bearing on the same subject:—"Ordered that the ditches and clowes" (that is sluices) "between the *end of the walls of Lenne* and the gates of Gannock shall be repaired at the expense of the community" (1425). This sentence refers of course to what in the survey is marked as the *Town Walls End*. There was no County Council in those remote days, but, as will afterwards be seen, "the good folks of Lenne," as King John flatteringly styled our ancestors, made the adjacent townships contribute towards the maintenance of our fortifications, bridges, etc.

THE CLAY WALLS.

Having briefly referred to the *stone* wall, or the wall that was built with the trowel, we purpose considering the "wall" thrown up by the spade.

In a survey dated 1575, reference is made to the *Mount Bank*,—"which extendeth from the Town Walls on the north and the Gannock gate on the south." This was a new appellation for the original Roman, or British earthwork up to which the tide once flowed. Its position is clearly stated. In another place there is a confirmatory repetition of the same fact: "The *Mount Bank* extends from the south

end of the Town Walls leading from the East gates unto the Gannock gates on the south."

And now we come to the *clay walls* or the *Bank of the Gallow's Pasture*, made in 1804, and which stretched from the south side of the Mill fleet at the arch on the Walks to the South gates. Parallel with this bank ran the town ditch, sometimes called the "Cockle dyke." The Hospital Field which once abutted upon the "Mill Meadow" was known three hundred years ago as the "Gallow's Pasture," and the mound until lately crowned by a circle of undulating elms was the "Gallow's Hill." A windmill was erected on the spot (1595). It was, however quickly removed; but in 1667 another mill was reared on the same favourable site.

The last serious attempt at fortifying happened during the rebellion, which broke out in Scotland in favour of the Pretender. In December 1745, the insurgents marched into Derbyshire; and it was rumoured that they intended making a descent upon Lynn. Later on it was reported that two Scotch spies were passing through Marshland. A strong body of burgesses was sent to intercept them. After some fruitless searching the two impudent rebels were discovered; they were instantly surrounded and being asked whether they had arms, innocently answered, "Eh mon, twa," raising their hands above their heads.

II. OUR GATES.

The parish of Allsaints was unquestionably included in the early fortifications, although the district was not appropriated for building purposes until the last century. As the original settlement grew, other boundaries and defences became necessary. The river Esk, perhaps better known as the Middleton stop-drain, and the river Nar succeeded the Mill fleet. The southern entrance to the enlarging burgh was by a drawbridge, which could be raised at the approach of an enemy. This bridge was protected by a wooden stockade or tower, which is spoken of as the south bretask. A memorandum which unfortunately bears no date, but which is supposed to have been written in 1325, explains how the inhabitants of the adjacent villages and hamlets were expected to contribute towards the maintenance of this drawbridge.

The Jurors before the Justices in the last Itinerary said on their oaths, that all towns between South Lenne and Castleacre, and between Castleacre and Stoke Ferry, and between Stoke Ferry and Fordham, and between Fordham and Watlington, and between Watlington and Setch Bridge, and between Setch Bridge and the Drawbridge of South Lenne *ought to be and are* charged with the repair of the South Bretask of South Lenne for the length of three rods, namely, from the draught to the common way towards the South, to the width of 14 feet at least, and the Community of Lenne are charged and ought to repair the said bridge from the draught to the ground to the north, for the width aforesaid.

A substantial edifice was erected in the next reign (Edward III.), which was one of the predecessors of the present.

SOUTH GATES.

In 1416, the original building needed repairing; and the stone, rejected during the rebuilding of Our Lady's chapel at the chapel of

St. Nicholas, was used for this purpose. The Gate was subsequently rebuilt, because it was found to be in a dangerous condition. The work was entrusted, not to one of our own townsmen, who contributed to the taxes of the burgh, but to Robert Hertanger, a mason dwelling in London. His introduction resulted in serious complications, for under his adroit management the whole of the money, voted for this specific purpose, was squandered before half the work was completed. And Robert the Mason, though unable to file a petition, was to all intents a bankrupt. The Assembly, who were most to blame, excused the crafty builder "because of his poverty," in other words because they realised the futility of attempting to extract blood from a gate-post or money from the moneyless gate-builder. Later entries shew the work was finished by another mason. The structure was, however, far from satisfactory; hence before the lapse of 100 years it was thought expedient to pull the faulty structure down and start anew. The appended entry—the phraseology of which is amusingly entangled—appears in the Hall Book:—

This day an indenture is sealed, between the Mayor and Burgesses and Nicholas Harmer of East Dereham in Norfolk and Thomas Harmer of Borewell in Norfolk, freemasons, for making the South Gates of South Lemne, namely with the seal of the office of Mayor so that the same be finished about the 21st of September the next following. (29th October, 1520.)

The edifice, built of Barnack stone from the quarries in Northamptonshire, is yet standing, although in 1590 the foundation was seriously undermined by the tides. It constitutes a very handsome specimen of the 16th century defensive architecture. True, the spiked portcullis has disappeared but the grooves in which it worked are still to be seen; as are also the circular holes through which passed the ponderous chains attached to the drawbridge. The side arches are recent additions, which formed no part of the original design: they are absent in Richards' plate, published in 1812. Taylor, writing in 1844, mentions a mound hidden by trees just outside the South gates where were found the foundations of the old watch-tower.

THE EAST GATE,

with its efficient drawbridge, once stood in the vicinity of the *Hob-in-the-Well* inn. Carter in his *Ancient Architecture* regards this building as dating as far back as Edward III. When repaired in 1541, the arms of king Henry VIII. were placed over the archway, so that anyone approaching might know it was a *royal* borough, and as such was no longer under the domination of the bishop. The arms of the town were above the arch on the inner side. This gate was also known as St. Catherine's gate, and the adjoining town wall was often called St. Catherine's wall, because a chapel dedicated to that saint was in the neighbourhood. Owing to the inconvenience to traffic caused by the lowness of the arch, it was taken down (1800). All was cleared away, and nothing remained but the stone tablet representing the king's arms—the lion and the *fleurs de lis*, that is England and France quarterly. This beautiful piece of carving, an etching of which may be seen in

Taylor's *Antiquities of Lynn*, was built into the wall of an outhouse belonging to Mr. W. King in Littleport Street. In February 1886, when alterations were being made, it was purchased by Mr. E. M. Beloe.

In days gone by, there was in the northern part of the town a Dowshill bank, a Dowshill fleet, a Dowshill bridge, a Dowshill clough, a Dowshill yard, and a *Dowshill gate*, which, like St. Ann's gate, have become entirely obliterated. On a quaint bird's-eye view of Lenne, a gate is clearly marked, near the old Fisher fleet (1589). In all probability this was the almost forgotten Doucehill gate (for the word was as often spelt thus). Five hundred years ago the sea came almost up to this point.

THE "ARCH ON THE WALKS"

was a postern; and being on the Gannock, it was until recently known as the Gannock gate. There was, however, another postern on the Gallows bank, midway between the Mill fleet and the South gate. Like the one still standing, it had a curtain of stone and brickwork, as we learn from Dawson Turner's drawing, in the British Museum. No reference is made to it, after the time of Edward III. The ruins, nevertheless, are distinctly shown in Buck's "East Prospect" of our town (1741); also in Howlett's view, published (1808). This was known as the "Old" Gannock gate and the "South" Gannock gate; whilst the one with which we are conversant was the "North" Gannock gate. The greater part of the present "arch" is of modern workmanship.

Mention is, moreover, made of St. Ann's or St. Agnes' gate, which was doubtless named from a conventual chapel in the neighbourhood. It was north of the Purfleet, somewhere in the Newland.

THE GATEKEEPER,

holding a responsible position, was no insignificant member of the community; the safety of the inhabitants depended wholly upon his vigilance and integrity. Armed vagabonds strolled from one part of the kingdom to another; and, as after the calamitous visitation of the Black Death, the wayside hedges and bushes were destroyed so that no cover might be afforded them, they naturally flocked towards the town. But here again the vagrants were checked. No strangers were to be admitted "within our gates" except they could give a good account of themselves. The janitors or gatekeepers for the various town gates—the South gate, the East or St. Catherine's gate, the Doucehill gate, and the two Gannock gates, were elected yearly. To each gatekeeper the following oath was administered:—

Sire, ye shall well and truly keep the east gate [or other gates as the case might be] and let in and out the people in lawful time and truly warn the watch or do it warn in time of year upon the statute of Winchester, and certify up defaulters and buxom (obedient) be to the constables of this town, during their offices in time of watch, and all things do and use that (be-)longeth to the office of porter. So God you help at the holy doom.

In 1426 Nicholas Borewell was the keeper of the South Gate and Thomas Groute of the "gates of the Doucehill"; in 1477 Henry Bocher and William Palmer were chosen keepers of the "Doucehill

gate" and the "South gates" respectively; whilst William Barker was appointed not only keeper of the East gate but also keeper of the market. As at present, so four hundred years ago, the practice of anointing the fat hog prevailed. Without offering insult to the shade of the long-since-forgotten Bill Barker, we venture to say, this trivial incident was a source of great annoyance to those townsfolk, who thought themselves eligible to fill one or other of these offices.

The keepers were armed with heavy cudgels, and this precaution was necessary so that they might be ready at any moment not merely to resist the importunate stranger without, but the disloyal traitor within, as the following incident will show. A fuller or cloth bleacher, one Thomas Yole, was committed to prison by the Congregation or Town Council "for uttering scandalous words" (1450). The exact words are not recorded but their import may be gleaned from the subsequent entry. Yole so far acknowledged his fault as to admit "that he said *that he heard Peter Church*e say that if Captain Kent (that is Jack Cade, a rebel who had just defeated the royal forces at Sevenoaks) "should come to Lenne, if anyone should shut the gates against him, he (Peter Church)e would stab him to the heart with a dagger." On St. Bartholomew's day this cowardly perverter of the peace submitted himself and asked pardon of the Congregation, which was granted—let us hope more for the sake of Master Yole's wife and children than as a reward for the way in which he had tried to shield himself by incriminating another.

From the *Minstrel Youth, etc.* (1802), a rare collection of poems by W. Case, junr., a local author, we select a few lines from a "descriptive sketch," entitled:—

THE EASTERN WALLS OF LYNN.

But lo!

Where the last mellow tints of eve illumine
Yon range of wall, where deep-sunk arches speak
A tale of *other* times! Ah, what though now
Hoar ruin saps its strong cement—though now
Spirit of Desolation! thou delight'st
Within its mouldering buttresses to shroud
The sombre form, and while each passing gale
Moans o'er its grass-grown summit—erst it stood
Entire in sullen majesty.

On those grey turrets, War
His banner raised, and his nocturnal rounds
The sentry paced, what time (tradition tells)
The steel-clad Arbalister high up-drew
The vast portcullis, and, himself unseen,
Amid the foemen through those narrow clefts
Pour'd his long quarrels.

Of the prattling sire
Hath joy'd to tell his infant family,
How the loud roar of cannon and grenades
Each bastion's firm foundation rock'd; what time
In Charles's hapless cause, yon leaguer'd town,
Against its banded foes, the war maintain'd
Right gallantly, till hard necessity
The slow surrender wrung.

III. OUR FORTS.

It may be well, before we speak of St. Ann's Fort, or "the royal fortress" as Mackerell seriously terms it, to refer briefly to other forts more or less ancient, though none the less serviceable.

Long after neighbour Puttock, the hero of the Crutch, had passed away, our nation was threatened with invasion by the Spaniards (1587). And here it was, at the hermit's cave, our forefathers erected a strong fortress. They acted wisely in so doing, because the Spanish ambassador in London subsequently stated, that the most convenient place for troops from the Netherlands to land would be at Lynn; for, said he, "there is a good harbour there, which can be easily fortified." The Spanish Armada never effected a landing, or the fort at the Crutch might have figured conspicuously in our nation's history.

During the Civil War in the time of Charles I., the town's store of gunpowder was lodged in the Red Mount, hence the sacred oratory was termed the

"MOUNT FORT,"

although it in no wise deserved that title. Probably it was so called to distinguish it from the Fort at St. Ann's, which was erected about this time. The three gates then standing—the East, the South and the Gannock—were provided with new drawbridges; the olden earthworks by the Loke, which are gradually being smoothed down by the present allotment holders, were then perhaps thrown up, and a temporary fort was erected not far from the Fisher bridge. This messuage, which bore the suggestive title of the "Blockhouse," belonged to the Corporation.

The most defenceless part of the town during the 15th century was at the north-west, for beyond St. Nicholas' chapel there were few houses. Hence the absurd edifice near the Dock was built and called

ST. ANN'S FORT,

from reasons easily deducible. Strange to admit, it possessed no parapet. This glaring defect was supposed to be remedied when danger threatened, by means of sandbags, etc. Its position was singularly advantageous, because no vessel could approach the town without passing this point.

When a French invasion was seriously contemplated, 10 guns from the Tower of London were landed here by the sloop *Despatch* (1770). Although one was ostensibly for each of the wards, they were with two exceptions, named after saintly patrons. First, of course, there was the *St. Ann*, then the *St. George*, the *St. Margaret*, the *St. Nicholas*, the *St. Mary*, the *St. James*, the *St. Cecile*, the *St. David*; then came *Queen Boadicea*, and, lastly, the *Lynn Independent*, representing, not a candidate for municipal honours, but the volunteer artillery detachment of the Order of Benevolence.

Our gallant volunteers, to the number of 171—the "1" should be printed large, for it stands for the Captain, — unhesitatingly, pledged to "hold the fort" at this critical moment, enrolled themselves

under a gaudy ensign, which bore on each side the very exhilarating effusion:—

Watch round this land with Briton's eye,
Your wealth defend, or bravely die;
Feast on roast beef, plum pudding too,
Then with good cheer the foe subdue.

The uniform adopted by this "armed association" was a picturesque costume, consisting of dark blue regimentals, orange capes and scarlet waistcoats, which were labelled with satin of a light blue colour. Their *modus operandi* eclipsed simplicity itself. It was agreed that in case of emergency, the quick-march and call to arms should be extracted from the blue hooped-artillery drum, and that at the sound thereof, the brethren should quit their work-shops, their counters, or their beds and fly with all speed to St. Ann's Fort. And further, that the inhabitants at large without distinction, should immediately carry pickaxes, shovels and sacks to the fort, where a gabion was to be hastily improvised in order that the valiant garrison might be somewhat protected from the enemy's shot.

For the special edification of the members of the 3rd Volunteer Battalion of the Norfolk Regiment, we quote a melodramatic account of the "Ceremony of Admission," to the Artillery of

THE ORDER OF BENEVOLENCE,

as (with the exception of a few grammatical corrections) written in all sincerity by Commandant-lieutenant Cooper (August 31st, 1780).

The ten captains and ten mates of the guns are drawn up in full costume in parallel lines. Between, and in the middle is placed the great drum, on the head of which is laid a scimitar, a gauze veil and a book (presumably the bible). The drum-major takes the noviciate by the hand and conducts him up the avenue to the drum-head, where he kneels down.

The Captain then says: "Gentlemen, is it with all your approbation, that I solemnly admit Master Hammerlast into this Artillery Company of the Brotherhood of Benevolence?" Whilst this question is being propounded, all eyes are fixed upon the chaplain, who with his forefinger points upwards to the sky, and then down to his breast, saying, "If it be the Divine will, with all our hearts." Whereupon, to testify their unanimous approval, all clap hands and shout for joy. Then the drum-major and the lieutenant-governor advance to the drum, and taking a strip of black gauze they let it fall gently over the head of the noviciate. "We overshadow you," exclaims the chaplain in solemn tones, "with this veil of darkness to remind you of the wretched state of our fellow-creatures, who under the most offended, all-seeing eye of Heaven darting forth His most piercing beams of divine anger through the most tremendous, thundering clouds of awful darkness to burst over the heads of those unrepenting sinners, who love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil." The major now takes up the scimitar and laying it upon the shoulder of the candidate says: "By this sword, the protector of the innocent and scourger of the guilty—and by the sacred name of Justice, Mercy and Truth—you do solemnly and sincerely declare that you will pay all obedience to your right lawful sovereign, his most sacred and humane majesty, King George the Third, the defender of the Faith, the promoter of arts and sciences, and the Royal Grand Protector of the brave and benevolent." The aspirant for military honours here replies "I will." Then by a similar appeal the chaplain pledges him to like obedience severally to Queen Charlotte, the Prince of Wales and the Mayor of Lynn. In each case the noviciate lustily responds, "I will."

After having sworn loyalty to the Order, the chaplain delicately suggests how the new member might in his last will and testament leave something towards the funds of the Order of Benevolence to enable them to build chimneys to each of the raw, uncomfortable, cold apartments of the Bedehouses in Lynn,* to ameliorate the infirmities of the good ladies of advanced age at a time when comfort is most needed. To this the ambitious volunteer—

“Seeking the bubble Reputation

Even in the cannon's mouth,”

unhesitatingly answers, “I will.”

A further serio-comic pledge is administered by the chaplain as follows: “That you will always prefer roast beef, plum puddings and good English beer to soup meagre, fricasseed frogs and French wines; and whilst fed well, paid well and used well, you will always be ready to draw your sword in defence of the King and Constitution of this Garden of Europe, and never sheathe it but with honour.” A mechanical acquiescence is of course elicited. Then, being pledged by a long vow to keep the secrets of the Order, for the last time he vociferates, “I will” and kisses the blade of the glittering scimitar.

The ceremony of unveiling, now takes place, the president exclaiming in an exultant voice: “We unveil you, that you may enjoy the greatest blessing on this side the grave, that you may see good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven.” Taking the cause of all this absurd performance by the hand, the president continues, “Arise, thou son of Benevolence! Arise, and like the good Samaritan ever go on doing as thou wouldst be done by, and live always as thou wouldst love to die.”

In conclusion the Captain makes a long speech. After addressing the new member upon the solemn certainty of death and the judgment; and invoking the influence of such considerations upon his subsequent life, the exhortation at last ends. A sword is girt about the loins of neighbour Hammerlast who proudly takes his stand beside one of the gaping guns; then, as might be expected, the performance being over—the band plays! or, in the exact words of this quaint record: “Martial music strikes up and the Hallelujah is joined by voice, ‘Behold the Lord is our Salvation.’”

CHAPTER LIV.

Ancient Watercourses.

AMONG the fifty dialectic words, not being mispronunciations, used commonly in Norfolk, Mr. Walter Rye very properly includes the word “fleet.” In many parts of the county a shallow dish would be termed a *fleet* dish, and a shallow river, though remarkable perhaps for its slowness, would nevertheless be called a *fleet* river. Forby defines the word as, “a channel filled by the tide, but left very shallow at low water,” and this seems to be the way in which the word was used in Lynn.

The old town, intersected in every direction by “fleets,” stood like Venice, in a lagoon. Besides the Purfleet, the Mill fleet and Nickere fleet, to which we shall specially refer, mention is also made of Hewalde's Lane fleet and Hewolne's fleet, Colwayne's fleet, probably another form for Colville fleet in Broad Street, which was vaulted over (1585), Barker's fleet, Dowshill or Fisher fleet, which disappeared when the Dock was made, Ryflete, Surfleete, Whitefriars' fleet, St.

* Rebuilt by Benjamin Smith (1822).

Mary's fleet and another Mill fleet in the north part of the town. These sluggish streams flowed through openings in the embankment or eastern boundary up to which the tide at one time came; they brought down a supply of fresh water, from the uplands, which was of course met by the incoming tide. To prevent inundations strong stone sluices were built and furnished with doors. These were called *clowzes*, or *cloughs*—a word perhaps peculiar to this neighbourhood. Its derivation may be found in the Latin verb *ex-* or *in-**cludo*, *clusi*, *clusum*, to shut out, or in. By means, therefore, of these cloughs, the tidal waters were kept back (*exclusa*) and kept in (*inclusa*). A supply of fresh water was retained in what was called the common ditch, which connected the Purfleet and the Mill fleet above the sluices. This reservoir was beyond the "barrier bank," that is, near the Red Mount.

Although many sluices were erected to prevent the rising tide from overflowing the town, yet the inhabitants were in daily fear. The keeper of the South gates was ordered by the Assembly to attend to all the "clouzes" (1346); nevertheless a great flood soon after wrought much damage and caused the community great expense. In one year £125 18s. 8½d. was spent in mending the walls or banks. Even as late as the reign of Henry IV. certain rents and profits, belonging to the Gild of St. George, were laid out "in defending the breaches of the sea, repairing the banks, walls and fletes and water-courses, &c., in Lenn, without which the said village could not be kept preserved against the violence of the sea."

Some of these fleets were of great service commercially: during the mediæval age, they were crowded with barges laden with deck-cargoes of valuable merchandise, and during the present century, "lighters" discharged freights of coal along their banks. From the Coroners' Roll (1357-60) we learn the untimely fate of a drunken man, who was drowned in attempting to get on board a ship called the *Grace*, which was then lying in the Mayor's fleet. All ships, coming from ports infested with the plague, were in the year 1644 compelled to observe quarantine for a fortnight: one half of the homeward-bound vessels was detained in the "Roads," whilst the others were allowed to enter the Whitefriars fleet. This shows, that South Lynn was not then a very thickly populated district. Many lighters and keels were damaged or lost, because the accommodation afforded by the fleets was monopolised by trading vessels. To counteract this difficulty the Assembly passed the following resolution: "That no person thenceforth do lay or suffer to be laid any vessel of the burden of twenty tons or upwards either in the Mill fleet, the Dowshill, the Whitefriars, or the Purfleet, otherwise than on ancient or accustomed shipseats, under a penalty of 3s. 4d. for every tide they may offend. The Mayor, however, retaining power to grant permission on any special occasion" (1697).

(1) THE PURFLEET

was spanned at least by four bridges: there was one near its mouth, which in 1683 was only a wooden footbridge; another formed a

connecting link between the principal parts of the old and new settlements; the third—Baxter's bridge—crossed the stream not far from the spot where our General Post-Office stands, and the last, the Clough bridge, was situated not far from where the old sluice stood, by the present *Clough Fleet* tavern. Here, at the northern entrance of the old town, there had possibly been a ford. The Purfleet at this part of its course was often styled the Clough fleet.

John de Grey owned a messuage near the Purfleet (1204) and during the reign of Edward III. the town spent 15s. 6d. in "cleansing the Purfleet, and other gates." In the early part of the 14th century a ferry plied between Purfleet in Lynn, and Purfleet across the water; Cowgate too appears on both sides. From this, we may conjecture either, that before the alteration in the course of the Ouse (Henry III.) the two Purfleets were one and the same, or that the present Purfleet was named after a more ancient stream in *Old Lenne*. Purfleet Street and Purfleet quay received their names no doubt from their close proximity to this fleet.

Baxter's bridge was once termed the bridge of James de Belvaco, who was mayor in 1294. His house was not far off. A tumbrel or ducking stool, for the punishment of scolding women, was conveniently situated at this point.

Parallel with the Purfleet, was the North *Clough Lane*, which has wholly been abolished. South *Clough Lane*, however, survives, reminding us how our forefathers owed their safety to the town *cloughs*. Only a part of the Purfleet, nearest its mouth, now remains; the rest has, by instalments, been filled up (1865-6).

(2) THE MILL FLEET,

that is the Mayor's fleet, is indeed an ancient landmark. It flows from Sayer's (otherwise Sarah's) Marsh past the Gannock, and from thence

Like a wounded snake drags its slow length along,

towards the creek, or haven. This became in course of time an open sewer, which the Corporation decided upon filling up. A vote of the inhabitants was therefore taken—1,171 were in favour and 654 against the proposal (April 1896). To do this and also to improve New Conduit Street, £12,846 was borrowed, of which £9,575 remained unpaid in 1901.

The southern entrance to the town proper crossed this muddy stream, near Lady Bridge Brewery. Alas, to what vile uses may the most sacred names be applied. At the foot of the bridge formerly stood "Our Lady's Chapel"—a sacred fane, dedicated to the Holy Mother of God. Our Lady's Bridge—Lady Bridge Brewery!

This wayside chapel, at the north-west angle of the bridge, existed in the reign of Edward III.; but it was defaced before the time of Queen Elizabeth. The Corporation purchased it at the Dissolution, but sold it in 1569. After having been used as a private dwelling, it was pulled down to widen the street (1806). Some of the

moulded arches may still be seen in the back premises of the butcher's shop, belonging to Mr W. E. Daw.

The other bridges crossing this fleet are Beaver's bridge, the London Road bridge, erected about 1803, when the *new road* from the South gates to St. James's End was made, and lastly the Guanock bridge.

In the time of Edward I. it was known as Sunolf's fleet, who was a person of some importance. From the ancient bede roll of the Merchants' gild, we learn that Robert—possibly our earliest mayor—was a son of Sunolf. This is also substantiated by the Leet Roll (1310). The mill, which was situated almost on the site of the Framingham Almshouses, seems to have passed into various hands, for the stream was known as Swagg's Mill fleet, and later on as Scale's Mill fleet. Richard II. granted letters patent, whereby the gild of the Holy Trinity in *Lenn-Bishop* received this mill at the hands of Thomas de Scales, knight; Marmaduke, Bishop of Carlisle, and William Godered. A new mill was built on the Gannock, possibly a wind mill, occasioned through an insufficiency of water to work the town mill, for about this time "the great mill dyke" was recast (1596). From this source the old Miln Lane (Anglo-Saxon *mylen*—a mill) and our modern Mill-fleet Terrace derive their names. A mill, perhaps originally attached to the adjacent monastery, once occupied a spot near St. Margaret's school. Probably it was converted into a windmill, when the supply of water became inadequate. Subsequently it became an oil mill; and some may yet remember "the Tar Office" erected on the site.

(3) NICKERE FLEET,

in the vicinity of St. James' chapel, has also disappeared. This name, though unknown, save to the local antiquary, is interesting, inasmuch as it shows our forefathers inherited a legacy of superstition from a Scandinavian ancestry. Lakes, rivers, waterfalls—even the great sea itself—were once believed to be infested by *nicks*, strange beings often represented as half child and half horse, with the hoofs reversed; and at other times, as old men, sitting complacently upon cold rocks, whilst wringing copious streams of water from their long hair. Nickere fleet may be associated with the Neckar, a tributary of the Rhine.

In Scandinavia there was scarcely a piece of water without its *nickr*. When Odin impersonated the destroying principle, he always took the name of *nickar* or *hnickar*, hence, as Grimm observes, the evil spirit of the north retains his old cognomen to this day. In Denmark, for instance, when a person is drowned, it is customary to observe, *Nikken tog ham bort*, that is, "Nick took him away." The clergy, Protestant as well as Catholic, have striven to stir up an aversion to these mythological creatures. In our own country we pray to be delivered from the power of the Evil One, whom we colloquially speak of as Old *Nick*. The Miller's Entry, a dark subway leading towards the river, is yet called *Nick* the Devil's lane.

CHAPTER LV.

Origin of the Great River.

LYNN is largely indebted to the river on which it stands for its commercial prosperity. Before the introduction of our great railway systems, communication with the interior of the country was principally carried on by means of navigable rivers. These tortuous waterways led from one centre of industry to another.

The Great Ouse receives tributary streams from eight different counties; and heavy commodities, such as coals, salt, deals, iron, pitch, tar and wine were conveyed to Peterborough, Ely, Stamford, Bedford, St. Ives, Huntingdon, St. Neots, Northampton, Cambridge, Bury St. Edmunds, Thetford, etc., from the borough of King's Lynn.

A local writer describes the scenery along the banks of the Ouse as "a perpetual succession or uniformity of dullness"; nevertheless, it is far from being devoid of beauty. The poet Cowper, who spent much of his time in the vicinity, exclaims:—

Ouse, slow winding through a level plain
Of spacious meads with cattle sprinkled o'er,
Conducts the eye along its sinuous course
Delighted.

Formerly Lenne stood on a small arm of the sea, in which the Brandon river, or the Little Ouse as it is now designated, and the Stoke Waters, after uniting at Salter's Lode, some 16 miles above the town, emptied their waters. The Lenne Haven was not very wide or deep in those days, yet it was large enough to carry away the upland waters and afford sufficient accommodation for the fleet of tiny boats resorting thither.

There was of course no Great Ouse as we now know it; but the collection of waters, brought down by the Brandon River, whose length was estimated at 100 miles, by the Grant, by a part of the Nene and by several small streams, was discharged into an estuary at or near Wisbech. The tide not only surged up this arm of the sea, but, with its force somewhat lessened, flowed a considerable way up these fresh-water outlets. With the general drainage of the Fens we are not concerned, only as it affected the Haven at Lenne. Let us consider how, when, and by what means, the "great river" came into existence.

FATHER OUSE.

The Great Ouse rises at a spring called Ousewell, not far from Brackley and Towcester, on the borders of Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire. It passes through Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire; descends by Huntingdon, and then enters Cambridgeshire near Earith, at a spot called the Hermitage in the parish of Haddenham. Here centuries ago, it divided into two important branches.

The *first* branch, which was *the* river, took a southern course to Stretham Meer, where it received the Grant, a tributary from Cambridgeshire; after making a northerly bend, it flowed by Ely and

touched Prickwillow, where it was joined by the Mildenhall River. The augmented stream with a north-easterly course from Littleport Chayre reached Welney, and passing Shrews Ness, it ultimately dis-embogued its waters near Wisbech.

The *second* branch, called the West-water, flowed from Earith towards Benwick in a northerly direction, where it encountered a portion of the Nene, descending from Whittlesey Meer. The stream passed from thence by Upwell, Outwell, and on to Wisbech, and the Crosskeys Wash, which was at one time the only outfall for the waters draining our vast English Fenland. This arm of the sea was bounded by Holland (Lincolnshire) on one side, and by Marshland (Norfolk), which was environed by high banks, on the other. Vessels of considerable burden once frequented this deep estuary, but (the tide receding, through an ever-accumulating deposit of sand, caused by erosion on the coast of Yorkshire, etc.), the passage between Wisbech and what were termed the Washes gradually gave place to a series of marshy sandbanks.

The present course from Earith is quite different, for most of the water is conveyed direct to Denver; the northern branch has been allowed to decay since the great drainage, and the West River is little more than a good-sized ditch until the Cam adds its necessary quota to the stream. The Old Croft river is practically obsolete, and from Littleport the waters flow along the ancient but nevertheless *artificial* cut, known as Brandon Creek and formerly Hemming's Lode, and so by what was once the channel of the Little Ouse past Denver, Downham Market and Lynn to the sea. [*The Fenland—Past and Present.*]

Dugdale attributes the turning of the West-water from its ancient course principally to natural causes.

So long (he says, quoting the words of Sir Henry Hobart, the Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas in 1617) as the outfall of Wisbeche had its perfect being, the whole river Ouse had there its perfect outfall from whence the town seems to have taken its name. . . . But Wisbeche outfall decaying and the passage of the Nene by Crowland likewise failing through the decay of Spalding River and other hindrances, the West-Water or *first* branch of the Ouse with Nene united, waxed weak in the passage and so fell down by March and Welle; and not finding passage by Welle and Shrewes Ness Point, the most part thereof turned back again to Littleport by the old forsaken branch of Ouse and holdeth that course to this day. The *second* branch of Ouse, with Grant united, being thereby debarred of passage by Wisbeche, means were made to let it fall from Littleport Chair to Rebech by a lode (or water-course) which at the first seemed to be called Hemming's *Ea* (Anglo-Saxon for *water*) and so in Ouse Parva's channel (or the channel of the Little Ouse) passed to Salter's Lode and thence to Lynne, whose channel not long before that time was not above six poles (or 100 feet) wide, being then by true presentment said at that time to be both sufficient for the Haven and vessels thither resorting by the inlet of salt water; and large enough to pass away the fresh, as by the proceedings of a fair commission in year 1378 may appear.

THE TURNING POINT.

According to ancient customs and usages the people of Wisbech ought to have preserved the sewers and drains; they, however, grossly and illegally shirked their responsibility; hence the enormous floods which subsequently devastated that part of our Fenland may safely be attributed to their culpable negligence. When the inhabitants of Marshland found their property so often inundated, they made complaint to the king—Edward I.—who in 1294 granted a commission

for restoring the waters of "Welle" as that section of the Ouse was then called, to the original outfall at Wisbech. The waters were to be brought and carried in *debitum et antiquum cursum*, that is, by their true and ancient course; whereupon three dams were constructed; one at Upwell Town-End, near Popham Lode sluice at Fendyke; another at Little Lode bridge in Upwell; and the third at Outwell bridge, in order to stop the Nene and Welland from descending into the Ouse and thus to force them towards the sea by Wisbech. The expense of this undertaking was unjustly placed upon the poor Marshlanders and those dwelling in the Isle of Ely, who had already suffered heavy losses, through no fault of their own.

To facilitate the egress of waters, which were turned from their natural course, a canal was apparently cut at some time or other (*temp.* Henry III.) between Littleport Chayre and Rebbeck. Several reasons might be adduced in support of this theory; it is however enough to state that here the character of the stream is quite phenomenal and utterly unlike any other part of the river, being "more straight than any of the Ouse in all the Fens from Ely to Wisbeche."

That the course of the original river has greatly changed may be substantiated as follows:—

1. There is geological evidence to shew that an ancient estuary extended between Welney and Littleport.
2. While deepening the Wisbech River in 1635, that is about three hundred years after the outlet there was abandoned, "the workmen, at eight feet below the bottom, came across another bottom which was stony, and there at several distances they found seven boats, that had lain here overwhelmed with sand for many ages." (Dugdale.)
3. Seabanks existed between Outwell and Wisbech. Henry VI. ordained that their height to fifty feet should be maintained.
4. A record, vouched by Mr. Hexham, who was surveyor to William, Earl of Arundel, shews that there was once no river between Littleport Chayre and Rebbeck or the Priests' Houses. (Bladeslade.)
5. An account is given in a manuscript written by Mr. Atkin (1608 or 1618) and dedicated to Andrew, Bishop of Ely. Describing the Wisbech River as it existed in 1292, our authority writes, "This was an ancient arm of the sea, and time was when the whole course of the Ouse had its passage by Welney and Welle to the North Seas at Wisbeche and from thence where now the Washes be. In regard whereof, writers say, King John's people perished in the waters of the Welle."
6. Wisbech Camp or Castle is mentioned in the *Thorney Red Book*. The paragraph, which is in Latin, may be translated thus—"Beyond that famous river which is called the Welle stream, is situated the aforesaid camp; (the river) takes its rise in many marshes, rivulets, and springs, and after long windings is acknowledged by all to empty itself into the great sea at Wisbech."
7. Entries in various Leet Rolls shew that the aggregate waters of the Fens should not fall on the Norfolk side.

In all probability the river in its ancient course was known as the Welle or Welle-stream. The word *Well* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon verb *well-an* or *wyll-an*, to flow. We still use the same word, as in the sentence, "It welled over."

The advantageous position the mouth of the river afforded was an attraction our forefathers were unable to resist. The modern representative of their early settlement is the village of Upwell, which at the beginning of the present century was generally called *Well*. It was once a place of importance, for King John granted it a weekly market, which was held on Wednesday; and Henry VI. made a further concession of an annual fair to augment traffic and to celebrate the day of Saints Peter and Paul.

Reference has been made to the silting, which is continually going on in the Wash. Mr. S. B. J. Skertchly, F.G.S., calculated that about $10\frac{3}{4}$ feet have on an average been added every year to the seaboard in this district. The growth of these natural deposits must have unquestionably been considerable, though perhaps somewhat less than he suggests, because he assumes that the Roman Bank was raised in the second century and that an area of 70,000 acres was produced by the disintegrating forces of nature in 1,700 years. It is, however, by no means improbable that what is termed the *Roman* bank might have a pre-Roman or British origin. As the land grew and advanced sea-wards, other settlements would in consequence spring up nearer and nearer the receding mouth of the river, hence to distinguish the older place the terms *Outwell* and *Upwell* were coined. The first inhabited nucleus, being some distance from the mouth of the river, was Up-well, that is *up* the *well* stream; whereas Out-well was at the point where the waters were discharged or flowed *out*. The old river was also called the Well-*ee*, that is the *flowing water*, for the Anglo-Saxon *ee*, *ea* and *ey* mean water. Well-*ee* assumes other guises as Well-*hee* and Wellen-*hee* (Welney).

Unlikely though at first sight it may seem, *Ouse* and *Wash* may be traced to one common derivative. *Ouse* was written indiscriminately *Ise*, *Ose*, and *Use*; the Celtic forms being *Isca*, *Wis*, and *Uisga*,* and the Anglo-Saxon *Usa* and *Wusa*, which leads to the verbs *wes-an* to wet, *was-an*, to wash, and the noun *wasc*, or "wash," water. *Ouse*, *ooze* and the French *eaux* are not only phonetically but etymologically allied. Shakespeare uses the word thus, as "In the ooze" (that is water) "my son is bedded."

The old spelling for Wisbech is *Wis-becc*, otherwise *Ouse-becc*. We must not, however, overlook certain consonantal changes to which this word has been subjected; neither must we too hastily infer that *Ouse-bech* points to the *beach* or sea-shore. *Becc* is a rivulet or stream; literally therefore *Wiss-becc* is the *Ouse-stream*. Let us, however, before dismissing the subject, account for the present terminal, *bech*. The Norman invaders experienced difficulty in pronouncing the Saxon *c*, which was sounded by the natives as if it were *k*.

* Whisky, too, comes from *uisga* (water). The Irish have *uisge-a-bagh*, that is, usquebagh (water of life); whilst the French apply a similar phrase—*eau de vie*, to their brandy.

This consonant they unconsciously softened into *ch*; for instance the word *cild* (kild) they softened into *child*, and in like manner *cese* (keys), into *cheese*, which are still retained. By the same linguistic process *Wis-becc* became *Wis-bech*, and *Wasc*, *Wash*.

THE PREVAILING OF THE WATERS.

Many attempts, more or less abortive, were made to regain the silted-up and almost useless estuary at Welney; a series of presentments followed in the footsteps of these failures, but they were treated with haughty indifference. Buildings gradually appeared along the banks. The important network of Fenland drains, which conducted the surface water to the main streams, soon grew up for want of proper scouring and attention, until at length it became questionable whether any permanent good could be effected without a thorough re-cutting of all the watercourses with their almost endless ramifications. A work enormously vast in extent and necessarily expensive must have been proportionately discouraging. There was, moreover, no absolute certainty, that if it were actually carried out success would be achieved. Hence in process of time the Great Ouse became recognised as the proper receptacle for conveying the waters of this level area to the sea. In the chamberlain's accounts three shillings and four pence were paid for ferrying horses over "the great river," as the newly-formed stream at Lenne was then termed (1373-4).

But alterations of a grave and unexpected character speedily occurred, owing to the tremendous amount of water which found an outlet in the Haven at Lenne. Formerly it received two or three insignificant streams and the Brandon River (the Little Ouse) which drained about 200 square miles; but now it received, in addition, a tremendous body of water from an area estimated at 2,700 square miles, brought down of course by the newly-formed river. In other words, more than sixteen times as much water rushed through our little Haven. The velocity of the water was thereby doubled, whilst its erosive or wearing-away power became about forty times as great. Now rivers have a natural tendency, when left to their own devices, to widen their channels a deal quicker than they deepen them; but this widening process, detracting from the velocity, greatly facilitates the accumulating of silt. The old boundaries at Lenne were soon worn away, and the Haven, at one time barely a hundred feet wide, became, as we learn from "the doleful petition" of the Marshlanders, "a full mile in breadth" (1363). This was lamentably bad, but worse speedily followed, because the same dangerous process, once fairly started, was not likely to stop. Indeed, subsequent complaints of the ravages of the sea were made in 1378, 1565, 1618, etc. The so-called Roman Bank, which then enclosed and protected the low-lying tract of marshland, was obliterated in the vicinity of our town. Not only was much land engulfed and property destroyed at Terrington and Wiggenhall, but the ancient and stately church at Old Lenne was completely swept away.

Ben Adam refers to this sad circumstance in his *Lennæ Rediviva* (Edward IV.). In conclusion, we quote a few of his quaint lines:—

On the northe parte on't, now the ruines lye
Of a fayre towne, and you may judge thereby
What once it was, 'fore raging sea did bury
And it devoure, and still devoures in fury,
Each yearly sea doth swallow houses it gains,
And doubtless will in short time be its lands ;
But this year the sea, as if it repented,
Doth show its rapines, but not yet contented.
Here you may see a goodly churche's site
(Down this same prospect in which this I write)
I judge as long and broad as Nicholas's chappel,
Th' encroachments Neptune made is common home
To the olde channell's ende, where it bare bones
Discovers plaine, of them were bury'd in it,
And their coffines wash't out, that lay within it.

The bones are wash't out, and lie scattered all
About the shore, thigh bones, chap bones with teeth and all.
Two of these coffines now lye on the sande,
For sea now plowes where once it was firme land,
Where was churchyard I did behold some bones,
Yet sticking in the earth among the stones
The sea hath not wash't away. There sticks a scull
Half bare, half buried, which you may eas'ly pull
It out. In the west end of that churche's site,
I saw a freestone round, which upon sight
I did conjecture the font's foundation to be,
For 'twas in th' west ende ; there 'tis yet to see.
The stone and bricks the sea hath left declare
The buildings were not mean they raised there.
They say (if that they say does not tell lies)
This living was foure score pounds at least yearly.

CHAPTER LVI.

The Making of the Harbour.

IF the "great river" had been confined within proper limits, all would have gone well ; the descending waters would have scoured a suitable channel, and formed a convenient harbour. Whereas the new stream was foolishly permitted to wander over a delta-like marsh. In course of time as a natural sequence, a wide estuary appeared to the north, and a shallow horse-shoe-shaped bend to the south-west of the town.

The Ouse was thus allowed to spend its force in useless widening ; its current grew feebler, and finally the restless tides, which never spend their power in vain, acquired supremacy, and the *bed* of the river began to silt up. As early as 1350, the warning note of this disaster was sounded : but, although nothing but good could have resulted, the river was never trained until the present century. The work which would have cost but little years ago was accomplished at a vast expense, and so difficult is it to overcome prejudice that over £12,000 were spent in defending the Act, which permitted the Eau Brink Cut to be made. [*The Fenland—Past and Present.*]

Tidal inundations were of course frequent; instances occurred in 1564 and 1569. In 1570 Marshland and Wickenhall were overflowed, and the Roman Bank between Old Lenne and Mawdlin Bridge (the southern boundary of Marshland) was swept away, so that not sixty yards of the bank were left. To remedy these terrible results of blind negligence, several attempts were made to drain the Great Level, as the English Fenland was termed. After repeated failures, the design was successfully carried out by William Russell, the speculative Earl of Bedford, who received 8,500 acres of the reclaimed land, which has ever since been owned by the Russell family. The Hundred Feet River was then cut, and the erection of a sluice at the Hermitage proposed.

A SLUICE AT DENVER.

Our Haven had for a long period been in a deplorable condition; and although the sluice did not at first assist in the making of a harbour, yet in conjunction with other important undertakings it certainly played a significant part in later years. Prior to this, the Haven was not merely shallow, but the channel leading thereto was always altering, owing to the shifting of the sandy shoals deposited by the tides. The course to St. Germans, which may still be traced near Islington, was very tortuous. Remembering this, we are constrained to acknowledge that the old river-side hostelry—the *Shore Boat*—once had an appropriate name. The bore or *eager* caused by the influx of the tide meeting the ebb waters was considerable. The foreshore was lashed by the incoming tide; lighters were sunk; ships often broke from their moorings, and many lives were unfortunately lost.

In 1606-7 the tide reached the Market Cross, and a vessel of 100 tons was overthrown. Minute particulars of the event are given in an old tract, entitled *The Great Flood at Lynn* (1607), whilst in 1620 eight or nine vessels were driven up to St. Germans and several were sunk at the Boal. But a greater catastrophe happened when fourteen sail of ships with all hands were lost in sight of the town (1636). Notwithstanding these fearful calamities, the Corporation were afraid lest the erection of the proposed sluice might make matters even worse, hence they petitioned parliament against the movement (1651), but their efforts were fruitless; the following year the building of the sluice was begun. When finished, although no material alteration had been effected in our waterway, the merchants continued to complain most bitterly, as well they might. A petition was presented to parliament praying for the removal of the obnoxious sluice, which was foolishly regarded as the cause of every disaster (1696). The subject was ably discussed, counsel was heard at the bar, and many witnesses were examined; but the petition was, notwithstanding, rejected by a large majority.

In the meantime the inhabitants of Lynn had not neglected to do what they could to improve the harbour, which was dotted at low water by many dangerous sandbanks. Early in the 17th century, they held out inducements to John Spence, who owned land at the

point where the Nar joins the Ouse. As owner, he no doubt received various duties as wharfage, stakage, and moorage; and was naturally anxious to retain the source of his income. The only way to do so was by the erection of a strong bank; his profits were, however, totally insufficient for the work. The Assembly therefore determined to confer upon him the privilege of nominating someone for the freedom of the town, but the person of his choice must be approved by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council. The fine or fee received for this honour, they decided to "bestow on Mr. John Spence's *bank account*"—not *banking account* be it observed.

To William Awborne, a merchant, this lucrative privilege of *freedom* was first granted, and the £10 he paid was devoted "to making a new bank at the Ball, neare a place called ye World's End." Other nominations followed. A merchant-adventurer, Rowland Bradford, was chosen. The amount he contributed is not given, but the entry informs us that the proposed bank would greatly benefit the ships riding in the haven "by preventing of great traynes of water issuing out there, when the same is decayed" (1610). This was the last encouragement John Spence received from the town; henceforth he was to keep the foreshore in repair at his own cost.

Ninety years later the World's End was in a worse state, if that were possible. As the whole of the houses on the north side of the Mill fleet were in danger of being unceremoniously swept away, it became imperatively necessary that effective means should be taken at once. The safety of the entire town was indeed at stake. The Hall considered the subject in connection with a petition from the then owner—Robert Elsdon, who was utterly unable to cope with the difficulty. After much patient deliberation, it was agreed that the defences of the town needed special attention, and that sea-jetties and counter shores should be provided to repel the flow and reflow of the sea. The Assembly therefore, in accordance with his petition, agreed to purchase the land, with all the profits and advantages previously enjoyed by him for £130, and an additional £20, "if at the end of five years the said ground should continue so long preserved from the sea without considerable diminution." This was verily an advantageous speculation.

The two following entries from the chamberlain's account shew the work was successfully done, and honestly paid for.

Sept. 29th, 1704. Ordered £100 to be taken up for reimbursing the chamberlain's charges about the jetties and defences against the sea at the Boale or World's End.

Jan. 12th, 1704-5. Ordered that Mr. Hainsworth, chamberlain's account, audited at £347 8s. 9d., relating to the Boale, be allowed and that he have £10 10s. for his extraordinary trouble.

But our misfortunes were not yet ended. The rapid descent of the waters during the ebb tides continued to affect the channel and to undermine the foundations of buildings in the vicinity of the river. Hence Capt. Hawley was engaged to draw up suggestions for allaying the mischief (1708). Nothing, however, of a permanent or satisfactory character was achieved by the "poor palatines," who

came over from the Continent to carry out his scheme of embanking. From time to time there was a deal of local patchwork, but no attempt had as yet been made to *train* the river. The sluice at Denver diverted the tide into the Bedford River, so that about forty years after its erection, the Ouse had so deteriorated above this point, that where heavy-laden barges once passed, fodder was then cut. Besides, the lower course of the river was no whit better, because the barrier, when open, allowed but one portion of the incoming waters to ascend, hence the silt brought up by the tides as well as vast quantities of mud brought down by the upland waters, were both checked and large deposits were formed above the town.

In 1713 an unusual event occurred—the meeting of an exceptionally heavy flood and an extraordinary high tide. The sluice was in consequence undermined, and the Ouse became once more a tidal river. This consummation, for which the inhabitants of our town had for many years devoutly wished, did not improve the Harbour. Hence Col. John Armstrong, the chief engineer of England, with Messrs. Bladeslade and Kinderley, were employed as experts to draw up a report. Again, application was made to parliament for the preservation of the channel and waterway by means of piers, as recommended by Messrs. Rosewell and Reynolds, of Hull (1742). The Council proposed raising £2,500 a year for this purpose, by levying a tax on all imported goods. The two points east and west of the river, about a mile below the town, were so worn as to endanger not only Marshland, but Gaywood, Wootton, and the surrounding district.

Leaving these insignificant schemes, which were at best disheartening, let us consider the gigantic undertaking known as—

THE EAU BRINK CUT.

The fen-drainage above Lynn had given rise to much dissatisfaction about the year 1794. The suffering landowners in the district, advised by competent engineers, began to agitate for the making of a canal. Not only was the navigation of the shallow bend in the Ouse extremely dangerous, but the drainage of 300,000 acres was as difficult as uncertain. An Act was therefore obtained the following year for improving the drainage of the Middle and South Levels (part of the Great Level of the Fens, called the Bedford Level), by altering the course of the Ouse from Eau Brink, a place in the parish of Wiggshall St. Marys, to the upper part of the harbour at King's Lynn.

The proposed “cut,” a slight sweeping curve with an easterly convexity, was to be 370 feet broad from bank to bank, gradually, however, widening to 278 yards—the actual width of the narrowest part of the harbour at the ferry landing. The eastern and western foreshores were to be respectively 60 and 80 feet in breadth. A good substantial bridge with five “eyes” or openings, each measuring not less than 40 feet, was likewise to be constructed near the North Sea Bank. “The said bridge (was) not to be rated or assessed for or towards the payment of any public, or parochial taxes, or rates

MAP OF LYNN HAVEN.

as it is the
Route Out to St Mary Magdalen.
Passing the
Proposed New Cut.



THE PROPOSED (EAR BRINK) CUT.

whatsoever, and that said bridge was not to be deemed a county bridge, so as to subject the county of Norfolk to the repair or support thereof."

Commissioners, appointed to borrow money, on the security of the taxes, were empowered to purchase land and to recompense the owners satisfactorily. Nine years elapsed, and although a vast sum had been collected the work was not yet begun. Possibly the promoters did not sufficiently realise the almost insuperable difficulties which beset their arduous labours. Because of this delay, the Act which was far too contracted for the magnitude of the work, had to be renewed; other measures followed, which may be thus epitomised:

1796 : 36th George III. An Act to extend the terms of the tax on land and tolls on goods of the previous Act.

1805 : 45th George III. An Act to explain and amend the Act of 1795 (35th George III.).

1816 : 56th George III. An Act to amend the previous Acts.

1818 : 58th George III. An Act for increasing the fund for carrying into execution the several previous Acts.

1819 : 59th George III. An Act for altering and enlarging the powers of the previous Acts.

1820 : 1st and 2nd George IV. Another Act for a similar purpose.

Adopting the measurements suggested by Captain Huddart, John Rennie, engineer (subsequently Sir John Rennie), estimated the cost at £174,145, allowing £6,500 for the making of the new bridge. The area in the bend of the old river, for the almost straight canal made a difference of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in the course of the river, amounted to 1,022 acres, that is 240 acres of salt marsh and 782 acres in the river-bed. Messrs. Jolliffe and Banks undertook to carry out the work in three years.

However, being unfinished in 1819, the engineer produced an estimate of the amount requisite to complete the entire work, as specified by the various "Eau Brink Acts."

1st, estimated cost of the works to be finished before the water could be turned into the Cut	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£
2nd, estimated cost of work to be done, after the opening	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	104,639
								149,115
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	<u>£253,754</u>

On the 13th of January 1820, there remained a debt of £135,000, of which £12,300 was due to the government. The total cost, however, was at least £500,000, which was borrowed by the Commissioners, who, for the purpose of paying the interest, liquidating the debt, and keeping the cut, the drains and the banks in proper repair, were empowered to levy a yearly *drainage tax* on the 320,000 acres of marsh land benefited by their undertaking. They also levied 5 pence per ton on the cargoes of all vessels passing up the river.

The Commissioners consisted of freeholders of at least 100 acres each, and as the drainage of their own land was naturally of paramount importance, not much progress was made before 1818. The "cut" was, however, opened on the 31st of July, 1821, when the *Swiftsure*, a steam packet from Gravesend, passed to the upper end, at the head of a long line of richly-decorated boats.

In the meantime our municipal wiseacres were doing their utmost to hinder the Eau Brink Commissioners. They presented a petition opposing the Bill of 1818. The contending parties met before a Committee of Lords. Mr. Harrison appeared as counsel on behalf of the Mayor and Burgesses; Messrs. Eagle and Turton represented the owners of land; and Messrs. Watson and Bevill supported the Bill. Witnesses were examined, and evidence for and against was discovered in most unlikely places, during this season of legal jubilation. In the end, after throwing away £12,000 in useless litigation the magnates of Lynn were constrained to submit to the inevitable, which proved a blessing in disguise.

As the course of the old channel just above the town became altered during the undertaking, the merchants claimed compensation from the Commissioners of Drainage under two headings; first, for loss sustained whilst loading and unloading their vessels; and secondly, by reason of a deterioration in the value of their property along the foreshore. After some delay it was enacted, that the Commissioners should raise £4,500 in order to pay the claimants under the *first* schedule for damage, etc., sustained by reason of the removal of the channel to a greater distance from their premises; this was purely mercantile in its nature. The sum received was not merely to recoup them for past damage or inconvenience, but to recompense them for any which might in future be incurred through attempts to improve the navigation of the river. Sixteen merchants participated in this amount—the highest award was £1,000 to Messrs. Alexander and James Bowker; the lowest £20 to Mr. John Bailey Stockdale (1831).

Further, it was enacted that the Commissioners were to raise £24,500 by means of two equal instalments. The first, £12,250 was to be paid to the several claimants in the *second* schedule, in full satisfaction of their claims for permanent damage to their respective properties; the other £12,250 was to be invested in government securities for the future maintenance of the Lynn Harbour (after deducting the charges incurred by the claimants in establishing their claims) and used from time to time as circumstances should demand in preserving the Harbour within its newly-defined limits, that is “from the bridge and lower dam across the Eau Brink Cut and the old channel of the river Ouse so far as St. Ann’s Fort on the east side and Bentinck’s jetty on the west side, and keeping in repair all the works and also the several jetties already constructed in the Harbour under the provisions of the Act.” The Commissioners were also to pay the Select Trustees £750 yearly out of the navigation tolls, towards the preservation of the Harbour and the security of the town. The erection of jetties on the West Lynn side cost £1,500. Thirty-three claimants appeared under the *second* schedule, and sums were paid varying from £1,982 10s. (Messrs. A. and J. Bowker, granaries and warehouses next the Harbour), to £88 2s. 7d. (William Curtis, messuage, brewery and buildings next the Harbour). To the Mayor and Burgesses of Lynn, for damage to buildings, wharfs and quays

next to the Harbour, the sum of £881 15s. 10d. was put down. The New Bridge, 800 feet in length, rested on massive mahogany piers. In the centre were a pair of "leaves" which could be raised by means of chains; but as vessels seldom passed above the bridge the machinery was afterwards removed and the whole platform bedded with gravel. The "opening," on the 28th of June 1821, was marked with great *éclat*. The structure was fantastically decorated and a procession bearing banners with many strange devices perambulated the new roadway. On one of the banners was inscribed, "Prosperity to the Eau Brink Drainage, and Durability to the Marshland Free Bridge." After half a century the wooden bridge gave place to a girder bridge of wrought iron, which was erected by the Ouse Outfall Commissioners at a cost of £20,000. The roadway is 500 feet in length between the two abutments, and 25 feet in breadth. It is supported by four sets of iron piers. John Brunlees was the engineer, Charles H. Driver the designer, and John Dixon, of London, the contractor (1873).

THE ESTUARY CUT.

The channel from Lynn to the Deeps was still very circuitous, and being filled with light and shifting sands, the navigation was extremely dangerous. To obviate this, Nathaniel Kinderley elaborated a plan for the improvement of the Ouse and the other fen rivers, as early as 1751. To counteract these treacherous obstructions, he proposed making *two* "cuts." The one, from the mouth of the Nene, was to take a north-eastern direction, towards Lynn; passing Walpole St. Andrew's, Walpole St. Peter's, and Terrington St. John's, it was to fall into the horse-shoe like bend of the old river near Islington. The united waters of the Nene and the Ouse were to be carried from thence through the marshes, past Wootton, Wolferton and on, as far as Snettisham, where was the proposed mouth. The other "cut" was to unite the waters of the Welland and the Witham. Its course, *viâ* Boston, was almost parallel with the first cut. After crossing the Lincolnshire marshes, the stream was to fall into the sea not far from Leveton. By this arrangement there were to be two instead of four outlets, and it was assumed that the silting up, between the two new river-mouths, would produce in 50 years at least 100,000 acres of good land—"a good habitable county, fifteen miles long and from eight to ten in breadth." A north-east road over the Gat Sand was to connect Lynn with Boston. Not many were willing to help Kinderley in this undertaking.

In 1830 a few gentlemen, at the head of whom was Lord William Bentinck, suggested a similar scheme, which had for its object the drainage of the Fens and the improvement of Lynn Harbour. They proposed enclosing a part of the estuary, which consisted of many thousand acres of land, by carrying the waters of the four fenland rivers into *one* general outfall. The cost of this enormous scheme, according to Sir John Rennie's estimate, would amount to two millions, but as 150,000 acres of land, worth £40 an acre, were to be reclaimed, there was for encouragement the prospective profit of

four millions. An influential meeting was held in London; the scheme was unanimously approved, and a widespread feeling entertained, that the government ought to assist in what was regarded as a national enterprise. "An Act, for enclosing and reclaiming from the sea certain tracts of land forming part of the great estuary called the Wash, between the counties of Norfolk and Lincoln," received the royal assent (18th August, 1846). It admitted the forming of a company—"The Company of Proprietors of the Norfolk Estuary"—with a capital of £500,000, consisting of 10,000 shares of £50 each. There were to be thirteen directors, including the mayor of Lynn for the time being. By a provision of this Act, £240,000 might also be raised on mortgage, but not until the whole capital had been subscribed and one-half paid up. Moreover, on the total expenditure one per cent. was to be paid to the Commissioners of H.M. Woods and Forests as compensation, and for the private use of the Queen.

The channel at this time, after passing the quay and St. Ann's Fort, pursued its course along the North Bank to Nottingham Point. This deviation is supposed to have been the result of the Eau Brink Cut. The tides were so troublesome that the owners in many cases sold the adjoining land at a nominal figure in order to avoid the fearful cost of maintaining the banks. Notwithstanding all, an unaccountable apathy affected the speculative public at this juncture, and the government were by no means anxious to acquire "Victoria County," as it was proposed to term the tract of reclaimed land. Hence Rennie's scheme failed like that of his predecessor for want of appreciation and support. Nevertheless, the germs of these theories were not dead. An amended Act was obtained three years afterwards by means of which our Corporation were accorded the privilege of contributing towards a somewhat modified proposal.

After many unavoidable hindrances the Norfolk Estuary Company was successfully floated, and though with far less pretentious aims, Lynn as a mercantile community is greatly indebted to them for what they accomplished. Under the then existing circumstances our present trade would have been an impossibility. The proposed canal was to be two miles in length; 250 feet in breadth at low, and 410 feet at high water. The total expenses, including the purchase of land besides all preliminary and subsequent undertakings, was put down at £250,000, which was in a measure to be repaid by a tax on the tonnage of vessels entering the port, and by the immediate reclamation of 10,000 acres of land out of a possible 32,000 acres.

As Lynn received a yearly income of £3,000 by levying various imposts on the goods landed within the borough, it was only right that the port should contribute towards a daring project, calculated to do so much local good. Three reasons must suffice to shew how absolutely necessary was the proposed alteration in our channel.

1. Owing to the shifting sands and the cross-sets in the tides, as many as thirty vessels went ashore in twelve months; and the

damage caused thereby was proved by the Mutual Maritime Assurance Association to amount to as much as one penny per ton. The raising of one vessel—the *Henry William*—cost £350, while its repairing cost £500 more.

2. Loss of time, through insufficient draft, was the rule rather than the exception. A vessel with 13 feet draft, was seven days coming from the Deep to the Harbour, whilst the *Cato*, a vessel of 500 tons with a draft of 16 feet 4 inches, was 26 days. In the Harbour the tides were as follows:—Equinoctial spring 17 feet; ordinary spring 15 feet; the neap tides varying from 8 to 11 feet.

3. Our trade with the Midlands, which for years had almost constituted a monopoly, was fast decreasing, because the Hull merchants, taking advantage of our increasing difficulties, not only imported goods from the Baltic, etc., but actually sent them through Lynn by the up-river route into the neighbouring counties.

By an additional tax of 4d. per ton on all goods, exported or imported, the Corporation offered to help forward the movement by contributing £60,000; and a similar amount was volunteered by the Eau Brink Commissioners (31st August 1848).

At the Admiralty inquiry held in the Gild Hall on the 12th and 13th of April, 1849, before James Vetch, Esq., Captain Royal Engineers, and John Washington, Esq., Captain Royal Navy—Admiralty Inspectors under the Preliminary Inquiry Act, 1849, the following persons appeared to support or oppose the Bill on behalf of their respective clients: Thomas Wing, the Promoters of the Scheme; George Game Day, the Middle Level Drainage Commissioners; Thomas Archer, the Bedford Level Corporation; Goodwyn Archer, the Eau Brink Drainage Commissioners; John Vipan, the Hundred Feet River; and Edw. L. Swatman, the town clerk, on behalf of the Lynn Corporation. Among the witnesses examined were Sir John Rennie, C.E., F.R.S., Robert Stephenson, C.E., F.R.S., Lieut. Garland, R.N., William Armes, shipowner, W. Plews, resident engineer of the Harbour, and five Lynn pilots.

The late Sir Wm. J. M. B. Ffolkes was chairman of the Company, and Messrs. Peto and Betts were the contractors employed. The progress of the undertaking, the admission of the water into the new channel before the excavation was completed (April, 1852); the suspension of the work because of an injunction; the "law's delay"—a long and costly Chancery suit; the Parliamentary inquiry that ensued; the re-opening of the "cut" under a new Act (9th May 1853) and the ultimate development of our present magnificent waterway we must not venture to describe.

Writing in 1862 William Armes observes:—

The project from the period of Lord William Bentinck was often before the town. As it seems to be one duty of corporate bodies to resist good projects, so the Lynn Corporation duly and strenuously for many years opposed this. And many of the influential inhabitants with precisely opposite arguments arrived at the same conclusion and agreed in thorough condemnation. One party held that if this were done the water would flow so fast and so far, that

Ely would be the port instead of Lynn. Another, with equal tenacity argued that the channel would run dry, and that a new town to displace Lynn would at once start up at the lower end of the New Cut, so that poor old Lynn with its churches, its houses and its warehouses seemed upon the horns of a fearful dilemma. But worse than all a third section, which might fairly be called the *water party*, predicted and proved by many sectional areas and diagrams that the result would be so vast a swelling of the tidal waters that we should awake *under water* some fine morning, seeing the sky only through the chimneys, and that of course all Lynn would be drowned. As I never heard of any dread of the surrounding country I presume the modern deluge *when it does come* will be strictly confined to Lynn people.

The cutting of the first sod, in the parish of West Lynn the 8th of November 1850, was marked by a general holiday. A tremendous procession, starting from the Tuesday Market-place, wended thither, meeting on the way enormous crowds from the Marshland villages. The initial ceremony was performed by Sir Wm. J. M. B. Ffolkes, bart., assisted by Chas. P. Yorke, the Earl of Hardwicke, and Thos. W. Coke, the Earl of Leicester, in the presence of ten thousand spectators. The freshly-cut turf was wheeled a short distance by the mayor, Walter Moyse, Esq. The *déjeuner* upon the spot was followed by a grand banquet in the Gild Hall, at which a large and influential company assembled.

In 1855 the Select Trustees constructed a quay along the Marine Parade; Messrs. W. Nurse and D. Hart contractors (£2,901); whilst Mr. William Plews superintended the work; metals were laid and "the quaying" of the Boal commenced; Messrs. Grissell and Co. being the contractors (£4,076). The next year the tender of the Kerstall Forge Co., Leeds, was accepted—for the erection of two steam cranes, termed "the Coal Drops," at £900 each, and a 10-ton hand crane for £390.

The incalculable benefits, which our town and the adjacent fenlands derive from the bold enterprise inaugurated and carried out fifty years ago, have not proved very encouraging to the private speculators. The vast acreage, which, according to Kinderley's calculation, ought now to have rewarded them for the sacrifices they made, is non-existent. The process of accretion is demonstrated to be not only remarkably slow but painfully disappointing. About 2,500 acres have as yet been reclaimed, and assuming Mr. W. H. Wheeler's theory to be correct, it would be wise if the promoters of this scheme were to anticipate the fruition of their dream two thousand years hence!

CHAPTER LVII.

The Harvest of the Sea.

AMONG the earliest navigators of the northern seas, the intrepid fishermen of Lynn unquestionably held a conspicuous place. With small, undecked vessels, manned by two or three dexterous mariners, they ventured to visit not only the Orkney and Shetland Islands, but the shores of Norway and even Iceland itself—a distance of from twelve to fourteen hundred miles!

Blomefield attributes the discovery of Iceland to Robert Bacon (1399-1413), a Norfolk man, hailing from Cromer. This, however, can scarcely be so, because the Venerable Bede (A.D. 672-735) gives a fair description of the country centuries before skipper Bacon could possibly have sailed thither. Moreover, if Robert Bacon actually reached Iceland, our own townsman, Nicholas de Lenn, preceded him and had thus figuratively taken the wind out of his sails. Chaucer refers to this bold adventurer, as "frère Nicholas Linn, a reverend clerke," and Hakluyt affirms, that by means of an astrolabe, he made six important voyages to the North Seas.

A LYNN MAN AT THE NORTH POLE.

In 1360, Brother Nicholas sailed from Lynn to Iceland, and the charts he constructed during the voyage he presented to the King. Let Fuller describe what happened on his arrival in Iceland:—

Then leaving his company and taking his astralobe, he, by the help of artmagic (so mathematicians are nicknamed by the ignorant), went as far as the pole itself, where he discovered four indraughts of the ocean from the four opposite quarters of the world, from which many did conceive as well as the flowing of the sea, as blasts of the wind to have their original. Were these things true and had they been known to the ancients, as it would have spared philosophers much pain in disputing the moon (to be) the cause of the motion of the tide in the sea, so had it spoiled Virgil's fancy in making the country of Æolia the only magazine of the winds.

Doctor John Dee (1527-1608), the famous magician, and Richard Hakluyt (1552-1616), no less renowned as an explorer, inform us, that Friar Nicholas wrote a book, entitled, *Inventio Fortunata, aliter Fortunata, qui liber incipit a gradu 54 usq; ad polum*, or, in other words equally as intelligible, "The fortunate discovery (otherwise the Discovery of Fortune), which book begins from degree 54, right up to the pole." * Faint praise being insufficient, Fuller annihilates our townsman's fame with these cruel words, "Sure I am, Gerardus Mercator (1512-1594) so graced the words of this friar, that he made his description of the countries about the arctic pole conformable to this his *imaginary* discovery, preferring to fill his map with a fiction, than otherwise to leave it altogether empty."

Not only was he a successful navigator, but to him likewise is attributed the invention of the mariners' compass; he was at least one of the earliest European navigators who made use of it. Voltaire is supposed to have made special reference to Nicholas de Lenn when he writes, "that the first (in Europe) who certainly made use of the compass were the English, in the reign of Edward the Third"† (*Essay on Universal History*). Previous to this, a method—"as the crow flies," was practised. Though remarkably simple, it was not at all commendable, during foggy weather.

* As calculated by Ezekiel Walker from his house near St. Nicholas' Chapel—Latitude $52^{\circ}45'24''$ N., Longitude $1^{\circ}35'20''$ E. (1813.)

† The Rev. M. Margoliuth, LL.D., Ph.D., in his *Vestiges of the Historic Anglo-Normans in England* (1870), attempts to prove that Nicholas de Lenn, "an Israelite indeed," and Nicholaus de Lyra, a voluminous theological writer, are the same.

This is how Floke, a Norwegian sailor, traversed the pathless ocean between Shetland and Iceland. He took on board several crows. After making part of his course, he threw up one of the birds, which seeing land astern, flew back towards it. Keeping the same course some time longer, a second bird was liberated, but sighting no land, like Noah's dove it prudently returned to the vessel. The last crow, observing land ahead, immediately flew in that direction. And Floke following the feathery harbinger, landed safely on the eastern side of the island.

STOCKFISH.

"Of Yseland to write is lydlle nede, save of stokfische," says Hakluyt. Now in mediæval times stockfish—a term applied to codling and other fish, formed an important part of the English dietary, especially during Lent and the other numerous fast days; hence a very considerable trade in this commodity was carried on here. Long before the discovery of Newfoundland, an extensive fishery had been established off the Orkney and Shetland Islands; notwithstanding this, the principal supply for the southern countries of Europe came from Iceland and the coast of Norway. The great fairs held at Stourbridge, Ely and St. Ives were noted for stockfish, consumed by the inhabitants of London and other places, and partly exported to Italy and Spain. Our home-cured fish were esteemed far superior to foreign; hence to encourage this profitable industry a law was passed in Elizabeth's time prohibiting the importation of fish. But whereas our humble fishermen were socially ignored, the salters and curers occupied exalted positions. Henry VI. united the stockfish mongers and the salt-fish mongers, but the amalgamated brotherhood quarrelled and separated (Henry VIII.). A reconciliation was brought about a few years afterwards; and both bodies, each so dependent on the other, were afterwards known as the Company of the Fishmongers. Bishop's Lenne reaped great benefit from this industry. During the 14th century a locality known as *Stockfish Row* existed.

CAUGHT IN TROUBLED WATERS.

For some time past our gun-boats have been cruising in the North Sea (1899). By means of powerful flash-lights several British trawlers have been seized in Danish territorial waters off Iceland, and the skippers have in some cases paid heavily for their unpardonable temerity. One paid a fine of £25, and subsequently suffered the confiscation of a "catch" worth £1,000. Precisely the same kind of amusement was in vogue four hundred years ago, disregarding if you will the gun-boats and flash-lights. In 1426 the members of the Assembly were so bewildered with complaints and rumours of complaints against the Lynn fishermen, that they determined to stop the game, by restraining their townsmen from visiting Iceland. The whole Congregation therefore "ordained that all

persons frequenting Island" (or Islandia, that is Iceland) "should be summoned to come to the Gild Hall before the Mayor and Community, and be there forbidden to navigate to Island under pain of forfeiture of goods and deprivation of liberty." The bold "North Enders" were unwilling to submit to this cowardly edict; they were not afraid of the Danes, not they! The boats were therefore made ready for another trip. They would not take fish in Danish waters, but they would teach the Danes to respect their betters. But in April, just two months after the cautious decision of the Assembly, a letter was read from Thomas Beaufort, the Duke of Exeter, earnestly pleading, that the ship about to set out should be restrained. Whether on this momentous occasion the fishermen saw the error of their way, we cannot say; but disturbances with the natives were by no means ended.

Sixty-five years later, there are indications that the fishermen not merely of Lenne, but of other places in Norfolk and Suffolk were "up to the same old game," for the King of Denmark writes a friendly though complaining letter to his cousin the King of England, who forthwith instructs his Admiral to take the necessary steps to check the deplorable conduct of his unruly subjects abroad. A copy of the letter, addressed to the Earl of Oxford (6th April, 1491), is preserved in the British Museum with the *Paston MSS.* His Majesty did not prohibit the *doggers* or fishing smacks (hence Dogger Bank) from visiting Iceland, but the fishermen were strictly enjoined to "take noo thyng but that they truly pay or agre for, and friendly entrete our seyd cousin's subjects without eny robberyng or exstartyng them in their bodyes ner goodys." In 1585 there was a repetition of the same grievances; but when the Reformed religion relaxed and ultimately abolished the old obligations as to fasting and compulsory fish diet the trade rapidly declined. Indeed, the Sumptuary Act, intended to compel people to eat fish, was in the main a lamentable failure (1662).

THE WHALE FISHERY

took the place of the abandoned stock-fish industry. It was carried on in Davis' Strait and off the coast of Greenland, or "King James' New Land," for the King of England claimed this country (1614). Our "Greenland Fishery," during the 17th and 18th centuries was of considerable importance. The several vessels employed put out to sea in March, and returned with their freights in July or August.

In 1788, Captain Cook, of the *Archangel*, a Lynn whaler, had a narrow escape from a polar bear, which was fortunately shot by the ship's surgeon. In 1795 the *Balena* returned with six, the *Experiment* with seven and the *Form* with three whales. From 1795 to 1802 the *Fountaine* and the *Experiment* were the only vessels equipped, and their season's average amounted to 5 1-10th fish each.* The *Fountaine* (Capt. J. Phillips), however, made a more successful

* John Baines, the grandfather of Thomas Baines, the African traveller, was captain of the *Experiment* (not the *Enterprise*). A page from the log of that whaler shews he was off the Coast of Greenland the 23rd of April, 1804.

trip, when 14 whales, two unicorns and three seals were captured, which yielded 340 butts of blubber. The *Enterprise* and the *Experiment* visited the fishery the same year (1809).

Extensive blubber yards, with huge coppers for boiling whale and seal flesh, might have been seen near the old slipway on both sides of the winding Nar.* For weeks the arrival of the mysterious whalers was daily anticipated, and when at last, "with royal yards aloft," they silently glided past the battery on the Fort and entered the harbour, the bells of St. Margaret's rang their merriest peal, whilst the whole exulting town turned out to celebrate the event. Excited crowds rushed eagerly along the banks of the river, as the ungainly vessels, decorated with flags of all kinds, and with garlands of evergreens from the far-distant land, appeared. For months past the coopers had not been idle, as was evident by the long tiers of new casks, ready to receive the precious liquid, then burnt in clumsy lamps. How suddenly their hammers dropped to the ground as the pleasing rhythm of the bells announced the safe return of the brave adventurers, and, while horses with tow lines helped the vessels along the eastern side, the agile coopers, unconscious of their begrimed faces, joined the weather-beaten harpooners, who were straining at ropes on the opposite bank. And, as the ships crept wearily towards their restful berths, beside the blubber-house, oh how the good folk rejoiced in the success of the enterprise, whilst groups of girls and boys stared with undisguised astonishment at the high-piled deckloads of gigantic bones; and counting the stock of enormous jaws, they could scarcely repress their tears, as they remembered the startling predicament in which poor Jonah found himself.

Forthwith there set in a busy season: the order of the day, ay, and of many days yet to come, was, in sooth—

Double, double toil and trouble,
Fire burn and cauldron bubble.

Ere, however, the boiling process commenced, the fat must be cut into convenient chunks; the bones too must be cleaned, and the seal-skins carefully scraped. Then, when everything was in readiness, the fire was kindled and the ill-smelling vapour, carried by an attentive south-west wind, soon permeated every nook and corner of the adjacent neighbourhood.

Coleridge, in describing the city of Cologne, exclaims,

I counted two and twenty stenches,
All well defined, and several stinks.

How many would the poet have counted had he visited Lynn at this season of the year? His olfactory nerves would have been deadened; and his power of calculation must have failed him in the attempt, yet the inhabitants of the highly-favoured parish of Allsaints were by no means fastidious. Blissfully ignorant of phantom microbe and spectral bacterium, they vigorously inhaled the reeking effluvia, firmly believing it was particularly conducive to health and longevity!

* The long warehouse on the eastern side, the roof of which was chiefly supported by whale bones has long since disappeared.

THE OYSTER FISHERY

might with propriety be included among our forgotten industries, for to the extensive beds which dotted the Wash, our town was once greatly indebted.

Mackerell gives one of the old Fishery Orders. It bears no date, but it must be subsequent to 1558, because a statute of the 1st year of the reign of Elizabeth is quoted. It contains important provisos (1) to prevent quarrelling among the fishermen, (2) for the preservation of the spawn, brood, or young fry, and (3) for furnishing the inhabitants with sufficient for home-consumption. Incidentally we learn, that there were oyster scalps at that period in the haven, which were endangered by the "greedy desire of persons, seeking present gain." To prevent the oysters being utterly consumed, they were only to be taken "on such days as, by the laws of the land, are to be kept as fish days." All offenders were fined 3s. 4d.

The following fish were then common in our waters:—Salmon and trout (both kipper and shadder), pike, pickerel, barbel, smelts, lochies, minims, bullheads, gudgeons and eels.

According to the testimony of Hone, the oysters brought from Lynn and sold at Stourbridge Fair were exceptionally large—"about the size of a horse's hoof"; they were nevertheless opened with pincers (1770). As late as 1860, the Lynn Well, the Lincolnshire Coast and the Gore oysters were plentiful; and what is perhaps more pleasing—cheap. Since then, the whole coast has alarmingly deteriorated, and now the esteemed bivalve is nearly extinct. This is not due to silting, as is the case with our soles; but the tremendous increase of star-fish and the unchecked onslaughts they make among the oysters. If a gratuity had been offered for star-fish, which might have been sold to the Marshland farmers for manure, our valuable oyster-beds would never have disappeared.

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

Sharon Turner cites a dialogue composed by Elfric, in which a Saxon fisherman, when interrogated, mentions eels, haddocks, minnies, eel-pouts, skates and lampreys as being caught in the Fensland rivers and waterways; and herring, salmon, porpoises, sturgeons, oysters, crabs, mussels, winkles, cockles, flounders, plaice, and lobsters, as being caught off the coast. Innumerable eels were netted at the flood-gates; and the waters of the linns and meres swarmed with pike, pickerel, perch, roach, barbel, "water-snakes," or lampreys, shad and turbot.

Whilst the Dowager-queen Isabella was living in retirement at Rising the generosity of the good folk of Lynn was severely taxed, yet they seem to have been happy only when making costly presentations, consisting of wine, which they imported, and fish, which they caught. Barrels of sturgeon, "canevaces" of lampreys and lasts of herring were repeatedly forwarded to the royal household. The monks of Ely were commendable epicures, for they preferred the herring and cod from Lynn to the eels and freshwater fish so plentiful in the surrounding fens.

Of the sturgeon, which was formerly a royal fish, Sir Thomas Browne observes: "Some have been taken at Yarmouth, but more in the Great Ouse, but their heads are not so sharp as represented in the Icons of Rondeletins and Iohnstonus." The sturgeon has vanished, alas, but lampreys are yet caught in the river, and were, a few years ago, used somewhat largely as bait in the Yorkshire cod-fishery. The flesh being somewhat elastic did not easily leave the hooks. Lampreys for this purpose are now imported from Belgium.

A WATER BAILIFF.

A system for preserving the brood existed as early as the reign of Edward III., because "the forestallers of plais, whtyng, godlyng and haddok" were punished for their misbehaviour. The fines paid are recorded in the Leet Rolls. By charter, the Corporation were made surveyors of the water from Staple Weere to St. Edmunds Ness, as well as inspectors of the local fishermen. But a water bailiff was not appointed till 1595, when it was thus brought about. An old soldier named Christopher Wilson, in needy circumstances, forwarded a petition to Her Majesty. He had served for thirty-four years in the Low Countries and elsewhere, by sea and land, "with many losses, but no recompense." The maintenance of certain prisoners cost him £140; moreover, whilst an officer under Sir Ralph Lane, when on a voyage to Portugal, he voluntarily mortgaged his house and land in the Isle of Ely, to entertain six soldiers. And now being old and extremely poor, he entreated the Queen to appoint him water bailiff of the Ouse from Lynn to Boston, for 21 years. Such an officer, as he pointed out, was necessary to preserve the spawn and brood of the fish, and to restrain the common fishers from making inordinate depredations. As he expressed willingness to pay 40 shillings a year as rent, the appointment must have been a lucrative one.

THE MUSSEL FISHERY,

in particular, has been a source of trouble to the Assembly, for the mussel gatherers were often a riotous section of the community. Hence in 1560 it was agreed, that four persons should "as in times past" (note these words) go with the fishermen to the scalps, "to see peace kept, and in like manner," for thus the minute in the Hall Book reads, "that every of the eighteen, or a man for him shall aid them, and every alderman to have a man there in like manner." The same year a great dispute arose, between our men and those belonging to Wolferton, which ended in litigation. Whereupon the Mayor—his name shall not be mentioned—elected Messrs. Bunting and Gervis to secretly wait upon the Duke of Norfolk to entreat his Grace's favour, on behalf of our townsfolk. The charges of the suit amounted only to £7 15s. 6d.

Early in 1883, a disagreement occurred, respecting the boundaries of the Lynn and Hunstanton mussel scalps. Our Corporation opposed the Fishery Order promoted by Mr. H. le Strange of Hunstanton, because he failed to respect the "honour boundary," staked

out by his own representatives and those of the Lynn Fishery Committee. The action of Mr. H. le Strange *versus* the Lynn Corporation was heard at the Norwich Assizes by Lord Chief Justice Coleridge and a special jury. The action was for trespass occasioned by cutting and removing two buoys, which the plaintiff had placed off Hunstanton. The defendants pleaded that the buoys were on ground belonging to the Corporation. The hearing of the case occupied four days (21st to 24th January, 1885). The Lord Chief Justice summed up, taking an adverse view of the law to the Corporation; and the jury found for the plaintiff, damages 40s. and costs. On the grounds of misdirection of the jury, the defendants gave notice for a new trial. The application to the Queen's Bench division was, however, refused. This action cost the Corporation £1,625 (10th August 1887).

According to the reports of the Inspector of Fisheries, 51,000 bushels of mussels, valued at £1,912, were taken in 1891; and 40,500 bushels, valued at £1,518 15s., during the next year.

THE EASTERN SEA FISHERIES DISTRICT

extends from Donna Nook, Lincolnshire, opposite Spurn Head, to Happisburgh, a village on the Norfolk seaboard about midway between Cromer and Great Yarmouth. The exact limit of the district is thus described:—On the north a line drawn true east from Donna Nook Beacon in the parts of Lindsey; and on the south a line drawn true north-west from the lighthouse at Happisburgh in the county of Norfolk; and a third line drawn in the manner following at or near the mouth of every river or stream flowing into the sea or into any estuary within such limits, namely—a line at or near the mouth of the River Ouse, drawn along the Denver sluice and continued in a true westerly direction from the westernmost extremity of such a sluice until it reaches high-water mark on the left bank of the said New Bedford River. A straight line across every such river or stream not hereinbefore specified, such lines being drawn at the highest point to which the ordinary tides flow into such rivers or streams respectively. And such lines shall be the lines above which the Sea Fisheries District shall not extend into any such river or stream.

The under-mentioned bodies are represented on the District Board (1894):—

The Norfolk County Council,
The King's Lynn Town Council,
The Fishermen of Lynn,
The Norfolk Coast Fishermen,
The Norfolk and Suffolk Fisheries,
The Holland County Council,

The Witham Conservators,
The Boston Town Council,
The Boston Fishermen,
The Lindsey County Council,
The Lincolnshire Coast Fishermen.

The committee of thirty-two is thus constituted:—

13 members appointed by the Board
of Trade.

6 members Norfolk County Council.

4 " Lindsey County Council.

4 " Holland County Council

1 member Trent Fishery Board.

1 member Witham Fishery Board.

1 " Welland Fishery Board.

1 " Ouse and Nene "

1 " Conservators of Norfolk
and Suffolk Fisheries.

There are four Sub-Districts.

1. From Donna Nook Beacon to Gibraltar Point (7 members).
2. Lying Southward of a straight line across the Wash from Gibraltar Point to Gore Point (15 members).
3. From Gore Point to Cley Beach (4 members).
4. From Cley Beach to Happisburgh Lighthouse (6 members).

The sub-committees consist of the same 32 members.

The Inspector, Mr. Malan, reported in 1893, that "the fisheries of the Wash have not been satisfactory. The shell-fish beds have been overworked, with the result that fishermen are now getting only undersized fish. It is to be hoped," he continues, "that the new local Fisheries Committee will soon be in a position to make wise regulations under which these valuable mussel and cockle fisheries may again become fully productive." The Committee had already done its best to bring about an improvement. As many as 12,865 bushels of mussels were "transplanted" (1892).

STATISTICS.

From the Annual Report for 1891.

	Fish.	Time.	Boats.	Men.
Trawling (inshore)	soles, plaice and skate	Mch. to Oct :	(2)	64
Drift nets	herring	Nov. to Mch :	(3)	1
Seines	smelts	Ap. to Aug :	(2)	1
Stop nets	sprats	Nov. to Mch :	(1)	29
Raking and dredging	mussels	Sep. to Ap :	(2)	10
Pots	whelks	All the year :	(1)	29
Raking and hand nets	cockles	All the year :	(2)	10
By hand	periwinkles	Mch. to Oct :	(1)	2
Trawling	shrimps and prawns	All the year :	(2)	64

The figures in brackets denote the class.

Total number of boats belonging to the station :—

Classes.

	1st	2nd	3rd	Total
1892	32	74	2	108
1893	31	65	3	99

The quantity and value of fish, as given in the return of the Board of Trade for the year :—

	Cwt.	Value.	Including shell fish.
1889	6,970	£ 1,656	£ 10,710
1890	22,248	2,399	12,131

Abstracted from the *Audited Accounts of the Borough* are these items:—
Amount expended:—

	Water Bailiff.	Transplanting.	Total spent.
1891	£162 : 10	£61 : 10 : 0	£237 : 11 : 4
1892	157 : 5	80 : 15 : 5	257 : 2 : 5
1895	168 : 10		185 : 2 : 11
1898	158 : 19	71 : 11 : 0	247 : 18 : 4
1899	156 : 5	47 : 2 : 0	213 : 17 : 2

Received from:—

	Licences.	Borough Fund.
1891	£22 : 18 : 0	£214 : 13 : 4
1892	22 : 2 : 3	235 : 0 : 2
1895	8 : 14 : 6	176 : 8 : 5
1898	19 : 12 : 3	228 : 6 : 1
1899	22 : 9 : 3	191 : 7 : 11

CHAPTER LVIII.

Kettle Mills and the Water Supply.

FROM very early times, the inhabitants of Lynn derived their supply of fresh water mainly from the Gaywood or Grimston River, which rises about seven miles away, in a series of springs issuing from the chalk, near the village of Grimston. The stream, fed by the water of these springs, flows through meadows and cultivated land in its passage to the town; during the last mile and a half of its course skirting the village of Gaywood.

The primary function of the old stone *cloughs* or sluices, common enough at one time, was to exclude the salt water from the "fleets" when the tide rose. By so doing the fresh water, descending from the uplands, was retained, and was in those days considered fit for domestic purposes. The early townfolk prudently constructed a basin in which to store fresh water (1307). It was situated in the *Newland*, that is, in the Bishop's ground, north of the Purfleet. By an indenture of agreement, which was probably executed at the episcopal palace at Gaywood, the community promised to pay his lordship a yearly rent of twelve pence. These fresh-water ponds were called *inclusæ*. Here, then, in the vicinity of the Gaywood River, was a reserve to be used only in case of emergency. There is no hint as to how the water was conveyed thither.

The Grey Friars obtained their water from a springhead at Herdewyke (Hardwick) (1301); the Austin Monastery was supplied

by *pipes* from a spring on the Wootton Common (1556); whilst the Bedehouse was connected in a similar way, with the conduit of St. Margaret. Whether lead pipes were then used, it would be hard to say; as early as 1421 they were common in Southampton. Mackerell mentions that there being no fresh-water springs in the town, part of the supply was conveyed in *lead* pipes from Middleton, part from Mintlyn and the rest from the "fresh-water river" from Gaywood (1738). There seems, moreover, to have been a "plumber for ye burgh" prior to 1657, because James Newington, chosen in the place of Robert and Thomas Beny, received the freedom in the town "in consideration of his first year's salary of £10, formerly allowed to other plumbers," whereupon the "chamberlain delivered him possession of lead and tools." As will be seen lead pipes were not in general request.

THE KETTLEWELL.

When James de Belvaco (or Beaufoe), the son of Bartholomew de Belvaco, a foreign merchant residing here, was mayor, he witnessed a deed granting a four-sided plot of land (sides, 122, 91, 179 and 115 feet), called the Lazar Hill, to Alexander Kelloc (otherwise Alan de Kele), a burgess, in trust for the Corporation of Lenne (1271). With the consent of the brethren, Sir Richard de Sulegrave, the Master of the Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem at Burton Lazars (Leicestershire) acted as grantor. The "Lazar Hill," as it was then called, is still in the hands of the Corporation. Until 1899, it was the site of the town waterworks.

As a place-name *Kettlewell*, one of the wards into which the town was divided, has given risen to etymological speculation.

1. The patronymic *Ketel* was common in Saxon times. An eminent East Anglian of that name was a free-man, holding lands in Norfolk in the reign of Edward the Confessor. He was Lord of Walsingham, that is Little Wreningham—a part of *Ketelingham* (Ketteringham), near Norwich. *Kettlestone* appears in the Domesday Book as *Ketlestuna*. J. J. Coulton, Esq., refers in his *Names on the Nar* to Kettleburgh, a lost Norfolk village, and mentions Ketlam, a brook rising near East Walton and falling into the Nar near the abbey at Pentney. A comparison is suggested between Kettlewell in Lynn and in Yorkshire; and Kettleburgh in Norfolk and in Suffolk. It might be mentioned that the *Ketel* of Norfolk and the *Ketel* of Suffolk are identical.* About nine miles east of Lynn is a range of low chalk hills called the *Ketel* Hills.

2. Harrod, however, affirms that the name has no reference whatever to any early settler in the neighbourhood. To account for the derivation, he quotes the following agreement of a lease of the premises, dated the 3rd of August, 1463. "John Topley agreed with the Mayor and Community to keep the mill for fresh water for five years" (salary omitted), "he finding all repairs of the said mill with the *kettles* and other necessities, within the house and tower

* See *Norfol. Arch.* Vol. III., p. 252.

there." Prior to this, there is an entry of twelve pence, which was paid to Walter de Castre for binding "a ketel" (1341).

3. We venture to suggest another source, from whence this word may possibly be derived. A weir in a river, formed for the entrapping of fish, was termed, in Saxon times a *kiddle* or *kettle*. We still speak of "a pretty *kettle* of fish." *Well* comes from the Anglo-Saxon verb *wellan*, to flow. Hence *Kettlewell* might signify the "flowing waters at the weir."

THE WATER ENGINE.

For many generations the water was merely led or conducted in open channels towards the towns. In 1682 the common dike was recast and a wind-mill erected, whereby the water was raised, by means of tubs or barrels, from the river to a reservoir or "condytt of receipt," a wooden tank in a round tower of the town wall. As these receptacles were kept in repair by the community, the agreement with John Topley seems exceptional. Not only was one of the towers connected with the Stone Wall, used for this purpose, but after the Reformation a lead cistern for storing water was placed in the Mount House, or Red Mount chapel.

During the 18th century the supply was raised thirty or forty feet either by horse-power, the wind, or a force derived from an artificial waterfall which worked a machine termed a water-engine. Horses, however, were seldom employed, unless there was an exceptionally dry season, or in case the other machinery was "out of gear." The old water-engine was found to be in a hopeless condition, and as the ingenuity of the Lynn machinists was of no avail, a new engine was obtained (1780). Although the new machine, similar in type, but three times as powerful as the old one, was quite adequate to the requirements of the town, the Assembly suddenly decided to have nothing less than a

STEAM ENGINE.

But the Corporation neglecting to avail themselves of the improvements of Bolton and Watts, erected their engine on the old principle of Newcomen; and it was soon discovered, to the astonishment of the unlearned in hydraulics, that the expense of coals and repairs amounted to a sum so far beyond the calculation of the Corporation, that it was absolutely necessary to purchase no more steam at that rate. (Richards.)

The steam engine, which was, of course, somewhat rude in construction, was afterwards discarded for the old water wheel and pumps. The policy which allowed the condemned *steam* engine to rust was not alone absurd; it was prejudicial to the interests of the inhabitants, for whenever the *water*-engine needed repairing, the supply of water entirely ceased. The water was then lifted from a well in buckets attached to an endless chain, connected by gearing with a horizontal "gin" or mill, worked by horses tramping round and round, as in a clay-mill. From the buckets the water poured into the mains; there was therefore no pressure either high or low, other than was absorbed in forcing it through the pipes. As the service was "on" for only an hour or two daily, it was

necessary for private families to store it in sunk pits or "pools," from which it had to be dipped or pumped when required. Of these pools the majority have been abolished during recent years, as being not only wasteful, but dangerous to health, for they were often objectionably near cesspools or drains. Moreover, under the present high pressure system, they were wholly useless.

WATER SERVICE.

The water was conveyed to the town purely by gravitation, the mains consisting of trunks of trees roughly bored, from end to end, and fitted into each other by tapering sockets. Lynn at this period was positively up-to-date, for the same kind of service was adopted, not only in Hull and other large towns, but also in the metropolis. The inventor of this system is said to have been Peter Morrys, a Dutchman. Several of these wooden pipes, varying from four to fifteen feet in length, and with a 5 or 7-inch bore, have lately been found, in the neighbourhood of the Marble Arch. Elm was generally used, because it was found to resist the pressure better than cheaper timber. This primitive service, though better than open watercourses, was exceedingly troublesome; the pipes were never proof against the admission of sewage; they were likely to burst during the frost, and they needed to be frequently renewed. Through incessant leakage, our supply became necessarily meagre, hence householders habitually supplemented their store from the adjacent "fleets," when the tide was out. In 1669 and the next year, ships were sent out by the town authorities to Norway for cargoes of *pump-wood*, as these bored timbers were termed. Although many of these half-rotten, badly-fitting pipes are yet found in the parish of St. Margaret, some not more than two feet below the surface, few, if any, have been discovered in South Lynn, which depended almost if not entirely upon the old Mill fleet. In New Conduit Street a wooden pipe with an earthen junction, bearing the date 1820, was recently unearthed. Probably the earthen-pipe system came into use about that time.

From 1686 to 1698 the expense of maintaining the water-works exceeded the income by £288 13s. 6d., the income being £1,338 14s. 2d. and the disbursements £1,627 7s. 8d.

A NEW TOWER.

An Act was obtained for more effectually supplying the inhabitants of the borough with water (1829). A circular tower or engine-house was erected, having a large cast-iron cistern at the top, into which the water, after percolating through a bed of sand, was pumped by a ten horse-power engine, designed by the renowned George Stephenson. The cistern, still in existence, holds upwards of 1,400 gallons, and being 54 feet in height, the water found its way to the highest house. At this time cast-iron mains were put down at a cost of £10,000. The water rate varied according to the rent of the houses; the smallest paying 6s. and the largest £6 a year. In this remarkable scale there was little equality; for as much water



KITTLE MILLS, FROM AN ETCHING BY HENRY BAINES.

was, as a rule consumed in houses of a £20 rental as in those of £50, though the first was charged 26s. and the second £3 10s. Shopkeepers had undoubtedly great cause for complaint.

CONSTANT SUPPLY.

In 1856 a public meeting was called to consider the advisability of applying for powers to obtain a constant supply; as this would involve the town in spending £10,000 no action was taken (8th December). However, in February 1866, a memorial signed by 732 rate-payers was presented to the Town Council, praying that the supply might no longer be intermittent but constant, for at this time the inhabitants were without water from five o'clock every evening until seven o'clock the next morning, and on Sundays altogether. In case of fire, as the memorialists pointed out, this state was fraught with exceeding danger, as no water could then be obtained in less than forty minutes. Fortunately the Waterworks Committee could offer no excuse, because a few years before, the Corporation obtained an Act for the express purpose of giving a constant supply; and they had already erected expensive machinery, quite capable of meeting the requirements of the town (1863). The engine was a high and low pressure beam-engine of 30 horse-power with instantaneous drop valves. The pump thereto attached was two feet in diameter and was generally worked at the rate of 10 strokes per minute during the day and 7 during the night. It had two Lancashire boilers. One million gallons were delivered daily, being an average of 50 gallons per head of the population.

THE QUALITY OF THE WATER.

Writing in 1812, our local historian says, "It is agreed on all hands that Lynn is supplied with excellent water," whilst Mr. W. M. Hamlet, F.C.S., states in 1876, that "it is of fairly good quality; the average of a large number of analyses extending over a period of three years, shewing, that as a spring-water, coming as it does from the chalk, it is a perfectly safe and wholesome water, and in every respect fitted for domestic use. It is no harder than chalky waters usually are, and most of the hardness is of a temporary kind, which may readily be removed by boiling or by Clark's process for the softening of waters."

The custom of cleansing and "bottomfying the Gaywood River from the Waterworks to the Grimston chain" was neglected, hence grave rumours were current, relative to certain contaminations in the water supply. The neglected state of the stream was the topic of general conversation. Nothing, however, of importance was done to mitigate the evil (1890).

On the 25th of March, 1892, the late Mr. S. M. W. Wilson, in the discharge of his duties, as the Medical Officer of Health to the Suburban District of King's Lynn, reported to the Local Government Board a serious outbreak of typhoid fever. A month later Mr. Wilson, in complying with a request from the Board, forwarded

further particulars. Cognisance of the facts thus elicited induced the Board to decide upon a thorough investigation by an impartial officer of the Medical Department, hence Dr. R. Bruce Low visited Lynn (31st May). However, a few days prior to this, the borough surveyor presented an exhaustive report to the members of the Waterworks Committee. He pointed out how difficult it was to legally prevent pollution even within the limits of the borough; and showed that filtration, even if there were a sand area of 3,500 square yards, could not extract either animal life or matter in solution. He therefore condemned the supply as deleterious to health, and recommended that a new source should be found. Having decided that the Sow's Head was the most suitable point to tap for a new supply, he discussed the ways and means of bringing it to the town: first, by gravitation, using the old engine to pump the water into the mains, and secondly, by erecting a pumping station at the well and discarding the old "Waterworks at Kettle Mills." The scheme, which he strongly advocated, would cost as estimated £29,000; and by means of a provisional order it might be carried out, a special Act being unnecessary.

Samples of the deleterious water were analysed by Percy F. Frankland, Esq., of the University College, Dundee (June 17th and July 12th). The first was from the intake; the second, direct from the spring in the chalk; and the third, from the intake twenty-four hours after a heavy rain.

The sample from the stream of the intake of the present supply (quoting the report), although palatable, was turbid, but contained for surface water only a comparatively small amount of organic matter. Both the ammonia and albuminoid ammonia however, point to the fact that some of this organic matter may be of animal origin, and from your (Mr. E. J. Silcock, the borough surveyor) description of the surroundings of the stream, it is obvious that the latter must be subject to contamination with animal refuse, more especially after heavy rains. The drawbacks of such a supply are sufficiently apparent. The sample from the chalk springs was clear, palatable, and contained the merest trace of organic matter; it was entirely free from ammonia and albuminoid ammonia, whilst the mineral nitrogen which it exhibits in the form of nitrates, is in no way excessive for spring water. This is first class water for drinking, and although its hardness is somewhat greater than that of the other sample, it is not excessive. The hardness is just about the same as that of the supply to London from the Thames and Lee, and considerably less hard than that from the deep wells in the chalk as supplied by the Kent Company. The hardness could be reduced to nearly one-fourth of its present amount by treatment with lime, as is done by some water companies. The third sample, although palatable is very turbid and contains a large amount of organic matter, which from the high proportion of albuminoid ammonia however, is doubtless to a considerable extent of animal origin. The organic matter and albuminoid ammonia are more than twice as great as the previous sample from the same source: this clearly showing how the stream in question is liable to excessive pollution during heavy rain.

The results of Professor Frankland's investigation, though not identical with those obtained by the borough analyst sixteen years before, are yet sufficiently startling, especially if we compare them with analyses for March, Whittlesea, etc., as given by Mr. Hamlet.

Let us now place the averages of Mr. Hamlet's and Professor Frankland's analyses side by side:—

Expressed in parts per 100,000 imperial gallons.	1876	1892
Total solid impurities	24.5	26.84
Ammonia	.0125	.0045
Nitrogen, as nitrates and nitrites	.161	.226
Chlorine	1.27	1.52
Albuminoid	.015	.0175
Hardness:—		
Temporary	10.2	9.2
Permanent	5.9	6.8
Total	16.1	16.0

Before leaving this point, with feelings of gratitude, let us compare our so-called "bad" water with that used at Terrington, where the solid impurities amount to 115.75, free ammonia 6.21, nitrogen as nitrates and nitrites 7.63, chlorine 10.83 and albuminoid ammonia .32.

The report from Dr. R. Bruce Low was received on the 31st of August. It is indeed an exhaustive inquiry into the sanitary state of the town, the prevalence of typhoid fever and the causes of the latest outbreak.

Mr. W. Whitaker, F.R.S., of H.M. Geological Survey, in a presidential address to the Norwich Geological Society (November 6th, 1883), drew attention to the Lynn water supply. He said:—

The enterprise of Wisbech is thus in strong contrast to the apathy, and one may say the stupidity, of the larger town, in which I have the misfortune to live, its Norfolk rival—Lynn; the Corporation of which treat the inhabitants to one of the worst supplies that I know of. These guardians of the public health allow a set of chalk springs, some pure, but others contaminated, to mix together and flow along an open channel of six miles or so, as the crow flies, receiving on the way the drainage of a fair tract of country, and at the last, close by the borough boundary, some part of the sewage of the village of Gaywood. Notwithstanding that the evil of this course has been pointed out for years, and constant complaints occur, yet our town Councillors, in the multitude of whom there is not wisdom, have not yet made up their minds to any decided action, and a question that really admits of no debate is the subject of apparently endless discussion. "Deeds, not words" should be the town motto, at least as far as regards the water supply.

Later on the same authority writes:—

Since the above paragraph was written, the Town Council adopted a scheme for the supply of good water, but I fear in a half-hearted way; at all events their scheme has been rejected at a meeting of the ratepayers, and I am therefore compelled to transfer the charges above made from the members of the Town Council to the body of the townsmen, who seem not to be educated up to pure water pitch! When they have had a serious epidemic, perhaps they may acquire more sensible views on this matter. [*Geological Magazine*: January, 1884.]

In 1892 this eminent geologist was officially consulted. He, of course, unhesitatingly condemned the town's supply. Of the two suggested schemes, he was in favour of the bigger one—a well and galleries near Well Hall. The water would be thus intercepted on its way to the spring, and a mass of Boulder Clay capping the Brow-of-the-Hill suggested a most exceptional site for a reservoir. Mr. James Mansergh, a member of the Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers, was also asked for an opinion. He visited the town and forwarded “a report” (January, 1893). With Mr. Silcock's proposals he agreed, though he was inclined to advise the adoption of a gravitation scheme purely because of financial reasons. This was estimated to cost £20,000.

VOX POPULI.

After much agitation, a public meeting was convened in the Town Hall (29th August). A vote of the burgesses present was taken, as to whether the Town Council should or should not promote a bill in Parliament to enable them to improve the water supply. The late Alderman Geo. Holditch, as chairman of the Waterworks Committee, presided, but a tumultuous audience refused to hear what he had to say. Whereupon the late Darius Clack, who headed the opposition, complained, because the Council had not given sufficient information to the people; he, moreover, challenged anyone to prove that a case of preventible disease could be traced to an impure water supply. He thought Dr. Low had based his report on information given by biased persons.

The next month a letter, signed by the medical practitioners of the borough (all, with one exception) was addressed to the local press. It concludes thus:—“We therefore feel it to be our duty earnestly to impress upon our fellow-townsmen, the importance of embracing the present opportunity of improving our water supply.” Mr. Thomas Brown publicly advocated a new supply, whilst the late William Bardell as earnestly insisted upon the cleansing of the Gaywood River; but subsequently, a gravitation scheme (1893-4). In September a poll of the town was taken: 3,645 voting papers were distributed, when 763 were *for* Mr. Thos. Brown's proposal, whilst 2,540 were *against* it. The *vox populi* though distinctly understood was wantonly ignored. The opposition was strong and persistent, yet permission was obtained from the Local Government Board to tap a new source (May 1894).

A NEW SUPPLY.

Two schemes were prepared by Mr. E. J. Silcock, the borough surveyor; the one estimated to cost £30,000 was adopted and successfully carried out. The present supply is obtained from a chalk area of 300 square miles, to the eastward of the old springs at Grimston. The first sod was raised on the 17th of December 1894.

The new works consist of two wells with headings sunk in the chalk; a pumping station; rising and gravitation mains and covered

service-reservoir. The wells are 14 feet from centre to centre, each 6 feet 2 inches in diameter and 100 feet deep, with steining of concrete, varying in thickness between 14 inches and 6 inches, composed of 1 part of cement and 4 parts of gravel and sand. From the bottom of the wells, headings 6 feet by 4 feet have been driven, as well as a borehole 8 inches in diameter. The quantity of water yielded is over 1,000,000 gallons per day. The pumping station is of brickwork and masonry. The plant is in duplicate and consists of two sets of boilers, engines and pumps, each capable of delivering a maximum of 1,250,000 gallons per day, through 6,243 yards of 15-inch pipes, having a rise of 108 feet from the bottom of the wells to the top water level of the Bawsey Reservoir. The covered service reservoir has a capacity of 1,000,000 gallons and is built of concrete, composed of cement 1, sand 2 and shingle 4 parts; and lined with $4\frac{1}{2}$ -inch brickwork. The delivery main is 6,900 yards long and is formed of 15-inch cast-iron pipes. The water is delivered at Lynn with a pressure equivalent to a head of 104 feet (February 1899). Although perfectly free from contamination, the permanent hardness of the water is greater.

The electricity for the lighting of the borough is now generated at the Kettle Mills.

CHAPTER LIX.

Corporation Insignia and Plate.

THE objects, which constitute the Insignia of the Borough are carefully preserved, in a specially built Strong Room at the Municipal Buildings.

THE COMMON CORPORATE SEAL is a pendant of silver, about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. On one side there is the figure of our ancient patroness Saint Margaret, trampling upon the dragon and wounding him with the end of a long cross, she carries in her hand. Round the seal, there is the following legend: *Sub Margareta teritur Draco stat cruce leta*—"the dragon lies bruised under (the heel of) Margaret: she stands joyful with (by) the cross." On the other side is a well-executed eagle perched upon a label, upon which is inscribed: *In principio erat verbum*, the first sentence in St. John's Gospel, whilst for legend there are these words:—*Sigillum Communitatis Lennæ*—"the seal of the Corporation of Lynn." According to the *Corporation Year Book* this seal was made about 1300; it may nevertheless be the "new common seal," made in 1416.

THE MAYOR'S SEAL, about two inches in diameter, is of silver. Again we have the figure of St. Margaret subduing the dragon. The inscription is:—*Maioratus Lennæ Sigillum secretum*—"the private seal of the Mayor of Lynn." Unlike the Corporation seal there is no reverse.

The MAYOR'S CHAIN of office may be dated about 1550. From a series of dragon-head links, a shield, bearing the arms of the town is suspended. It is a unique specimen of English workmanship, and was copied from the chains once worn by the Waits. Prior to 1872 the Mayor seldom wore the chain of office in public.

The MACE was originally a military club, protected with iron. At one time kings found it necessary to go about clad in armour, with attendants bearing heavy cudgels to vindicate their rights, if necessary. Hence during the Middle Ages, the mace became an emblem of office and authority. In 1436, it was thought advisable to provide the keeper of the East Gates with a formidable club, so that he might prevent strangers from entering the town at undue seasons. Fourteen years later, the keeper of the South Gates received thirty shillings and a *gown*; he was, moreover, ordered "to bear *another* staff, before the mayor." From this entry, it is highly probable that our gate-keepers originally carried their crude clubs or staves as sergeants-at-mace, before the mayor. At first only one mace is mentioned in connection with the town, afterwards two, and now we have four. When Cromwell was Protector, the Assembly ordered the arms of the late King to be obliterated from the two maces (1651); but not liking their appearance after the operation, it was decided that two new ones, bearing the arms of the State, should be procured; they cost £27 7s. (1654). Later on, two more were made, for which £32 2s. was paid. But when the House of Stuart was restored, it was deemed expedient to adopt once more the royal arms, hence four new maces were ordered at a cost of £28 8s. The silver-gilt maces, now in use, were made in 1711-2 by Benjamin Pyne, a noted goldsmith; they bear the letters A. R., the initials of Queen Anne. With these there is a long staff tipped with a gilt-figure.

CHAINS OF THE WAITS. Four hundred and sixty years ago, the town maintained a small but select "band," whom it extravagantly dressed in liveries, the cloth of which cost 4s. 4d. per yard. Each of these Waits, as they were styled, wore a silver chain to which the arms of the borough were suspended. Some idea of the duties and emoluments of the town's musicians, may be gathered from the following entry, in the Corporation books:

1583. Oct 4: The Waites to go about ye towne every morning except Sundays from ye 20 of Oct. to ye 25 of March using ye instruments of Waites, and attend on ye Mayor on Michaelmas day and at such other times as they shall be called, either to Mr. Mayor's house, or to Musters or such like assembles, with proper instruments, and to have 20s. per ann. each, and for their Liveries 20s. they to use ye Towne's set of instruments with ye Collars and ye Trumpets."

As the Town Band, consisting of three musicians, was increased to five (1594), an order was given to Andrew Jones, a goldsmith, for two new "collars" or chains. The town apparently provided the metal, because with the *over-plus* weight, he repaired the three old collars, charging 47s. 3d. The new chains were presented to the borough, the goldsmith receiving in return his freedom (20th

September 1596). The weight of the five collars, alike in design, is given as 31 ozs. As there was a falling-off in the band, the salary of each officer was fixed at £10 a year, the musicians being requested to keep up their number; it was agreed that the Waits be granted new liveries and that each should give a bond of £30 for his chain of office (1639). One of these chains, discovered in the "Strong Room" was repaired (1898) and has since been worn on state occasions, by the ex-mayor. Although the passing of the Reform Bill (1832) silenced for ever the harmonious strains of the "Corporation Band," yet we need not give way to unavailing regret, whilst our present Police Band continues to "discourse most eloquent music."

The following inventory, from the *Corporation Year Book*, shews the town possesses: three tankards, three tumblers, five waiters, one dish, one ewer, twenty salts, thirty-three dozen and four spoons of various designs and two "sugar bows." There is also a casket, dating as far back as 1270.

Special reference must be made to three objects not yet enumerated:—

The LOVING or GRACE CUP, made in Germany, probably at Nuremburg, must not be forgotten. Drinking from this cup involved a certain amount of ceremony, unquestionably observed at civic festivals. As the cup was passed round, two persons always stood up together, the one to drink from the flowing bowl, the other to be surety for his safety, whilst thus engaged. The Saxon king, Edward II., it will be remembered was treacherously stabbed, whilst in the act of drinking a cup of mead. The introduction of Christianity did not abolish the old custom of wassailing, but it invested the ceremony with a tinge of religion. The monks ignoring the ancient name, termed the wassail bowl, the *poculum charitatis* or "the loving cup;" but in our universities it is still more generally known as the "Grace Cup." Accounting for this appellation, Miss Strickland says, that Margaret Atheling, wife of Malcolm Kenmore, in order to induce the Scots to remain for grace, ordered the cup to be filled with the choicest wines, of which each guest was permitted, after grace had been said, to drink *ad libitum*. Hence its name—the Grace Cup.

A sword, carried before the Mayor on state occasions, and a large silver cup, sometimes filled with sack or champagne, at civic festivals, are by far more important articles of the town's regalia. Tradition associates the name of King John with each; nevertheless, antiquaries are not disposed to regard him as the donor.

After briefly describing these objects, we purpose giving, in each case, the salient points *for* and *against* each tradition.

"KING JOHN'S SWORD"

is a long, straight, two-edged, steel blade—a formidable weapon, much worn by "frequent scrubbing." Mr. J. G. Waller, F.S.A., gives the following minute description;—

State sword. Fifteenth Century. The blade is probably Soligen; it has the mark of a circle and a cross, as in the earliest Lincoln sword. There is

also a name INVAIIIIIA, as it appears to read. The hilt is original, overlaid with silver, gilt in parts. The pommel is of pear-shaped form, beautifully worked and having remains of gilding. The quillons of the hilt are straight throughout to the end. This is a character mostly seen *circa* 1425-30, sometimes later. There have been additions, *temp.* Henry VIII., as the quillons have a covering of silver with the following inscription in Roman capitals, ENSIS HIC DONVM FVIT REGIS JOHANNIS A SVO IPSIVS LATERE DATVM. On the opposite side, VIVAT REX HENRICVS OCTAVVS REGNI SVO XX. The scabbard of this fine sword is of crimson velvet, with the royal arms and supporters, and a rose, harp, fleur-de-lis and thistle severally crowned. On the chape is a figure of a king in armour brandishing his sword. On the opposite side, he is mounted, with prostrate foe beneath. The termination is a fleur-de-lis; date seventeenth century,

In support of the tradition, the following reasons are adduced:—

(1) The inscription on the hilt, which positively states, that King John took his sword from his own side, and presented it to the town.

(2) A sword was actually borne before the Mayor, as early as the reign of Henry III., as is clearly apparent from certain entries in the Town Records, for example:—

1446. Aug. 5: Ordered ye same day, yt ye sworde of ye Mayor shall be carried before him point upward or erect, as Our Lord ye king granted to ye said Mayor ye last time he was in ye town.

1449. This year ye sword was carried before the king by ye Mayor.

Similar entries appear, for example, August 9, September 28, November 4, 20 and also in December (1446).

(3) That the charter of Henry VIII. ordered a sword to be borne before the Mayor according to custom. "Further we will and do grant to the said Mayor and Burgesses and their successors, that the said Mayor for the time being may have forever a certain sword sheathed to be carried before the Mayor," etc.

(4) The town arms with a sword was represented in stained glass in one of the north windows of St. Nicholas' chapel. Mackerell believes the design was most probably fixed there soon after the erection of the building. The window is supposed to have been glazed in the reign of Edward III.—between 1327 and 1370; that is about 150 years after King John is said to have given his sword to the town.

The reasons against the above theory are—

(1) That Bishop Gibson, in his scholarly additions to Camden's *Britannia* (1605), objects to the antiquity of the sword, because there is neither mention of "mayor" nor "sword" in John's charter.

(2) As a sword is spoken of in the charter of Henry VIII., Bishop Gibson concludes, it was the gift of *that* sovereign, rather than King John. The inscription on one side of the hilt substantiates in a slight degree this suggestion.

(3) The other inscription, that John actually took his sword from his own side and presented it to the town, appears to be unworthy of reliance. Sir Henry Spelman states, how one Thomas Revett, the town clerk, assured him that John Cooke, a sword-cutler (1580), went to a Mr. Ivory (or "Iverye," as it is spelt in the Hall Book) the schoolmaster of the town, and desired him to compose an inscription

to be engraven upon the hilt of the town-sword; whereupon he caused the person who gave him this information and was then his scholar to write the words above quoted (*Ensis hic donum*, etc.). These words John Cooke forthwith engraved upon the hilt. Apropos of this Harrod observes, "As Cooke was certainly paid a bill in that year, amounting to £6 8s. 3d., it is very likely Spelman's account is correct, and the inscription, therefore, of no value as to the facts recorded."

(4) Spelman, moreover, contends that Lynn was then an episcopal burgh and not a *royal* borough or demesne; he further says, that in all probability the sword was a gift from Henry V., who granted a charter for the proper election of mayors.

(5) If John took this weapon from his own side, we are certainly justified in concluding, that the sword was the one he commonly wore. This, however, we cannot believe, because it is not only too large for an offensive weapon; but it so greatly resembles swords used by similar corporate bodies, for purposes of state.

(6) Harrod, who carefully examined this interesting relic, refers to certain half obliterated designs upon each side of the blade. The form on one side was distinct enough to be made out. He thus describes it:—"An indent about an inch in length is crossed at each end by another of a quarter of an inch long; the lower cross so formed being enclosed in an indented circle, presenting the appearance of a bull and cross, the shaft of the longer being elongated." The same design he found on a seal attached to a deed executed in 1412. He concludes thus:—"The best living authority in arms and armour tells me, that the existence of a sword-mark is against the weapon being anything so ancient as the time of King John," and

(7) Mr. J. G. Waller, already quoted, observes:—"The ascription of the sword, as the gift of King John and from his own side, must be accepted with considerable reserve, as that could at most only refer to the blade."

Extracts from the town records prove conclusively that Spelman's statement, that there was no state-sword in the reign of Henry IV., is erroneous. The same King moreover presented a sword with a charter to the citizens of Norwich. This sword is described in these words:—"the hylt, and pomell of guylt, a skaberd of riche clothe of goold set with perles with a gret chape of sylver"—a sword somewhat similar to our own. That Henry was on friendly terms with our townsmen can hardly be disputed, seeing he was indebted to the town for various loans.

After carefully weighing the evidence *pro* and *con*. the reader will unhesitatingly discard the threadbare tradition and accept what we suggest instead thereof—that our state-sword was in all likelihood the gift of Henry IV.

Now let us turn our attention to the so-called

KING JOHN'S CUP.

It is of silver-gilt, ornamented with translucent enamel and has a long, slender stem, rising from a shallow circular foot, which is edged below with a flat expanded base of pentagonal plan, with a wavy outline. The knob also is pentagonal, with five acorn-shaped projections, and the goblet is divided into five

compartments by ribs, ending in foliated ornaments. These compartments contain figures, male and female, in costume of the 14th century, one above another in two tiers on dark blue, green or purple enamelled ground. The figures are silver, with parts of the dresses enamelled and with sprays of star-shaped flowers and leaves in silver, rising from them. On the foot are similar figures; also dogs chasing foxes and hares. Height of Cup is 15 inches; diameter of the cover $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The workmanship of 14th century. [Cripps' *Book of the Plate belonging to the various Colleges and Corporations of England.*]

The figures on the lid represent a hunting party—the first compartment shews a lady bearing a hawk; the second, a lady leading a dog; the third, a gentleman carrying a hare upon a stick, over his shoulder; the fourth, a gentleman with a dog on each side; he bears a club in his left hand and is blowing a horn, which he holds in his right; the fifth, a lady with a bow and arrow, who also has a dog with her. The body and foot of the cup contain similar figures; also dogs, chasing hares and foxes. Each design is separated from the other by an ornamental division. At the bottom of the inside of the cup, there is a Bacchanal, holding in one hand a drinking horn and in the other a hawk.

From memoranda engraven upon this relic it appears to have been repaired four times. For two of these repairs, there is no apparent evidence. Two additions have obviously been made to it—one of these a strawberry-leaf ornament, perhaps added during the 15th century, and considered by some authorities to be pleasing and elegant; the other, a ball and spike, affixed to the cover in the time of James I. or Charles I., is said by some purists to be in rather bad taste; notwithstanding, it is by no means of *rococo* character; on the contrary, it forms an agreeable finish to the work.

A *replica* of this interesting object, whose capacity is a "full pint," was presented to H.R.H. the late Albert Victor, on his coming of age, by the inhabitants of King's Lynn (1884).

The reasons advanced to substantiate the traditional source from whence the town obtained this cup, are as follows;—

(1) It is stated in White's *Directory of Norfolk*, that King John, during the last year of his reign visited Lynn, and after staying a few days, he crossed the Wash on his way to Swineshead priory, Lincolnshire. Before leaving Lynn, he presented the Corporation with an elegant embossed and enamelled cup and cover of silver double-gilt, weighing 73 ounces and holding about a pint.

(2) This writer unquestionably copied Richards, who affirms that the folk of Lynn received, "besides the immunities and privileges specified in her charters also a silver cup." Richards also refers to the "sly insinuation, which has been sometimes heard," to the effect that King John, whilst visiting Walsingham abbey, contrived to steal several valuable articles, and that the cup was purloined from the sacred edifice.

(3) Parkin says King John "probably gave them his curious cup and most venerable piece of antiquity," and

(4) It was in use during the reign of Edward VI., although the weight is wrongly stated.

1548. Feast of St. Bartholomew. Plate delivered to ye Mayor:—

A cup called King John's Cup with a cover enamelled 40 ozs.

A gilt cup with cover 25 „

A dozen spoons with acorns 16 „

A Cup with pelican in ye bottom 12 „

Against the old traditions these points may be urged:—

(1) The statement, that the King presented the town with a Cup, must be accepted with caution, because no authority is quoted to substantiate the case.

(2) The late Mr. Harrod remarks, (a) That in going through the Corporation documents, he met with very few entries, throwing light upon the origin of this cup, (b) He thinks it might have been called "King John's Cup," from being used in feasts held yearly to celebrate the grant by that sovereign of liberties and privileges to the borough, (c) That it must have been the work of the 14th century, as the form and ornamentation are of that date; and the figures are almost identical in dress, as shewn in the manuscripts of the latter years of Edward III. This view is endorsed by Cripps and Waller, and (d) That it was probably fabricated to commemorate some hunting party because of the number of figures engaged in such a pursuit.

(3) The first entry of the list of plate, entrusted to the mayor, on his accession to office, occurs in 1548. The Cup in question was then looked upon as a great curiosity. Under May 7th 1595, this entry appears:—"King John's Cup and Plate of ye Town to be sent to London that ye Ld. Treasurer may see it."

(4) After this date, notices of it, passing from mayor to mayor, occur frequently, and the Indenture of Loan, which every mayor executed, when he entered into office, provided for its safe custody, with the other plate of the Corporation.

(5) "It has been erroneously termed 'King John's Cup,' owing probably to that king having pawned his regalia to Bishop Grey, who built a palace at Gaywood, about a mile from the town of Lynn." (*Specimens of Ancient Furniture*, by Henry Shaw.) This book contains an engraving of the cup.

An ingenious, yet plausible theory, to account for the possession of this celebrated piece of antiquity, has been devised by S. A. Gurney, Esq., who observes:—

The cup evidently belongs to the reign of King Edward III., who with Queen Philippa visited Lynn. King John of France frequently joined King Edward and his Queen in their progress through the country, and there is every reason to believe, that he visited Lynn with them during the mayoralty of Robert Braunché. In St. Margaret's church, there is a magnificent monumental brass to the memory of Robert Braunché: at the foot of the figures, extending the full width of the brass, is depicted a Royal peacock feast. It was the habit of the age for Royalty to present the Mayor and Corporation of any town with a present, after an entertainment of this description; and it is justly supposed, that *King John of France* presented this cup during or after their visit to Lynn. Hence it has always been called King John's Cup. [*Morning Post*, Dec. 9th, 1884.]

Quitting this debatable subject, we quote a hybrid distich from a manuscript volume (1647), which formerly belonged to the Thoresby family:—

*Lenna tenes cuppam gladiumque a Rege Johanni.
Plures quam gladio sed periere cupa.*

To this extract Harrod appends a free translation:—

Lynn King John's cup with sack and sugar filled,
More than his sword hath in their feastings killed.

CHAPTER LX.

The "Mayflower."

As with pardonable pride the English reverence Nelson's flagship the *Foudroyant* and almost worship the battered remains of the *Victory*, whereon "the greatest sailor since the world began" fell mortally wounded in the hour of triumph, even so the children of the Puritans—especially the Free Churchmen of Lynn—fondly cherish the memory of the frail vessel, which bore the brave Pilgrim Fathers to their new home, across the broad Atlantic.

It has been suggested that the *Mayflower*, furnished by the port of Lynn, to assist in repelling the Spanish Armada, was the identical ship in which the exiles sailed two-and-thirty years afterwards. Our town appears, as far as we can decide, to have no valid claim to this honour; and we are constrained to detect the "father of the thought" in an excusable and earnest wish.

It may be well first to inquire whether the Pilgrim Fathers really sailed in a ship called the *Mayflower*; and secondly, to ascertain whether Lynn provided a similarly named vessel at an earlier date to oppose the Armada (1588).

It is certainly remarkable that the names of the pilgrim ships are not mentioned either in Bradford's *Manuscript* or in Mourt's *Relation*. A knowledge of this led the Rev. G. Cuthbert Blaxland, M.A., to question in his *Mayflower Essays* the authority for the accepted names of the vessels, namely, the *Mayflower* and *Speedwell*. The official documents, however, of the old colony and the subsequent discovery, by Professor E. Arber, of a record in Bradford's own handwriting in *Plimouth's Great Book of Deeds*, indisputably establishes the authenticity of these names.

Neither can there be any question about Lynn supplying a vessel, as previously stated; abundant evidence appears not only in the Hall Book, but in other equally trustworthy records. Among the manuscripts belonging to the Right Hon. F. J. Savile Foljambe, of Osberton, Nottinghamshire (published by the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*), there is the *Book of Musters*, 1588—a compilation chiefly made by two persons, probably officials at that time in the Privy Council office. Among the places from whence vessels were

to proceed to join the Lord Admiral, Linne and Blackney (Blakeney) are mentioned. Each had to supply one ship and one pinnace [folio 315 b.]. Under May 26th, 1588, we learn:—"Two ships and one pinnace from Lin and Blackney" were ordered to "keep in the Narrow Seas under the charge of the Lord Seymer" [folio 316 b.].

The patriotic inhabitants of our borough were ready enough to provide vessels in so great a national emergency, but unfortunately the folk of Blakeney stubbornly withheld their share of the contribution. Hence the then mayor, Thomas Sandyll, addressed a letter to the Privy Council, saying how willing the burgesses were to provide the *Mayflower of Linn*, of 150 tons, and a fine pinnace to augment Her Majesty's fleet; and asking that letters be written, urging the port of Blakeney to forthwith bear its share of the expense [*State Papers: 2 Eliz., CCIX: 87*]. The published manuscript, to which reference has been made, gives a complete list of all the vessels sent out to frustrate Philip's "Invincible Armada." There were with the Lord Admiral, the *Jacob of Linne* (90 tons and 30 men) and the *Revenge of Linne* (60 tons and 30 men), whilst among the coasters of Lord Henry Seymour appears the *May Flower* (150 tons and 70 men). The following year, five other vessels from our port were added to the fleet, namely, the *Antelope*, the *Clayborne*, the *William*, the *Mary* and the *James*, but with these we need not trouble ourselves (1589).

Having thus settled the two important points at issue, we propose considering the improbability of the *Mayflower* of 1588 being the *Mayflower* of 1620 and 1629.

In the log compiled during the voyage by William Bradford, who subsequently became the second "governor" of the young colony, there is no hint as to what place the ship belonged to. It is gratifying to state, this valuable manuscript has recently been reproduced and published in facsimile. The *Mayflower* as a ship-name was common at this period; the Rev. Joseph Hunter has discovered eleven *Mayflowers* before the end of the 16th century (*The Founders of New Plymouth*, 1854), and from the *State Papers* of Charles I. others may be culled. In the warrants for issuing commissions to take pirates (1627-1630), there appear:—

The *Mayflower* of—

Great Yarmouth	...	250 tons	Lowe	...	80 tons
Ipswich	...	240 "	Bristol	...	50 "
Ipswich	...	170 "	Weymouth	...	45 "
Falmouth	...	160 "	Brighthelmstone	...	30 "

The tonnage of the vessels is dissimilar—the *Mayflower* of Lynn being 150 tons, that of the Fathers "nine score tons." Considering Bradford's minute accuracy throughout the whole narrative, it would be unwise and unfair to question his authority for this statement. Moreover, all writers on this subject—J. B. Marsden (*History of the Early Puritans*, 1853), John Brown, B.A., D.D. (*The Pilgrim Fathers of New England*, 1897), Professor Edward Arber, F.S.A. (*The story of the Pilgrim Fathers as told by themselves, their*

friends and their enemies), etc.—unhesitatingly accept Bradford's figures as true. Besides, a vessel of 180 tons would hardly have belonged to Lynn at this period. The *Mayflower* of 150 tons was undoubtedly exceptionally large, notwithstanding our Mayor, when offering the services of the vessel, regretted that "some of the *best*" (not necessarily the *largest*) "ships were at sea." From a return of the merchant ships in England for the year 1572, an idea may be formed of the general size of the vessels belonging to our port. The return was compiled by a trustworthy person, Thomas Colshill, Surveyor of the Port of London. Yarmouth then owned 193 vessels, Ipswich 179, London 162, and Lynn only 60. *Two* of our vessels reached 100 tons burden, and none exceeded that figure. The total number of ships in the 16 principal ports then amounted to 1,383. In 1583 there were in Norfolk 1,438 mariners and 145 master-mariners; there were 241 vessels in all—145 were below 80 tons, 80 were above 80 tons but below 100 tons, whilst 16 only reached or exceeded 100 tons (Foljambe).

In many cases wealthy people built ships and presented them to the Queen. There is, however, no evidence that a ship of any kind was thus provided here. In the royal warrant addressed by Queen Elizabeth to her chamberlain to recompense in a measure those of her well-beloved subjects who had built ships "to increase the Navie of the Realme, which is" (quoting the preamble) "to our great pleasure and to the comfort of our natural subjects" (1597), Thomas Tomson of Norwich, mariner; Tobyas Gentleman of Yarmouth, mariner; Edward Stephens, of Lowestoft, shipwright; Thomas West, of Ratcliffe, mariner, and John Wylkynsson of Ipswich, were each to receive "830 crowns of five shillings sterlynge value." The same names occur among the members of the ancient Shipwrights' Company, the long-lost charter of which has recently been unearthed in the musty catacombs of the Trinity House on Tower Hill. The wealthy patriot of Lynn is noticeably absent.

Let us grant for a moment that the pilgrim *Mayflower* hailed from Lynn, it does not follow that it was built here. In the Trinity House certificates of vessels, for 1627 we note the

<i>Pelican</i>	of London	was built at	Enckhuysen.
"	" Newcastle	"	" " Whitby.
<i>Jonas</i>	of London	"	" " Ipswich.
<i>Primrose</i>	of Chatham	"	" " Ipswich.
<i>Levant Merchant</i>	of London	"	" " Woodbridge.
<i>Love's Increase</i>	of Lynn	"	" " Whitby.

Remembering the length of time between the Armada and the exodus of the pilgrims; the dissimilarity in the accepted tonnage of the two vessels; the unlikelihood that our port should possess at that time a vessel so large, and that London might reasonably enter the competition for this honour—for among the ships "set forth by the same city in 1588" there was a *Mayflower* of 200 tons,—we are constrained, despite certain twinges of inbred sentiment, to acknowledge the great improbability of the theory so dear to the Free Churchmen of Lynn.

CHAPTER LXI.

The Drama—Ancient and Modern.

THE origin of the drama in this country is easily traceable to the time of the Conquest. Our churches were the first theatres; our clergy the first actors; and *mysteries*, which dealt with gospel events, and *miracle plays*, concocted from the legends of the saints, constituted the drama in its most primitive guise. The introduction, which was unquestionably a Continental innovation, soon became popular, and as greater elaboration in stage effects was continually demanded, performances in churches became more and more impossible. Portable stages were therefore erected just outside the sacred edifices, but the churchyards were soon abandoned, because the graves were wantonly desecrated by crowds of pleasure-seeking spectators. After quitting these hallowed precincts, the players enacted their parts on the village "green," or in any convenient open space in the burgh. Now, as soon as this happened, the members of the various trade-gilds entered the lists as competitors with the clergy, who, after a brief struggle, quietly withdrew, because they considered the same spectacular performances, when dissevered from the church, as no longer sacred, but profane. The laity were undoubtedly inferior to the priests in book-learning; this, however, did not greatly detract from the efficiency of these mediæval entertainments, because the services of a few professional *histriones*, who wandered about the country, could be at any time secured to supplement any dramatic deficiencies.

In course of time, the portable stage found an abiding-place in the general assembly-rooms of the more important of the local gilds. Henceforth, for some time at least, the home of the drama was in the large gild-halls. Although the names of about 60 gilds are mentioned in connection with Lynn, references to four gild-halls only have been found, namely: our present "Town Hall," associated with the Gild of the Holy Trinity; that of St. George, the old wool-warehouse in King street; that belonging to the Gild of Corpus Christi, which seems, from reasons subsequently to be considered, to have stood at no great distance from St. Margaret's church; and one possessed by the Gild of SS. Giles and Julian, whose position defies conjecture.

MYSTERIES AND MIRACLE PLAYS.

Immediately following the Reformation, there was quite a needless and inexcusable destruction of literature. The spirit of squeamish intolerance scanned every line, and the implacable thoroughness with which this deplorable work was carried out is attested by the fact, that at the present time only four sets of miracle plays are known to exist, the "four great cycles," as they are termed, being those of York, Townley, Chester and Coventry. It is highly probable that miracle plays were first produced in East Anglia, yet our archives furnish few, if any, examples. The *Harrowing of Hell*,

a poem in dialogue, the *Children of Israel*, produced at Cambridge (1350) and *Abraham and Isaac*, a manuscript drama, recently discovered in Brome Hall, Suffolk, belong to the 14th century. Each is in a dialect corresponding with that of the Eastern Midlands. Referring to *Mary Magdalene*, a miracle play adapted from Jacob de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, or Golden Legend (Caxton: 1483), Dr. F. J. Furnivall points out that it may be classed with those of the Eastern Midlands; he further says it originated "probably from the neighbourhood of Lynn, in Norfolk, or from Lincolnshire;" and of the many dialectal and scribal criteria, he particularly mentions *xal* (shall) and *qwat* (what). In the chapel-wardens' cash-book for St. Nicholas, *quit-rent* during the 17th century appears as *whit-rent* and *whitt-rent*; Whaplode also is written *Quaplode*.

It may here be stated that in England there were at one time three main dialects: the Northern, the Midland and the Southern; the corresponding districts being separated by the Humber and the Thames. The *East* Midland, which approaches nearest to our modern English, was the dialect of Norfolk, Suffolk and the adjoining counties. "The Croxton play of the *Sacrament* should be connected with Norfolk [Croxton, two miles from Thetford], rather than any other Croxton. Although not a morality, and introducing no personification, it is yet allied to the morality in the endeavour to bring the sacramental teaching of the Church within the scope of the religious drama." [*English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes*, by Alfred W. Pollard, M.A., 1898.]

Many similar plays were written by John Skelton (1460-1529), who, if he were not a Norfolk man, as is supposed, was for years the rector of Diss. Of his dramatic writings, only one specimen remains. It survives in a folio edition, assigned to the press of William Rastell, and is entitled *Magnyfycence, A goodly interlude and a mery, deuysed and made by mayster Skelton, poet laureate late deceasyd*.—"It is remarkable (Mr. Pollard continues) that most of the early morality plays which have come down to us, together with the contemporary miracle plays, to which they exhibit the closest affinity, are connected with the East Midland district, throughout which during the 15th century the popularity of the religious drama appears to have been very great."

In these buffooneries, which delighted many a Lynn audience, the Devil was an indispensable character. His "make-up" was a laborious undertaking; and the would-be performer must be specially gifted by nature, or his attempt would result in failure. He must be blessed with a large and conspicuous nose; a wide, cavernous mouth; a pair of projecting eyes, which ought to twinkle with diabolical mischief, and an affectionate smile of malignant benevolence. A pair of horns, a pendent tail and long cloven shoes were necessary to complete the toilet. His Satanic Majesty was generally attended by Vice, whose chief employment was to belabour the common enemy of mankind with a wooden sword, and to make him bellow for the

entertainment of the audience. Apropos of this, the clown in the *Twelfth Night* sings :—

I am gone, sir,
And anon, sir,
I'll be with you again
In a trice,
Like to the old Vice,
Who with dagger of lath
In his rage and his wrath
Cries, "Ah, ha! to the Devil."

One of the most important stage properties was a "hell-mouth," which, of course, constituted an attractive feature in almost every mediæval drama, and especially in the *Harrowing of Hell*. This clever piece of mechanism represented the head of a hideous monster. The wooden frame-work was covered with leather, which was suitably painted. The ever-rolling eyes emitted miraculous light, and the yawning jaws vomited flame and smoke intermittently. Into this awful chasm the innocent malefactors of the drama were enticed or driven by industrious fiends.

Performances were first given in the gild-halls; afterwards, if there was not room enough to accommodate the people, temporary platforms were erected at different "stations." And a serious business—this catering for the instruction and amusement of the populace—the worthy brethren discovered it to be. For the proper staging of *Mary Magdalene* as many as 20 scenes were necessary for the first part, and 31 for the second; the number of *dramatis personæ* being 40 and 26 respectively. The cost, too, was astonishing; but to meet the expenses a yearly rate from one penny to four pence was levied upon each craftsman, who did not mind paying so long as he took part in the pageant. Hence it became a general practice to link several plays on kindred subjects together, thus producing one grand spectacle; and at the same time providing for each ambitious craft, or group of crafts, a separate and distinct scene.

In time, allegorical personages, such as Victory, Fortune, Strength, Vice and Wisdom, took the place of the spiritual personifications in the *Mysteries* (Sin, Death, Hope and Faith). Dramas materialising these metaphysical abstractions were called *Moralities*. *

THE FEAST OF THE HOLY TRINITY.

The characteristic marks of every distinct brotherhood were three in number, namely: a separate light in a church (and often a special altar); a separate "castle," or object of attraction in the procession, and a separate scene or pageant at the Corpus Christi play. If, however, the part taken in the annual spectacle was not up to a certain standard, the municipal authorities fined the president or alderman of that particular fraternity, because of a public exhibition of contempt for the prestige of the community.

Of the principal gilds at Lenne, that of St. George had their altar with its light in the chapel of St. Nicholas; that of Saints Giles

* The first patent creating a Master of the Rolls was issued the 11th of February 1545; and the first patent was granted to actors, the 23rd of January 1574.

and Julian in the church of St. James; the South Lenne gild of the Holy Trinity at Allhallows church in that parish; whilst the Gild of Corpus Christi possessed a most resplendent altar in St. Margaret's; as also did the aristocratic fraternity of merchants constituting the Gild of the Holy Trinity, in the church of the Gesyne, adjoining.

During the magnificent pageants on feast-days the incomparably gorgeous "Gesyne"—a representation of the birth of our Lord (Harrod), or the grand silver emblem of the Trinity, weighing 51 ounces, would be borne solemnly through the streets by the officials of the Gild of the Holy Trinity. Next, perhaps, in order would come the *hostia* or consecrated wafer, encased in gold, and protected by a canopy with three valances of red damask, cloth-of-gold, the especial treasure belonging to the Gild of Corpus Christi. Other fraternities would follow, including the brethren of the Gild of Saints Giles and Julian from the church of St. James, proudly displaying the miraculous "Horn of St. Julian."

At the Feast of Trinity 1389, the gild rolls shew an expenditure of 9d. for rushes to strew the floor of the church, and 7s. for floral decoration in the form of a "garland." Payments for garlands were common. In the chamberlains' accounts are two interesting items connected with this feast,—expenditure for the light before "the Gesyne," and for spars for the purpose of carrying it during the Corpus Christi procession (1457).

THE FEAST OF CORPUS CHRISTI

was instituted by Pope Urban only a few months before his death (1264). Owing to this circumstance, it was at first unnoticed; the gilds, however, determined soon afterwards upon its adoption—the observance to be made yearly on the Thursday following Trinity Sunday (the end of May). In Lenne, as well as other places in England and on the Continent, this feast, in course of time, became the chief festival of the year. It seems to have been the custom to perform miracle plays at this season in the hall belonging to the Gild of Corpus Christi, but not there exclusively. The assembly-rooms belonging to the Gild of St. George and the Merchants' Gild of the Holy Trinity were also used. This is apparent from a minute, dated the 20th of September 1594, when our Town Council, the majority of whom were zealous and fastidious Puritans, decided that in future no plays should be given either in the Trinity or the St. George's Hall.

The interlude of *St. Thomas the Martyr* was performed at Lenne on Corpus Christi day in the year 1385. The players received 6s. 8d. out of the municipal exchequer—one-half of which was, for some incomprehensible reason, absurdly termed "the mayor's gift." Towards the same important feast in 1399, the brethren paid: 11s. to divers minstrels, 1s. to the sacristan of St. Margaret's church for playing the lute, 3s. 4d. to the clerks of the same church for chanting, and £5 3s. 2d. for the entertainment of themselves, rather than "the company"—the money was spent in bread, ale, wine (red and white),

capons, pullets, fish, flesh, spices, and in paying the cooks for their labour in preparing the repast. Was there not every reason why the mouths of those aspiring to the civic bench should be incessantly watering? In 1410, Lady Beaufort received a special invitation to witness the performances at Lenne. The Mayor, who was as generous as gallant, unhesitatingly "treated" her ladyship to three gallons of wine, but thoughtlessly ignored "the reckoning," which was, of course, paid by the poor burgesses. Again, in 1461, "the Mayor and most of his brethren" met at the house of Arnulph Tixonye to enjoy the Corpus Christi procession and play; they gave the skinnners of the town, many of whom were members of the gild, 20s., and the sailors, who possibly belonged to the Shipman's Gild, 3s. to recompense them for the interest they had taken in the spectacular display; and whilst listening to the miracle plays the Mayor and his no less thirsty colleagues quaffed two flagons of red wine, for which the taverner charged 2s. and sent in a bill to the treasurers of the burgh.

Among the sundry disbursements of this gild are many items relating to the canopy and the tabernacle. The tabernacle or shrine, in which the consecrated wafer was placed, stood upon an altar in St. Margaret's church, before which lights were always burning. In the Rolls (1388-1461) are frequent charges for the maintenance of these lights *circa hericam*, "around the herse" (French *herse*, a harrow)—an iron frame set with spikes, upon which lighted candles could be stuck. It is still used in Roman Catholic churches. The herse, fixed upon wheels, and surmounted with a gorgeous canopy, was also used at funerals, hence the English *hearse*. On one occasion a piece of wax weighing ccc, j qa. vij li. (3 cwt. 1 qr. 7 lbs.) was purchased for cliij s. iiij d. (£7 13s. 4d.); it was handed to John Chandler, who converted it into torches weighing about 15 lbs. apiece, and who received for his pains xv s. v d. (15s. 5d.).

On the great feast day at the summer solstice (14th June), the tabernacle was removed from the altar and was borne in the procession along our streets. In Barnabe Googe's translation of *Naogeorgis* are the following lines:—

The devil's house is drawne about, wherein there doth appere
A wondrous sort of damned sprites, with foule and fearfull looke;

* * * * *

The hallowed bread with worship great in silver pix they beare
About the church or in the citie passing here and theare.
His armes that beares the same two of the wealthiest men do holde
And over him a canopy of silk and cloth of golde.

SITE OF THE HALL OF CORPUS CHRISTI.

In the Rolls of the Gild of Corpus Christi (1439), among other items are entries of rent for the cellars under the *new* hall and for the garden and orchard adjoining. Eleven years later this building was used by the Gild of Saints Giles and Julian for the purposes of a general assembly (1450). Whether the *new* hall was raised on the site of an *older* building is a problem too great for our limited knowledge; a few words may, notwithstanding, be devoted to the *new* hall referred to in the Gild Rolls,

Although the Reformation crushed the gilds out of existence, it did not immediately annihilate the observance of the religious pageants so long associated therewith. In many places the Corpus Christi processions continued to be held, until their final suppression in the beginning of the reign of James I. In the letters patent issued for the suppression of the Lynn gilds (1549) there is, strange to say, no mention of the important Gild of Corpus Christi. How was this? By some means or other our Corporation got possession of the "House of Corpus Christi," which Richards rightly regarded as the *hall* belonging to the Gild of Corpus Christi.

In 1562 Sir Nicholas Le Strange began an action for the recovery of this property, and, in all likelihood, won his suit. He owned a residence at Lynn; his wife, Lady Le Strange, was privileged with a seat in St. Margaret's, and their son Roger was christened on the 1st of November 1584 in the same church. Although the churchwardens were particular in saying in whose occupation the church property then was, no mention is made of Sir Nicholas as a "tenant" or "late tenant"; it seems highly probable, therefore, that he handed this property over to the church. Before making certain deductions, a consideration of the following excerpts from the Wardens' Accounts (vol. I., 1592 to 1672) is necessary:—

1592. R(eceived for) ye two tenemen's And allytell gardin in the end of Skynner Row, late in the ocupation of mr. Iverye and now in the occupation of peter Smythe, clark: pays by year, vj s. viij d.

1598. Itm Receyvd of Peter Smyth, Clerc, for flearme (fee-farm) of a Tent (tenement) demised by Lease to Wm. Smyth, deceased, late in the tenure of Mr. Iverye deceased, for one whole yeare, oo: 06: 08.

1603. Mr. Thomas Atkons hath not paid clark's wage at St. Margerett's nor att St. Nichals since he same into the howse (of) Sr. Nichols Lestrangle, where he now dwelleth.

1628. The tenement (in Skinner Row) wch Mr. Carrow pd. for to the Church is also in the Townes "hand" (the word being used in the preceding sentence) and noe rent pd. as yet for yt: 6/8 pr. ann.

1632. Itm. rec. (received) from the Chamberlain for one year's rent for the house [before described as being in Skinner Row] att Codling Lane's End, vj s. viij d.

These entries refer in *every* instance to the *same* property, which is subsequently described as "two tenements and a little garden," also as "two tenements, an orchard and a little garden." From these statements made by various persons and at different periods these conclusions may be drawn:—

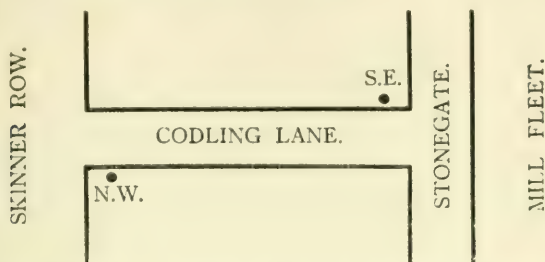
(1) That the house in which Sir Nicholas Le Strange lived was successively conveyed by lease to Mr. Ivorye, * William Smyth, and lastly to Peter Smyth, the clerk or minister of the parish, at an annual rent of 6s. 8d., which as a fee-farm rent might only represent a quarter of the real value.

(2) In 1628, for some reason, this and other property belonging to the church was conveyed to the town. The Mayor and Burgesses, through their chamberlains, then went on paying the usual rent and

Mr. Ivorye (or Ivore) was the town schoolmaster, who in 1580 composed the Latin inscription which was engraved upon the hilt of our so-called "King John's Sword."

letting the property to *their* tenants, whose names the churchwardens sometimes recorded.

(3) To locate this property, we must remember, it is described as being "at the end of Skykker Row."



—But every street has not only two ends, but also two sides. Hence four likely sites are eligible for selection. The entry for 1632, however, comes to the rescue and settles the matter. The tenements were at the intersection of Skinner Row (that is, St. James' Street) and Codling Lane (that is, Tower Place).

In the Lynn section of the *Report of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Public Charities* (1843), republished by the late John W. Aikin, the same annual payment, which has been continued since 1628, is stated to be for "certain houses at the north end of Codling Lane" [a literal quotation from Parkin]; in the Borough Accounts it is for "tenements and a pound in Tower Lane"; whilst in the *Church Terrier* (1875) the estate is described as "two pieces of land, south-east corner of Codling Lane."

It would be preposterous to suppose our Corporation paid rent to the church for property belonging to the town. The site at the south-east corner of Codling Lane (subsequently Tower Lane and Tower Place) was part of the land owned by the Grey Friars. At the dissolution of the monasteries, John Eyre, one of the King's auditors or receivers, bought up all the lands and tenements belonging to the four orders of friars in Lynn (February 20th 1545). During his life he conveyed them to a priest, from whom the Corporation purchased the Whitefriars' and the Greyfriars' estates, which have continued in the hands of the Corporation ever since.

Until further research throws more light upon this obscure subject, we venture to fix the site of the Hall of the Gild of Corpus Christi at the corner of St. James' Street—the area including not only the late John Farrow's grocery stores, but the "Tower house" and garden, which at one time formed one estate. The Rev. Edward Edwards, when lecturer at St. Nicholas', lived in the "Tower house," and the present warehouse and shop were built upon the ground where the reverend gentleman's stable and out-houses stood.

THE FEAST OF THE NATIVITY.

Plays relating to the birth of our Lord were usually presented on Christmas day. In 1442, this festival was patronised by the

mayor and other members of our municipal parliament, and by Lady Bardolf. The sum of seven shillings was expended on a complimentary supper in St. George's Hall (King Street); and during the repast her ladyship generously presented the Corporation with a book—a most valuable acquisition in the days when the scarcity of books obliged even our Kings to go a-borrowing. On the death of Henry V. many obliging book-lenders petitioned the Privy Council for the return of their manuscript volumes.

Preparations were made for a repetition of the drama at Middleton, or Titherington, as the village was then called. A portable stage was drawn thither, and the entertainment was reproduced in the court-yard of the castle by the courtesy of the Mayor of Lenne, for the amusement and edification, let it be hoped, of our neighbour the Lord Thos. de Scales. The following incidental expenses were defrayed by the chamberlains:—To Martin Wright, the skinner, 13s. 4d.; and to Messrs. John Newham,—Passelew and Stephen Payntour, painters, 5s. 5½d. for divers vestments and ornaments—"properties" necessary for the correct staging of the piece. It will be noticed that the three persons just mentioned were professional painters, to whom all scenic efforts were no doubt entrusted. Martin the Skynner received 18 pence; and his son John, and Edward Skarlet 2s. each for their assistance, the exact nature of which is unrecorded. Moreover, William Barbour, living in the Grassmarket, and Richard Comber were paid 2s. for acting. John, the clerk at St. Nicholas', and Gilbert — both received 20 pence as remuneration for singing and assuming the rôles of *Mary* and *Gabriel*.

At the dissolution of the gilds in 1549, when stage-playing was declared seditious, some of the "properties" were handed over to the custody of Thomas Meise, who was to carefully preserve them for the use of the commons, but it seems doubtful whether they ever afterwards saw the light of day. Among the articles there was a splendid harness of cloth-of-gold, and a huge dragon, which had many times been trotted out to frisk and gambol in the streets of Lenne. It was constructed of canvas, mounted upon a frame-work of cane. The sportive creature, if it belonged to the same species as the "Snap Dragon," so dear to the "Corporation of Pockthorpe," was provided with a complete set of gnashing teeth, a collapsible neck and an awe-inspiring head, which could be thrust forward or pulled back at the caprice of the concealed manipulator.

RESTRICTIVE MEASURES.

For many years after the Reformation, actors felt they had still a prescriptive right to the use of the House of God, although plays of a religious nature were wholly superseded by dramatic performances of a positively secular character. Bonner, the Bishop of London, who was at one time incumbent at East Dereham, issued a proclamation to his clergy peremptorily charging them to stop all acting in their churches (1542). The exponents, however, of a seditious though a very popular art met with encouragement from Queen Elizabeth, for in 1583 private companies were acting under Her Majesty's

name and authority. * The Queen's players visited Lenne with unexampled regularity, and, receiving a customary gratuity of 40s. out of "the town's allowances," the stage manager's "*Exeunt omnes*" was at once obeyed, as for instance on the 4th of August 1587, when they departed without "appearing."

Noblemen, encouraged by royal precedent, maintained companies of actors, who travelled with them wherever they went. The Earl of Suffolk and his players visited Lenne, when our mayor, William Gurlin, was so pleased with their performance that he bestowed 20s. upon them. After their departure, and when the pleasure of the insubstantial pageant had faded from his memory, he thoughtfully presented a bill to an obliging Assembly and had his claim allowed (1593). The next year, the same sum was paid to the players of the Lord of Derby and Lord Morley, with a direct understanding, that they quitted the town without playing. The intolerant Puritans were now busy, hurling their most scathing invectives against secular exhibitions, and especially against those having a dramatic element. Far different treatment was soon to be the lot of the poor strolling player. Stage-plays were suppressed the 28th January 1633. In 1648, it was a penal offence even to witness a theatrical performance, and their entire prohibition was of course enforced during the Cromwellian *régime*. The prying Puritan was in sooth abroad, and his interfering voice was by no means unfamiliar in the ears of the good folk of Lenne.

But the members of our intelligent Sanhedrim were not to be coerced by a narrow-minded minority. The debate in the hall of the defunct Gild of the Holy Trinity was no doubt a hot and protracted one, and many were the arguments that were incontinently knocked upon the head. At last a happy compromise was brought about, by means of which it was agreed that the fee should be paid as heretofore, but that the irreverent, wicked players were to be induced to go away, if it were possible, without giving a specimen of their art. Thus, although there might be no acting in the borough, were the Puritans with their conscientious objections compelled to contribute towards the support of those obnoxious actors.

On the 14th of October 1616, a letter was forwarded to the Lord Chancellor, the town's high steward, entreating "that he would be a means that all the companyes of players, which yerely resort to this towne might nott be suffered here to use playing notwithstandinge their grantes and patentes made unto them." Again, when the players attached to the King's private chamber at York visited Lynn, the customary fee was voted to the Mayor in order that he might exercise his persuasive influence in inducing them to "make themselves scarce" (31st March 1633). A similar amount was voted on the 20th May 1636, on the understanding that no entertainments were to be given.

THE THEATRE IN CHEQUER STREET.

The old gabled building, with its broad, bricked-up window, standing next to the *Shakespeare* inn, on the west side of King Street,

* In 1578, plays were performed on Sundays—"out of prayer-hours."

was originally an assembly room belonging to the opulent Gild of St. George, described as "a perpetual fraternity of brethren and sisters," founded by a licence from King Henry IV., "to the honour of God and of the glorious martyr St. George." The "certain tenement with the adjoining quay," which they were to hold, refers to these premises. Out of their revenue, which appears to have been large, they were bound to maintain one or two chaplains, who were regularly to celebrate divine rites in St. Margaret's church, for the healthful estate of the King and his beloved consort Joan. These letters patent were confirmed by Edward IV., who extorted from the weary chaplains prayers for a few other "healthful estates," including not only his own and those of sundry near relatives, but those of George the Duke of Clarence, Richard the Duke of Gloucester, Richard the Earl of Warwick, George the Bishop of Exeter (which ought to have been unnecessary), and many others (1461). After the Reformation, the gilds, which were useful benefit societies, declined throughout the country, and this important brotherhood, besides the Gild of the Holy Trinity, was deprived of its possessions. The lands and tenements belonging to the gild which met in this building were confiscated, and their goods and chattels, valued at £30, were by virtue of letters patent handed over to the Mayor and Burgesses (1549). The Gild of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, which was not so wealthy, also made use of this hall.

The old building has quietly submitted to so many alterations, that it would be impossible to describe it, as it appeared four centuries ago; some slight idea may be gained by passing down the yard belonging to the adjoining inn, where the remains of the original 15th century windows and broad buttresses may yet be seen. After the summary dispersion of the brethren and sisters, the beautiful home from which they had been ejected passed through a series of strange vicissitudes. In 1587, our Corporation entered into a curious engagement with one George Walden. They voted him an annual stipend of £4, and moreover granted him permission to live in "the inner house" rent-free, on condition that he "taught a French school," and further to encourage this educational project, they agreed to expend £5 a year in the purchase of French books.

The large assembly hall and the back room, that is "the inner room," were afterwards let to a sail-maker for £6 a year. Now the house, belonging to the town, next to the Common Staith yard, was at this period provided with a clock; for some inscrutable cause the Council decided upon removing this clock. It was done, and the mechanism handed to the tenant of the old gild-hall for safe custody. Subsequently the clock adorned the front of that building, projecting into the street like a sign. This memorable object was known as "Folly Clock," an appellation arising, it is supposed, from the superb decorations and emblems with which it was embellished. It boasted a Latin motto too, which has been thus rendered into English:—

Idler, what in my face and emblems can you see?
Begone, you lose your time when watching me.

The capacious premises of the defunct gild were converted into an exchange or exchequer; then into a court-house in which the quarter sessions were held; and subsequently, after much opposition, into a "play-house," which is said to have been "convenient and neat, neither profusely ornamented nor disgustingly plain" (1592).

The following remarkable incident happened, as we are assured, in St. George's Hall, during a performance. A printed cutting, which bears no date, shall be accurately reproduced:—

At Lin in Norfolke, the then Earl of Sussex players acting in the old *History of Fryer Francis*, and (re-)presenting a woman, who unsatiately doting on a young gentleman (the more securely to enjoy his affection) mischievously and secretly murdered her husband, whose ghost haunted her; and at divers times in her most solitary and private contemplations, in most horrid and fearefull shapes appeared and stood before her. As this was acted a townswoman (till then of good estimation and report) finding her conscience at this presentment extremely troubled, suddenly skritch'd and cried out—'Oh my husband, my husband. I see the ghost of my husband fiercely threatening and menacing me.' At which shrill and unexpected outcry the people about her, moou'd to a strange amazement, inquired the cause of her clamour, when presently vnurged she told them, that seven years ago she to be possesst of such a gentleman, *meaning him* [Query: *naming him*] had poysoned her husband whose fearfull image personated itselfe in the shape of that ghost, whereupon the murrds was apprehended, before the Iustices further examined, and by her voluntary confession after condemned. That this is true as well by the report of the actors as the records of the towne, there are many eye-witnesses of the accident yet living, vocally to confirm it.

The same incident is narrated in *The Stage Acquitted, being a full answer to Mr. Collier and other Enemies of the Drama, &c.*, by A. D. (1699, London). The writer, after stating that the strolling players were under a patent issued by the Earl of Sussex, concludes in these words:—"This story you have in Mr. Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612), and then there were people alive that knew the truth of it."

Shakespeare is said to have referred to this remarkable circumstance in *Hamlet*, Act ii., Scene 2:—

I have heard
That guilty creatures sitting at a play,
Have by the very cunning of the scene
Been struck so to the soul, that presently
They have proclaimed their malefactions.

St. George's Hall was first used as a theatre in 1592; *Hamlet* was written in 1602-3 (Furnivall), therefore, the incident must have occurred between those years. As no corresponding event is recorded by either Mackerell or Richards, the statement seems improbable.*

During the latter part of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries the old theatre in Chequer Street was regularly engaged during the "Mart season" by the Norwich Company, who perambulated the Eastern Circuit. Towards the close of the 18th century "business" was abnormally bad, and sometimes "the ghost did not walk." In 1784 "Mr. Green, Mrs. Robertson and Mr. Whitfield's Company" were doing their best to amuse a Lynn audience. On

* This incident is quoted on the Chequer-Street play bill, announcing the tragedy of *George Barnwell*, or the *London Merchant* (2nd March, 1812).

the 28th of February the *London Merchant* or *George Barnwell* was announced. After each act there was to be a song, and in conclusion the new farce, *The Agreeable Surprise*, performed in Lynn only once before, was to be produced. The following items on the play-bill are peculiar enough to be interesting:—

No tickets are to be returned after they are taken of and book'd by the box-keeper. . . . By order of the Right Worshipful the Mayor: No person will be admitted behind the scenes; nor any livery-servant allowed to sit in the pit, or to wait on the lobby leading to the boxes.* . . . Pit and gallery doors opened at five and to begin at half-past six. . . . The management most respectfully inform the ladies and gentlemen of Lynn and the public in general, that they will in future perform to whatever company shall favour the Theatre with their presence.

—How forcibly reminiscent is this of the droll story preserved by Hone respecting the celebrated actor George Alexander, who, when personating Lorenzo in this theatre, despondingly addressed these lines to Shylock's lovely daughter:—

O Jessica, in such a night as this we came to town,
And since that night we've shared but half-a-crown;
Let you and I then bid these folks good night,
For if we longer stay they'll starve us quite.

THE "SEASON"

was coincident with the Mart; in 1802 the "house" was open 24 times; the announcements were by small bills, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 10 inches, printed by Garratt, of Lynn.† The following performers—His Majesty's Servants—were from the Theatre Royal, Norwich:—Messrs. Fitzgerald, Bowles, Phillips, Bennett, Eastmure, Reily, and Mesdames Worthington, Birchall, Fullam, Henley, &c. As their stay was limited, each performance was strictly numbered.

1st night, Feb. 15th, 1802, "Deaf and Dumb, or the Orphan Protected" (play).

"Lovers' Quarrel" (farce).

Entirely new dance—"The Irish Fair."

2nd night, 16th, "The Poor Gentleman" (comedy).

"Edgar and Emmeline" (a fairy tale).

"Scotch Ghost, or Little Fanny's Love" (dance).

3rd night, 17th, "Folly as it Flies" (comedy, first time in Lynn).

"The Deuce is in Him" (farce).

New comic dance—"The Sportive Villagers or Topsy Woodcutter."

4th night, 18th, "Love in a Village" (comic opera).

"Holiday Time, or the School Boy's Frolic" (farce, 1st time).

A dance—"The Irish Fair"; at the end of 1st act a "Statute Dance."‡

5th night, 19th, "The School for Prejudice" (comedy).

"Of Age To-morrow" (musical farce).

The favourite dance—"The Bouquet."

* Through the courteous leniency of Manager Rich (14th May 1697) footmen were admitted to "the audience behind the scenes;" Garrick was the first to do away with this objectionable custom (1747).

Movable scenes were introduced in 1605, and set-pieces by De Louthburgh in 1777, but stalls were not adopted in English theatres till 1833.

† The first printed play-bill was issued on 28th July 1633.

‡ A country dance, as at a Statute fair—provincially termed "the statlers," where servants were and are, in some villages, still hired.

6th night, 20th, "The Iron Chest" (play).

"La Fille mal Garde, or the Watchful Mother Dup'd" (grand pantomime ballet).

An entire new dance—"The Union."

7th night, 22nd, "The East Indian" (comedy, 1st time).

"Retaliation" (farce).

Comic dance—"The Sportive Villagers."

8th night, 23rd, "Folly as it Flies" (comedy).

"The Wags of Windsor" (farce, 1st time).

An entire new dance—"The Nostrum-monger, or the Doctor doctor'd."

9th night, 24th, "Cheap Living" (comedy).

"Sawney Beane's Cave, or Harlequin Highlander" (comic pantomime, 1st time).³

An Hornpipe at the end of 1st and 2nd acts.

10th night, 25th, "False Shame" (comedy).

"Ways and Means" (farce).

"La Fille mal Garde, or the Watchful Mother Dup'd" (grand ballet).

"The Bouquet" (dance).

11th night, 26th, "The Poor Gentleman" (comedy).

"The Wags of Windsor" (opera in two acts).

A ballet, "The Scotch Ghost, or Little Fanny's Love."

12th night, 27th, "Twelfth Night, or What you will" (Shakespeare's play).

"The Deuce is in him" (farce in two acts).

An entire new dance, "The Rabbit Catchers, or The Artful Woman."

13th night, March 1st, "Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave" (tragedy).

"Sawney Beane's Cave" (2nd time).

"A pas de deux in chains."

14th night, 2nd (by particular desire),

"The Heir at Law" (comedy).

"Holiday Time" (farce).

The Tambourine dance, "In the course of which Mr. Lassells will kick a tambourine held eight feet high."

Ballet, "The Sailor's Return, or The Reward of Constancy."

15th night, 3rd, "The Widow of Malabar" (tragedy in three acts).

"Folly as it Flies" (new comedy in five acts).

A dance, "The Nostrum-monger."

16th night, 4th, "The Orphan, or the Unhappy Marriage" (tragedy).

"Sawney Beane's Cave" (for the third time).

Dance, "The Rabbit Catchers."

17th night, 5th, "The School for Rakes" (comedy).

"Of age To-morrow" (musical entertainment).

Comic dance, "The Sportive Villagers."

18th night, 6th, "Orlando and Seraphina" (an heroic drama).

"The Savage Contest, or British valour triumphant" (pantomimic spectacle).

"'Tis all a Farce" (entertainment).

20th night, 9th (the head Tuesday of the Mart), for the benefit of Mr. Hindes.

"Deaf and Dumb" (play),

"Paul and Virginia" (opera, 1st time).

(The piece commences with the celebration of Virginia's birthday, during which Alambra (a runaway slave) claims and receives her protection. Don Antonio arrives in the island, treacherously forces Virginia on board a ship. A

³ A pantomime was first produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre on the 22nd of December, 1716.

tremendous storm, the ship is struck by lightning; burns and blows up. Virginia is seen floating on the waves, when Paul jumps on a rock and Alambra puts off in a boat to her rescue. They succeed, and bring her safe on shore.)

Dances, "Pas de trois" and "La Provençale."

21st night, 10th, "The Mountaineers" (play).

"Sawney Beane's Cave" (for the last time).

Dance, "The Irish Fair."

22nd night, 11th, "Life" (comedy).

"Il Bondocani" (opera in three acts).

A Divertissement and La Provençale.

23rd, the Last night but One, 12th, "The Woodman" (comic opera).

"The Spirit of Contradiction" (a farce, 1st time).

A Dance, "The Sportive Villagers."

24th, the Last Night, 13th, "Love's Frailties" (comedy, first time).

"Paul and Virginia" (opera).

A Dance, "The Sailor's Return."

Prices, etc.: Lower boxes 4/, upper boxes 3/, pit 2/, gallery 1/. Tickets and places to be had of Mr. Stannard at the Theatre from eleven till one. The doors to be opened at a quarter past five, and to begin at a quarter after six. Places cannot be secured unless tickets are taken. No admittance behind the scenes. No places can be kept longer than the end of the first act of the performance. There will be a new piece every night during the Mart.

In the row of gravestones facing St. Margaret's Place the passer-by may observe one in memory of a Lynn comedian, Thomas Brock, who "shuffled off this mortal coil," the 17th of May 1763. He was unquestionably "a fellow of infinite jest," whose "flashes of merriment were wont to set the table on a roar." Verily, verily, a poor player

— struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more.

The turret of the old theatre was taken down (1795), and the historic edifice, after the erection of a new theatre, was sold to William Wilson Lee Warner for £557 10s., to whom the capacious vaults beneath the Hall already belonged (1814).^{*} Subsequently it was used as a granary; and lastly, in 1842, if not earlier, it became a wool-warehouse, and was rented by Walter Moyse. It is now held by Messrs. E. and B. Etheridge for the same purpose.

THE THEATRE ROYAL, ST. JAMES' STREET.

At the dissolution of the religious houses the land surrounding the Grey Friars' monastery passed into the hands of our Corporation. This estate, consisting of the Tower field, the Grammar school garden, the Soup Dépôt, with its walled-in yard, in Tower Place, and three small tenements facing the Mill fleet, brings in £68 18s. 6d. a year.

In Robert Dixon's crude yet effective lithograph (an early specimen of that art) of the Greyfriars tower as it appeared in 1801 are shewn rows of dilapidated cottages and out-houses on the north (St. James' Street) and west (Tower Place). Those covering the site of the nave of the old monastery were pulled down (1813) to make room

^{*} Opened for the last time, July 15th 1814, when *The Honey-Moon*, and a farce—*Raising the Wind*—were performed.

for the present theatre, which was erected by a proprietary company with a capital of £5,225, made up of 209 shares at £25 each. To encourage this enterprise, the Corporation provided the site for £100, and invested £1,000 in the concern. The foundation stone was laid by the mayor, John Hemington (7th July 1813). As this theatre was included in the Norwich circuit, it was, like the theatre at Norwich, termed *Royal*. The patent was granted to Norwich as early as 1768. In November 1901, the theatre was leased to Robert Wardle at £150 per annum, inclusive of the sum payable in respect of the electric light fittings. The lessee greatly improved the building; it was thoroughly cleaned and well redecorated by Walter Sconce, scenic artist, of Lynn (1892).

The act-drop, one of the finest in the kingdom, was painted by William Beverley, the greatest scene-painter of modern times, about 60 years since. In the "Marble Hall," as the picture is called, there is a pleasing exemplification of linear as well as aerial perspective. It is to be regretted that the canvas is beginning to shew serious traces of the duties so long and faithfully discharged. The painting of the scene cost £80. Whilst at work upon it, the clever artist stayed at the *Globe* hotel.

This commodious theatre was leased from the 6th of February 1814 to the 30th of April 1815 for £200; the first lessee being John Brunton, a leading actor of the day; he was the father of three daughters and a son termed "Master," who often graced the Lynn boards. The theatre was opened on Tuesday, the 7th of February 1815, with "an address" from the lessee, who had engaged special talent from the following theatres-royal:—Dublin, Edinburgh, York and the Haymarket. The first play staged was *Lovers' Vows*. On Thursday Charles Kemble commenced an eight-day engagement. From an old play-bill (8 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches) a few interesting items may be culled:—It is dated February 24th, 1815, and bears the following head-lines:—"New Theatre, Lynn. First Night of *The Woodman's Hut*. By particular desire the comedy *Laugh when you can*, and a musical piece in three acts, entitled *The Woodman's Hut, or the Burning Forest*, were announced, also two comic songs: "Love has eyes" and "Knowing Jerry, or Town and Country." The public were informed that the following new pieces were in preparation:—*For England, Ho; The King and the Duke; Jean de Paris* and *The Dog of Montargis*. The prices for admission were 4s. to the Upper and Lower Boxes, 2s. to the Pit and 1s. to the Gallery. * The subjoined postscript ends the placard:—

Tickets and Places to be had of Mr. Mortram, at the Theatre from Eleven till Two. The Doors to be opened at Half-past Five, and to begin precisely at Half-past Six. Places to be kept till the end of the First Act of the Performance; and Ladies and Gentlemen are respectfully solicited to send their servants for that purpose.—No admittance behind the scenes. ☞ It is particularly requested, that for the purpose of preventing Accidents, all Carriages going to the Theatre will SET DOWN with the Horses Heads to the *Eastward*, and TAKE UP with the Horses Heads to the *Westward*. ☞ There will be a Performance every night during the MART. (Turner, printer, Lynn.)

* Half-prices were sanctioned as early as the 25th of June 1763, but they were not adopted at Lynn.

Several members of the company had appeared in the Chequer Street theatre twelve years before.

ACTORS AND ACTRESSES AT LYNN.

CHARLES KEMBLE (1775-1854) eclipsed every actor of the age in his range of characters; at the opening of the new theatre, February 9th to 20th 1815, he played the leading rôle in *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Richard III.*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *Much Ado about Nothing* and *The Wonder*.

EDMUND KEAN (1789-1833), the celebrated tragedian, probably visited Lynn during his tours of the provinces in 1820, 1823 and 1824, when he assumed the leading part in *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *Richard III.*, *The Iron Chest* and *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*.

CHARLES KEAN (1811-1868), tragedian, son of Edmund; married Miss Ellen Tree. Probably here in 1828 or 1830. During his second visit he appeared as Sir Walter Amyott in *A Wife's Secret*; on this occasion, 8th October 1860, Mrs. Kean enacted the rôle of Lady Eveline Amyott.

GRIMALDI JOSEPH (1779-1837) was remarkable as a clown; the first actor to do two "turns" a night; in Lynn 19th to 23rd of March 1819, when he appeared in the harlequinades—*Salmagundi* and *Typitywitchet*; also personifying Acres in *The Rivals* and Scaramouch in the pantomime *Don Juan*.

DAVID FISHER (1759-1832), an eminent actor on the Norfolk and Suffolk circuits. In 1817, when Charles Kean was ill, he played as a substitute at Drury Lane; some regarded him as a rival. He built several theatres in Norfolk, and undoubtedly visited Lynn. His son David was lessee of the Lynn Theatre Royal (1829-30).

WILLIAM CHARLES MACREADY (1793-1873) was at our theatre from the 5th to 8th of March 1828, when he probably appeared in the name-parts in *Virginius*, *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *Macbeth*, as these were given the next month in Paris.

CHARLES MATHEWS (1803-1878), a famous comedian, who assumed 240 characters; he married first the famous Madame Vestris (daughter of Bartolozzi, the celebrated engraver), and secondly Miss Lizzie Davenport, a well-known actress. He visited Lynn in 1859, 1869, and again on June 18th 1877, when he appeared as Adonis Evergreen in *My Awful Dad*. On this occasion he was supported by Miss Sarah Thorne ("Matilda Wedagain").

CHARLES GILL (1797-1869 Lynn), a versatile comedian, who was for some years lessee of our theatre. In Lynn in 1822 and 1823; in March 1836 he appeared as Benjamin Rustle in *The Smuggler's Daughter* ("written by James Bird, the Suffolk poet"), * and sang "Each man is born a barber"; as Tristram Sappy in *Deaf as a Post*; also in the *Castle Spectre*. In 1841 as Stout in Lytton Bulwer's *Money*, Sileno in *Midas*, Sam Swipes in *Exchange no Robbery* (sang "The Royal Christening"); in 1844

* Suffolk must indeed be famed for poets. To say nothing of Tusser, Crabbe, and Bloomfield, the late W. Cornelius Whurr, the author of several volumes of poetry, is another accredited "Suffolk poet"; he died in 1853.

as Timothy Quaint, and Mrs. C. Gill as Widow Cheerly, in *A Soldier's Daughter*; she also enacted the rôle of Ellen Marsden in *A Match in the Dark*. In 1858, he appeared in *Money*, Miss Mayland assuming the leading part; in 1862, as Touchstone in *As you like it*, Tony Lumpkin in *She Stoops to Conquer*, Red Ralph the cowboy in *The Will and the Way*, &c. He married the daughter of Fred. Vining, the light comedian, and resided on Buckingham terrace, Lynn.

JOHN FRANCIS YOUNG (1821-1887 Stirling); he played the leading parts in the legitimate drama with marked success; and was a link between the old and the new schools of acting. At an open competition in the Alexandra theatre, Sheffield, he was awarded the prize for the best rendering of the third act in *The Merchant of Venice*. His first wife excelled as a chambermaid, and his second in boys' parts. He perhaps appeared at his best in the character of Sir Giles Overreach in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, but his *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth* were highly successful conceptions. A few of the other characters in which he was highly popular were: Eccles in *Caste*, Perkyn Middlewick in *Our Boys*, Old Macclesfield in *The Gov'nor*, Isaac Skoone in *M.P.*, and General Shendryn in *Ours*. He also appeared successfully in *Our Regiment*, *Low Water*, *The Ironmaster*, &c. He was deservedly a great favourite with the Lynn "playgoers."

JAMES WILLIAM WALLACK (1791-1864), brother to the well-known American tragedian, Henry John Wallack; he married Elizabeth Field Granger, tragedienne and vocalist. Both were deservedly esteemed. Mrs. Henry Wallack taught singing and elocution in Lynn, and became the very able trainer and conductor of the Musical Union and subsequent societies. A female conductor of public concerts is verily *rara avis in terris*.

GUSTAVUS VAUGHAN BROOKE (1818-1866), a tragedian, "who created a sensation in London unequalled since the days of Edmund Kean." At Lynn in 1837 (first appearance in Norfolk); in April 1854, as Claud Melnotte in *The Lady of Lyons*, Master Walter in *The Hunchback*, Sir Giles Overreach in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*; he was assisted, on this, which is said to have been his second visit, by Miss Fanny Cathcart. He perished with his sister at sea, when the s.s. *London* (Captain Martin) went down in the Bay of Biscay, January 10th, 1866, poor Brooke—he had *acted* the hero many times, but he *died* a real hero—calmly trying to the last to help the terror-stricken passengers on board the ill-fated vessel.

IRA ALDRIDGE (1805-1867), "the African Roscius"—a "black star," appeared as *Othello* (February 1848).

SIMS REEVES (1821-1900), the actor and incomparable tenor singer, visited Lynn several times.

HAMILTON BRAHAM, "the son of England's greatest tenor," appeared in an opera company, assisted by Misses Fanny and Maria Ternan (April 1862).

JOHN COLEMAN, a tragedian, who in July 1856 played in *Hamlet*, *The Son of the Devil*, *Eugene Aram*, &c. In 1859, he was engaged for the season by Mr. C. Gill. In 1896, he took the management of the Drury Lane Theatre.

WILLIAM and MRS. SIDNEY. The season in 1855 was well patronised because of the "favourites" who appeared on our boards. In *The Will and the Way*, Mr. Sidney as Dick Martin, Mrs. S. as Ellen De Vere, Mr. C. Gill as Red Ralph, Mr. J. F. Young as Will Sideler, and Mrs. Young as Susan Mayday. These dramas were also produced:—*The Corsican Brothers* (the first time), *The Heir at Law*, *Money*, *The Sea of Ice*, *Eugene Aram or the Schoolmaster of Lynn*, *Romco and Julict*, *Hamlet* (name-part J. F. Young); *Lady Macbeth* by Mrs. Sidney, and the first witch by "Charley Gill"; and *Othello*, Mr. Young and Mrs. Sidney taking the leading parts. In 1859, they were re-engaged by Mr. Gill; and in July 1861, appeared in the *Colleen Bawn*. [Mrs. Sidney died October 1901.]

JOHN MANNING, comedian, who married the daughter of J. A. Ransome, butcher, Church Street, Lynn (1854); his most "taking" song was "Villikins and his Dinah."

WYBERT ROUSBY, who was a native of Hull, came here when quite a lad, with Sidney's Company about 1853-5, as "general utility man," taking such parts as a pantomime dragon and Hamlet! and everything between. His wife was the famous Mrs. Rousby, who appeared as *Joan of Arc*, and created a great sensation in London and elsewhere. He subsequently became lessee of the Guernsey theatre.

J. ANDERSON and MISS ELSWORTHY played in a series of tragedies in 1856,—*Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Richard III.*, *Virginius*, *Ingomar*, *Lady of Lyons*, &c. J. G. ROSIERE was engaged by Mr. Gill in 1859; and Mr. SWINBOURNE and MISS VANDENHOFF the next year.

EDMUND ROSENTHAL (baritone) was in Lynn with the London Opera Company, September 1861; a unique repertoire, *The Rose of Castile* (first time), *The Bohemian Girl*, *Satanella*, *Maritana*, *Il Trovatore*, *Martha*, *Fra Diavolo*, *Guy Mannering*, *La Sonnambula*, *Robin Hood* and *Der Freischutz*. MISSES FANNY and MARIA TERNAN and Mr. A. ST. ALBYN were in the various casts. Rosenthal died in 1902.

FRANK HARVEY (1842-1903). At Lynn January 22nd 1883 with Madame Beatrice's Company, he appeared as John Tressider in *The Workman*, and in the leading parts in *Frou-frou*, *The Woman of the People*, *Love and Honour* and *The School for Scandal*. He was supported by CARTER EDWARDS, CHARLOTTE SAUNDERS (noted as "an old woman"), and Miss A. BALDWIN, who during Madame Beatrice's illness, successfully played her parts.

CHARLES DILLON (tragedian) has walked our boards three times; he was the original "Belphegor." In 1879, he appeared in *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Taming the Shrew*, *The Gamester* and *The Wonder*; and the next year in the name-parts in *The Stranger* and *King Lear*. On both occasions he was ably assisted by Miss BELLA MORTIMER.

JOHN LAWRENCE TOOLE (1830-1906), an inimitable comedian, who visited Lynn at least three times:—June 12th, 1863, as Michael Garner in *Dearer than Life*; also in his celebrated *Burlesque Lecture*, introducing imitations of popular actors, and as Mr. Tittums (original character) in *The Steeplechase, or Toole in the Pigskin* (July 8th-10th 1867). Again (May 16th 1871), as John Rumble in *Thoroughbred*.

MRS. CHARLES KEMBLE (15th to 24th February 1817), playing lead in *The Jealous Wife*, *The Soldier's Daughter*, *The Belle's Stratagem*, *Richard III.*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and her own drama, *Smiles and Tears*.

MRS. JORDAN, playing in *The School for Scandal*, and other comedies (March 1815).

MRS. HARRIET WAYLETT (1798-1851), actress and "the queen of English ballads." At Lynn in 1815, also in November 1844, when she sang "Kate Kearney," "Auld Robin Gray," "Ally Croaker," &c. She was regarded as one of the best soubrettes of the day.

MDE. VESTRIS, *née* Lucy Elizabeth Bartolozzi (1797-1856), married first, Auguste A. Vestris, a noted dancer (1813), and secondly Charles Mathews (1838). Her companies repeatedly visited Lynn, as, for example, the Royal Lyceum Opera Company in August 1853.

MISS ELLEN TREE (1805-1880), a leading tragedienne, who also married Charles Mathews. In Lynn, February 1841, as Christine in *The Youthful Queen*, Constance in *The Love Chase*; also in Sheridan Knowles's *Love*.

MISS CLARA FISHER. April 1823, the name-part in Home's *Douglas*; also in the *Heir at Law*, *Old and Young*, *The Spoiled Child*, &c.

MISS FANNY WALLACK appeared in *De Valancourt and Isabelle*, March 1842.

MRS. BUTLER, *née* Fanny Kemble (a daughter of the renowned Chas. Kemble); a leading lady, who married Lord Frederick Butler, Kilkenny Castle. In January 1848, she appeared as Mrs. Beverley in *The Gamester*—"the first and only time she can ever appear in Norfolk" (placard announcement). In November 1851, she gave a series of Shaksperian Readings, selected from *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, etc., in the Town Hall.

MRS. DAVENPORT, as Aunt Martha in *The Battle of Life*, dramatised by Miss Davenport, "from Dickens's last Christmas Story" (March 1847).

MISS DAVENPORT (her father was lessee) appeared as Carlo in *Asmodeus* (1847), and prior to this as "four sisters" in *A Woman's Worth* (1842). Received a "benefit" before going to America, 12th August 1849.

"LITTLE" LILIA ROSS appeared (September 1861) in *A Light Behind a Cloud*.

MISS FANNY REEVES, soprano, in *The Bohemian Girl*; also MISS THIRLWALL (1858).

MISS SARAH THORNE (1837-1899), leading lady, the wife of Thomas McKnight, a journalist. Her companies visited Lynn several times.

MISS HELEN FAUCIT, the eminent actress, has also appeared here. For years she took leading parts with Macready. By her marriage in 1851 she became Lady Martin. At her death some few years since, her husband, Sir Theodore Martin, bart., proposed erecting a gorgeous monument to her memory in the church at Stratford-upon-Avon, which threatened to eclipse Shakespeare's modest tablet and bust. Popular feeling resented this unseemly obtrusion, and the project was never carried out.

MIDDLE. BEATRICE (Beatrice Binda) died 1878, leaving Mr. Harvey her sole legatee.

MISS OLGA NETHERSOLE. To assist in the restoration of Congham church, this famous actress appeared in *Denise* (January 1898).

LESSEES OF THE THEATRE ROYAL.

A Mr. Hindes, other than an actor, was lessee of the Chequer Street Theatre (1804-14), and regularly received the only "benefit" given.

1815—1817	Mr. John Brunton (1773-1843); an actor, who, with his wife and family, often appeared in the old theatre. Belonging to Norwich (2, Theatre Square), he was manager of the Norwich theatre. His talented daughter Louisa married the Earl Craven (30th Dec., 1807). After the death of her husband (1825), she lived in strict privacy and died almost forgotten (27th Aug., 1860).
1817—1818	" Robert William Elliston; an actor (1774—1831), once manager of the Drury Lane Theatre.
1818—1821	" Brunton; a previous lessee.
1821—1829	" Thomas Masters; an amateur actor and literary man; also engaged in farming; lived at Shernbourne, Bawsey, and afterwards at Gaywood Hall. His only child married Robert Oxley Kendall—their second son was the late Thomas Marsters Kendall, surgeon, of Lynn. This lessee is said to have lost a fortune over his theatrical speculations; he was local correspondent to the <i>Norwich Mercury</i> , and published <i>A View of Agricultural Oppressions and their effects upon Society</i> (1798), and two volumes of <i>Poetical Anthology</i> (1833).
1829—1830	" David Fisher jun.; a second-rate eccentric comedian; born at East Dereham 1816, died 1887.
1830—1837	" John Smith.
1837—1841	" James Smith (1778-1851), many years manager of the Norwich Company of Comedians.
1841—1845	" George Smith; a "juvenile lead;" who is said to have failed through engaging a noted soprano—"Mrs. Wood" (née Mary Ann Paton), the wife of Lord William Pitt Lennox (member for Lynn, 1831-5), from whom she was divorced in 1831.
1845—1847	Theatre closed.
1847—1849	Mr. T. D. Davenport; an actor (1765—1843), at one time a member of the Covent Garden Theatre Company; married Mary Anne Harvey, an actress. Address: Marlborough house, Brompton.
1849—1850	" J. Clarence; a comedian.
1850—1851	Theatre apparently closed.

1851—1854	Mr. E. Hooper ; lived at Kensington.
1854—1869	„ Charles Gill ; comedian (1797—1869). Buckingham terrace, Lynn. Retired from management of Norwich theatre, 22 Nov., 1854.
1869—1875	„ John Francis Young ; tragedian (1821—1887). 14, St. James road, Lynn.
1875—1883	„ Horatio Jex ; clothier. 45, St. James street, Lynn.
1883—1904	„ Robert Wardale ; printer. South Everard street, Lynn.
1904—	„ J. Bannister Howard ; theatrical manager. Bedford street, Strand.

CHAPTER LXII.

The Voices of the Bells.

FOR a thousand years at least Christendom has responded to the voices of the bells. Across the widespread fields and solitary moorlands, over drowsy villages and populous towns, their far-reaching tones of mirth or sadness have been heard, upbraiding, warning, entreating, consoling and not infrequently cheering all those who have listened aright. For ages England “the ringing island” as it was anciently called, has been renowned for the sonorous melody and peculiar efficacy of its bells. Especially during the era immediately preceding the Reformation did they play an important part in the lives of our forefathers. Every church, and monastery, and religious house of whatever description, was amply furnished with these necessary adjuncts to divine worship and social decorum. Whilst most of the church towers contained three or four bells, the monasteries were provided with six at least, which, constituting not a united family circle, were disposed in various parts of the building—in the refectory, the cloister, the choir, the tower, the steeple and the clock turret.

The birth of a bell was celebrated with religious ceremony. The newly-shaped metal was seriously baptised ; and being named after some holy man or woman (or in the case of the heaviest after the patron saint to whom the church was dedicated) it was believed to possess a personality of its own. Anointed with *oleo chrismatis*, a compound of oil and balm, it was severely exorcised, and finally, solemnly blessed by the bishop. No wonder that in those superstitious times, bells were regarded as inordinately sacred ; and were supposed to be endowed with supernatural powers. The clanging boom of the church bells would scare away any pack of fiends, no matter how audacious, that might be hovering in the darkening air, and thus prevent an embryo storm or mature tempest. Their reverberating noise would extinguish the fiercest conflagration ; hence they were rung, not to summon assistance, as might wisely be supposed, but to subdue the flames. And, lastly their sound would actually recreate the dead. As, however, the pages of history are not overcrowded with instances of those, who have risen from their graves on hearing the sound of the church-going bell, the last-named statement might be accepted with silent reservation.

BELL-FOUNDRIES AT LENNE.

The custom for makers of bells to place their names upon specimens of their handicraft is of comparatively recent origin; hence our early bell-founders are unknown. The village of Claughton in Lancashire is said to possess the oldest dated bell in England. It was cast in 1296. The tenor bell in the parish of Worlington, Suffolk, though it has no date, may notwithstanding be quite as old if not a little older; it was moreover made at Bishop's Lenne. It bears an initial cross upon four steps, and the convincing



legend, *Johannes Godynge de Lenne me fecit*, that is, "John Godynge of Lenne made me." This is the earliest hint of a bell-foundry in Norfolk. The bell was conveyed to its destination all the way by water, for the river Lark was navigable six hundred years ago.

Now "Master John, the Founder of Bells," is entered upon the Lenne Tallage Roll, as a burgess paying half a mark as his share of the county subsidy (1299). Four years later, the very same amount is paid by Thomas *Belleyeter*, or, in other words, by Thomas the Bell-maker. From this fact it may be inferred that the business premises continued to exist, though the management thereof had passed into other hands—from Master John to Master Thomas, who was in turn succeeded by Master Edmund, for Edmund *Belleyeter* received from the chamberlain the sum of four shillings, being the balance of an old debt for a certain bell (1353). In the meantime when John of Gloucester was summoned to Ely by Alan de Walsingham, to superintend the casting of four bells, he sent someone to Lenne, to collect copper and tin for that purpose—a most unlikely place, except the metal could be obtained from a brother craftsman (1346).

Edmund *Belleyeter* was also a wealthy merchant and an important member of society; he was chosen a chamberlain (1385), and was three times mayor (1392-4-9). He was, moreover, instrumental in establishing the Gild of Saints Giles and Julian. Another Thomas *Belleyeter*, whose name appears in 1440 among the freemen of the borough, is mentioned in several documents connected with the probate of the will of the deceased Thomas, and might probably be a son.

The Manor of Snore Hall in Fordham is described in 1468 as late of Thomas Belyetter's and Margaret his wife. Combining this documentary evidence with what we can gather from lettering and initial crosses it seems (writes the late Canon Raven) that the *Master John, the Founder of Bells* of 1299, was a native of the village of Riston, as he is apparently the man called *Magister Johannes Riston* on the bell at Bexwell, while the tenor at Worlington, with the same type and initial cross, bears the words + *Johannes Godynge de Lenne me fecit*. The tenor at Wendling varies the spelling thus:— + *Jhoannes de Guddine fecit me*. I accept Mr. l'Estrange's suggestion (continues this learned authority) as to the probable identity of these Johns, and conclude with him that *Magister Johannes*, alias *Magister Johannes Riston*, alias *Johannes Godynge de Lenne*, alias *Johannes de Guddine*, made two bells at Wendling and that at Bexwell. From the style of lettering the Wood Rising tenor, now recast, which I saw in 1850, may be taken as the work of Thomas Belleyetere of 1333, to whom I am inclined to attribute the third at Trunch: while the bell at West Somerton is by another *Johannes de Lenne*, and the fourth at Sall is the handiwork of *Edmundus de Lenne*. All of this last group bear the initial cross. There may have been two or three founders of the name of Edmund between 1353 and 1418. I would suggest that these three bells were floated from Lynn and landed at convenient points on the coast. [Mason's *History of Norfolk*.]

The art of bell-making seems to have deserted our town with the disappearance of the family of Belleyeters. It was, however, temporarily revived in the 17th century by Charles Newman, who succeeded Christopher Graye, an unworthy member of the family of Miles Graye, a celebrated founder, of Ipswich. From a careful perusal of the parish book of St. Michael's, Cambridge, Canon Raven succeeded in tracing the movements of the nomadic Christopher to Haddenham, Cambridgeshire, where in 1684 his business was taken over by Charles Newman, who established a foundry at Lynn. Although our town possesses no specimens of his work, some thirty bells are to be found in the county. The tenor at St. Lawrence, Norwich (1702), was made by Newman; it was sent from Lynn to Blakeney, and was carted from thence to its destination. Thomas Newman, possibly a relative, started business as a bell-founder in Norwich about 1703.

OUR PARENT CHURCH.

The Reformation found the churches of England not only rich in bells but in every other requisite for divine service, but the hand of the despoiler wrought sad havoc. For four centuries at least, bells have hung in the north-west tower of St. Margaret's church. An entry in the churchwarden's book reads:—"Paid for ij hooks to hang the dore on that goeth out of the *belfrye* into the *sharp* steeple, for a new key and for a staple for the lock to the same dore, ix d. More for a lock and a key for the dore that goeth into the Roofe ov'r the *flatt* steeple where the bells hang, viij d." (1617.) The other tower at a more distant date also contained a belfry. In confirmation we point to the traces of an old framework.

From the return of the Church Goods (1553), we learn there were five steeple bells, weighing by estimation 90 cwts.; the first (and we add the names by which they were known in 1592) or the *Saint Margaret* 28 cwts., the second or the *Trinity* 22 cwts., the third or the *St. Nicholas* 18 cwts., the fourth or the *St. John* 14 cwts., and the fifth or the *St. Thomas* 10 cwts. At 15s. per cwt., they were valued by the

Commissioners at £67 10s. The bell-claps by estimation weighed 2 cwts., and are priced at 15s.

Towards the end of the 16th century the belfry was thoroughly repaired—a new frame was provided and the two principal bells were carried by water to the foundry of John Draper to be recast. Here is a list of the payments relating thereto:—

y. (item) for drawing the bell from ye comen stayes yerd into the Church yerd	00 : 02 : 10
y. paid to the porters to help the carter...	00 : 01 : 00
y. paid to 2 porters to helpe about the waying of the bell and to carry & recarry the skales & the waytts	00 : 01 : 00
y. paid for a string used about the waying and the hoysing upp ye bell into ye steple and for a towe (line) for the same use ...	00 : 01 : 06
y. paid to John Adams for his dayes work about the bell & for the hire of his block	00 : 02 : 10
y. paid to 4 marryners to help about ye hoysing upp the bell	00 : 03 : 00
y. gaven them in bere & bread	00 : 00 : 04
y. paid the Kelman for caridg the bell mettle to Thetford & for bringing ye bell back againe	00 : 16 : 00
y. paid the belfounder to bestow uppon his men att home p mr maior has apointed	00 : 02 : 00
y. paid to ij porters to helpe father Read to hange the margarett fast in the stock	00 : 00 : 04

The above particulars relate to the “Bell Margaret,” as it was at this period disrespectfully styled.

Concerning the other bell we read:—

Moreover the same year (1598) the Towne did cause to be newe cast. A bell caled the *Trinitye*, beinge then riven & the charge was answered by the Towne stock. The accompt is in breiff as followeth:

Imps: delvred to John Draper of Thetfor belfownder, the Bell caled the Treinity wich beinge broken in pece and wayed conteyned in waight 24 C : 00 qr : 16 li. (24 cwts. 16 lbs).

Red back again from hym the bell new cast waying 25 C : 02 qr : 26 li.

So there was in overplus of wayht morthen ye old bell wayed 1 C : 2 qr 10 li, for which by composition was to be alowed hym att 6d. p li, amounting to Just 04 : 09 : 00.

Mor pd to the sayde John Dra'p for new casting the bell by composition . . 08 : 00 : 00.

Disregarding quaint spelling, the other items may be summarised:—

s. d.	
5 0	To John Adams for 2 days' work when the bell was taken down.
5 0	To three labourers for 3 days' work.
1 2	For bread and beer.
1 0	Carriage from the Church to the boat.
20 0	” ” Lynn to Thetford and back.
6 0	” ” crane to the church.
1 0	For writing the bond or contract between the parish and the bell-founder.
1 0	For bread and beer at the hanging.
6 6	For hanging the <i>Trinity</i> .
2	For the carrying home of a borrowed hawser.

In 1626 the “Saint Thomas” was recast at the Thetford foundry at a cost of £11 1s. As the new bell weighed 1 qr. 19½ lbs. more than the old one, payment was allowed for the extra metal. John Draper, moreover, recast the clock bell in 1610 for £5.

An unforeseen event in connection with the hanging of the "Saint Thomas" is recorded:—

Itm: Paid to two men that carried the man out of the steeple that was wounded there vijd.

Itm: Paid to the woman where he laie, after he was wounded to p'vide him such things as was needful for him... .. ijs. vijd.

Possibly this is the poor fellow to whom Richards refers, under date 1621.

John and Thomas Draper appear to have succeeded their father Thomas in business. He was mayor of Thetford in 1592. The foundry ceased to exist when John died (1644). A large number of John Draper's bells, some of them being of excellent tone, are still to be seen in East Anglia.

The old clock bell in the lantern of St. Margaret's bore the inscription "John Draper made me 1613," and the bell now used as a striking bell in the steeple of St. Nicholas' constitutes the only specimen of his workmanship we to-day possess. The legend upon its shoulders is "I.D. 1613."

Three bells were recast by Thomas Norris, of Stamford, to defray which £40 was borrowed from the town stock (1646-7). These bells were "the Margaret," the fourth bell, and "the John." There seems to have been a desire among the parishioners to execute this undertaking in as economical a way as possible. Four men were deputed to canvass the town for old metal; they collected pots, platters, basins, lavers, kettles and other things, which weighed 1 cwt. 1 qr. 23 lbs., and received 6s. as their remuneration. One of the eagle lecterns, which had been broken and repeatedly repaired to no purpose, was thrown in. Forty men were employed in lowering the great bell, which was conveyed on board a keel to Gunworth ferry. The churchwardens were present at the casting to see that their own metal was used; they perhaps believed the old bell-metal contained a quantity of silver, because in bygone times the casting of bells was a religious ceremony, and many coins and trinkets were often thrown into the seething cauldron. For their services at Stamford the churchwardens received twenty shillings. Tobias Norris, whose bells are to be found in Marshland, established the business at Stamford, where he died and was buried (1626).

The "little bell," possibly "the Saint Thomas," was also recast the same year by Andrew Gurney, of Bury St. Edmunds. The entry stands thus:—

May 22: For casting 11 C., 02 q. 19 li. mettall at 12s. p C. is 6 li. 19s. 06d., for waste 2 q. 23 li. at 6s. is 11s. 6d. (?) Over mettall 10 li. at 8d. is 6s. 8d. all together. . . 07: 17: 08

To Peter Radley his keele to Thetford bridg and home ... 10/-.

To encourage change-ringing the biggest and the least bells were afterwards purposely broken in order to make a full ring of eight (1663). This was apparently done without the unanimous approval of the parishioners, who, as will be seen, refused to be rated to pay for what they considered an unnecessary alteration. From the minutes of the parish meeting on Easter Monday, the 11th of April,

1644, at which the bell charges were increased, we learn the greatest bell retained its old cognomen and the *seventh* bell was "now named the Thomas." A sixth and a fifth bell are also mentioned. The minutes end as follow:—

It is further ordered and declared by the parishioners now present that their giving their consent and approbation to what the churchwardens have done in reference to the new casting of the bells be no ways binding to the parishioners (who are not) to be made liable to an assessment for the same; the work being begun and carried on by a voluntary contribution of some of the inhabitants.

Two years later, it was reported, that "the Margaret" and likewise the sixth bell were split. The parishioners decided to have them recast. A covenant was forthwith made, whereby John Darbie, of Ipswich, agreed to do the work at 23s. per cwt. for the old and 112s. per cwt. for the new metal used for that purpose. His bells were exceptionally good, but in this instance the result does not seem to have proved satisfactory, because in 1671 Messrs. Cowell and Rapiere were busy in the belfry chipping and tuning.

In 1766 an octave in C was made by Messrs. Lester and Pack, of Whitechapel. Six, of this the final recasting, are still in the tower. The D bell, having been accidentally injured, was recast (1800); the E bell was also recast (1893). As will be seen two new bells were added (1887).

The Whitechapel foundry was established by William Mott in the 16th century; at a later date it passed into the hands of Lester and Pack, who entrusted the moulding to William Chapman, a nephew of the senior partner. Chapman subsequently became a partner, and the firm was henceforth known as that of Pack and Chapman. At the casting of the Great Bell at Canterbury a young man, William Mears, evinced unusual interest. Chapman promised to teach him the art, if he would go with him to London. He did so, and the business, now in the hands of the Mears' family, is known as Mears and Stainbank.

It will be noted that nine bells in the belfry of St. Margaret's were made by the same firm, though under *two* different names.

THE PRESENT RING OF TEN.

10th. C.—(tenor), 30 cwt., diameter at the mouth 4ft. 8ins. Inscribed:—

"Lester and Pack, London, fecit 1766.

Jenkins Mather Leet, churchwarden."

9th. D.—Inscribed:—

"T. Osborn, Downham: A.D. 1800."

This so-called "Maiden bell" was never in tune until chipped by Messrs. G. Day & Son, of Eye, in 1893.

The foundry at Downham Market was established in 1779 by Thomas Osborn, who for a time was associated with Robert Patrick, of London. A grandson, William Dobson, was afterwards taken into partnership. Mears, of Whitechapel, however, bought the business in 1833.

8th. E.—Re-cast and hung by Messrs. Day & Son, of Eye, in 1893. Inscribed:—

"Ye ringers all that prize your health and happiness,

Be sober, merry wise, and you'll the same possess.

E. G. A. Winter, vicar; W. Burkitt, C. H. Ayre, churchwardens.

Lester & Pack, of London, fecit 1766. Messrs. Mears & Stainbank. Whitechapel Foundry, London, re-fecit 1893."

7th, F.—Inscribed :—

“Honour both to God and King
Our voices shall in *consort* ring.
Lester & Pack, London, fecit 1766.”

6th, G.—Inscribed :—

“Musick is medicine to the mind.
Lester & Pack, London, fecit 1766.”

5th, A.—Inscribed :—

“Peace and good neighbourhood.
Lester & Pack, London, fecit 1766.”

4th, B.—Inscribed :—

“Lester & Pack, London, fecit 1766.”

3rd, C.—Inscribed :—

“Lester & Pack, London, fecit 1766.”

2nd, D.—Inscribed :—

“Mears & Stainbank, London.

Albert.

This bell was given by me, William Burkitt, Mayor, in honour of
Queen Victoria's Jubilee, June 20th, 1887. B. Dale, vicar ;
William Burkitt, Charles Ayre, churchwardens.”

1st, E.—(treble). Inscribed :—

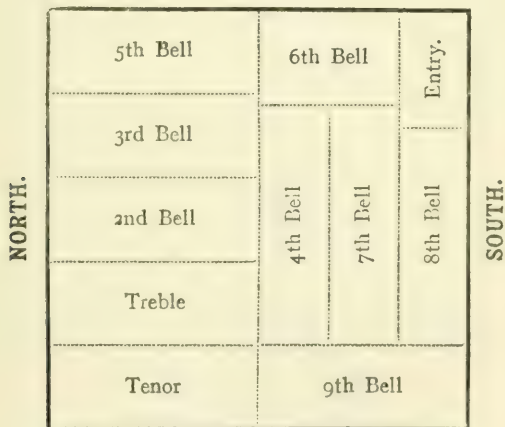
“Mears & Stainbank, founders, London.

Victoria.

This bell was given by me, Emma Rodwell Burkitt, Mayoress, in
honour of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, June 20th, 1887. B. Dale,
vicar ; William Burkitt, Charles Ayre, churchwardens.”

A marble tablet, inside the church by the west door, ascribes
the gift of the *treble* to Mr. Burkitt and the *2nd*, or the D bell, to
Mrs. Burkitt. This is incorrect, as the inscriptions on the bells
testify.

EAST.



WEST.

PLAN OF ST. MARGARET'S BELFRY.

The direction of the printing shews the present swing of the
bells.

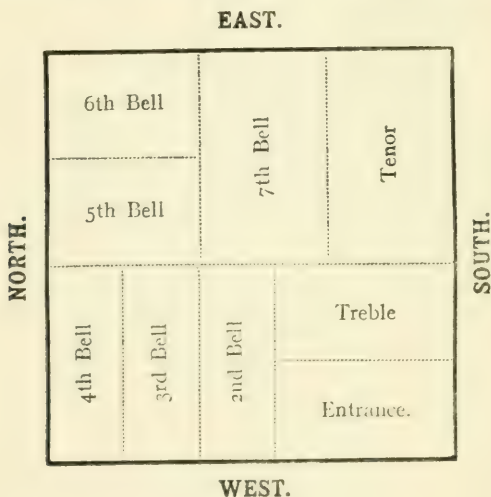
THE FIRST OFFSPRING.

The old bell in the tower of St. Nicholas, weighing 15 cwts., and the small saunce bell of 1553, have given place to a tuneful octave in F, which was cast by Taylor & Co., of Loughborough (1870). The present tenor weighs 20cwts. and is 3 ft. 11 inches in diameter.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that the "Great Paul" of London, said to be the largest bell in the world, which is actually rung in the technical sense of being revolved in the usual manner, was made by the same firm at a cost of £3,000. The dimensions of this gigantic bell are: height, 8 ft. 10 in.; diameter, 9 ft. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; and the actual weight 16 tons 14 cwts. 2 qrs. 19 lbs. (20 tons allowed in the casting). The cooling of this mass of molten metal took six days.

PLAN OF ST. NICHOLAS' BELRY.

The direction of printing shews the present "swing."



SILENT AND FORGOTTEN.

The defenceless condition of our town was the ostensible excuse for the partial spoliation of the second ecclesiastical offspring—the chapel-of-ease dedicated to St. James. In the time of Henry VIII. this steeple contained four bells, which, with the one in the charnel house, were valued at £200. On the 24th of January, 1550, the Assembly made an order for the selling of these bells,—a common occurrence in Reformation times. When the building was visited by the Commissioners, three years later, they reported the existence of only "one great bell, weighing 20 cwts.," which was sold to Mr. Walter for £20, and the money used in repairing St. Margaret's church (1560).

Allsaints' church owned "iiijer greatt bellys weying by estymacon xxxvj c.; the grettest bell xij c., the third bell x c., the second bell viij c., the lyttel belle vj c.," and "j sance belle weying half a c." [*Return of Church Goods: 1553.*]

The square embattled tower fell in 1763, and the lead, timber and the five tunable bells, to which Parkin and Richards refer, were sold. The weight of the bells is thus given:—

1st bell	...	...	...	4 cwt.	2 qrs.	9 lbs.
2nd "	...	...	...	9 "	2 "	6 "
3rd "	...	...	...	6 "	2 "	24 "
4th "	...	...	...	5 "	2 "	5 "
5th, or Great Bell	...	12	...	0 "	17	...

After allowing certain deductions in the total weight for the iron-work attached, they were purchased by Joseph Richardson, who was churchwarden in 1772, for the sum of £152 10s. 8d., that is 38 cwt. 2 qrs. 13 lbs. of metal at £3 19s. per cwt. The church rate 14 pence in the £ in 1764 produced £140, and 12 pence in the £ (assessment) in 1765 and 1766 brought in £120 and £190. With these and other sums the west end was restored with Ely white bricks, and after the small bell-cote was completed £19 3s. was paid to Joseph Richardson for a bell to hang therein, which weighed 2 cwt. 3 qrs. 4 lbs. (23rd December 1765). The old bells were sold, it will be noticed, at £3 19s. per cwt., whilst nearly £7 per cwt. was charged for the new one.*

The earliest mention of a

VOLUNTARY SUBSCRIPTION

occurs in connection with St. Margaret's belfry. Instead of a church rate being proposed by the parishioners, in vestry assembled, the Corporation generally held themselves responsible for the repair of our churches. Two important discoveries were made at this juncture. The belfry was unsafe and the parochial exchequer was empty. The first concerned everybody; the second an unfortunate churchwarden, Bartholomew System, only. As a prudent man, he objected to incur an expense, which there was no prospect of defraying, except by impoverishing his own personal estate. In this dilemma, for Bartholomew kept few secrets, the Corporation expressed their willingness to solve the difficulty in the usual manner; but the three chaplains took the matter in hand. They explained the pecuniary situation to their respective congregations, who immediately contributed to a belfry fund. Instead of a church rate or borough rate, the sum of £25 was raised voluntarily (1420).

REGULATIONS FOR RINGING.

The soul's bell or the passing bell was tolled when the soul of a parishioner was quitting its earthly tenement, for two distinct purposes—to solicit the earnest prayers of all devout Christians and

* The old bells of All Saints' Church are neither in the Cathedral nor St Mary's Church, Ely, as is often stated.

to drive away the throng of evil spirits hovering around and ready to pounce upon their prey. The booming iteration of the passing bell was supposed to hold them aloof, so that the soul enjoyed, what sportsmen term *law*—that is, a fair start on its uncertain and adventurous flight.

In 1597, the churchwardens of St. Margaret received eleven shillings and eight pence for seven soul-peals of the great bell, at twenty pence per peal. Supplying the necessary marks of punctuation the passage stands thus: "Ronge for Katron willett, wydow hill, Mr. Warner, Mrs. Valengers — wydow, Robert Maykins, the wyfe of Wylem Bland, and John Marshall." The "knelling" of the bell was prohibited between the hours of nine in the evening and four in the morning, so that the peace of the town might not be disturbed during the dark watches of the night (1620).

The payment for the service of the bells varied; it was directly proportionate to the size of the bell, or in other words, the greater the bell the higher was the fee charged. In this usage, which was common towards the close of the 17th century, may be detected the survival of the mediæval superstition to which reference has already been made. The greatest bell could be heard farthest, hence it was naturally assumed that many more prayers would be secured for the eternal repose of the dying; and the influence scaring away evil spirits would not only be greater because the sound was louder, but it would be felt over a much larger area. In 1626-7, the year's income arising from the "two greatest bells" amounted to £8 5s. 2d.; six shillings and eight pence being charged for a so-called single peal on "the Margaret," and one shilling and eight pence only for a similar peal on "the Thomas," the next bell in order.

"The introduction of change-ringing has had a serious effect upon the stability of some of our old towers. An erection that was thoroughly capable of withstanding wind and weather, and of bearing the weight of its two or three bells, gently swung as they were on their half-wheels, has frequently been put to a test beyond its strength when required to endure the swaying caused by eight or ten bells revolved in rapid succession, and that occasionally for an hour or more at a time" (Rev. G. S. Tyack, B.A., in *A Book about the Bells*). Even when arranged to swing in opposite directions to neutralise to some extent the force of their revolutions, the effect has proved disastrous.

At the parish meeting, May 3rd, 1641, it was thought expedient even to restrict the tolling of the heaviest bell because the constant vibration endangered the stability of the tower. It was, moreover, unanimously resolved that no bell should be tolled for longer than an hour on each occasion, and that ten shillings should be charged for "the peal," four-fifths of which was to be set aside for church purposes, and the remainder equally divided between the clerk and the ringer. Besides it was decided that it should be rung only at the death and funeral of the mayor, the recorder, the aldermen, the town clerk, the common councillors, or of their wives, or such other persons of quality as the mayor himself might determine.

A more elaborate scheme of bell-charges was adopted in 1664. A fee of ten shillings was demanded for the use of "the Margaret," four-fifths being retained, and the rest handed to the clerk, who presumably rang the bell. For the seventh bell, "the Thomas," five shillings was charged, of which the clerk received one-half. The fees for the sixth and the fifth bell were one shilling, and eightpence respectively. These payments the clerk received without any deductions. Double peals, that is, one when the person was dying and another at the funeral, cost twice the usual fee. The bell-charges were increased to 16s. for "the Margaret," but reduced to 2s. 6d. in the case of "the Thomas" (1671).

CHANGE-RINGING.

It was once the duty of the clergy to summon their parishioners to divine worship by sounding the bells; but unscientific ringing by laymen was common in the middle of the 16th century. Referring to the year 1582, Richards writes—"Ringing having been here (in Lynn) for some time disused, certain young fellows attempting to revive it, were opposed by divers of the aldermen, which occasioned no small disturbance and the spending of a great deal of money. But it is not said," he goes on, "in what way it was spent or how the affair ended." Early in the next century, change-ringing of a scientific character was invented and introduced. Various associations of "youths" and "scholars" were moreover started in different parts of the kingdom. A ring of three or four bells, however, was insufficient for the proper development of the art, hence parishes of any pretension grew ambitious of possessing at least six bells. Where the bells in the belfry were heavy no great expense was incurred; they were simply melted down into a larger ring of smaller bells. This, the prevailing custom, was apparently carried into effect at Lynn.

For years men were satisfied with small and reasonable achievements, and considered the Cambridge peal of eight-and-forty the acme of change-ringing; but variations of far greater magnitude were soon attempted, and peals of five and six thousand changes have been rung in our borough. Our bells were cast by most reputable founders; their tone is excellent; and our ringers have certainly accomplished very creditable results. Nevertheless, let no one anticipate ever hearing a complete peal on St. Margaret's "ring of ten," because, as change-ringing consists in sounding a ring of bells according to every possible combination, each of which must be used only once, it would engage our ringers—ringing twenty-four changes a minute, and working twelve hours a day—210 days to exhaust the 3,622,890 permutations derivable from ten bells!

Owing chiefly to a dearth of skilled ringers our bells are not rung on Sundays to call people to worship; they are *chimed* instead. At St. Margaret's the primitive method technically known as "clocking" unfortunately continues. A rope is attached to the clapper, which is periodically drawn up to the side or sound-bow of the bell. Now this system cannot be too strongly condemned, as

being the direct cause of the majority of cracked bells. The sudden impact makes the bell vibrate freely and swing slightly at the same time; if the clapper then strike the receding side of the bell, there is a tendency for them to cling together, as it were, for a while. This touching, though of short duration, always checks the vibration and very often cracks the bell. The risk is greatest when four or five of our charming ring of ten are violently "clocked" by inexperienced hands at the outbreak of a fire. The bells of St. Margaret's are certainly worthy of the noble edifice in which they are placed. The tenor, especially for its weight, is unequalled in tone, and it would be unpardonable if it were spoilt through this truly reprehensible practice.

Failing the proper and legitimate ringing of our bells, the remedy lies in adopting the system in vogue at St. Nicholas', where a chiming apparatus, invented by the late Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, of Clyst St. George, Devonshire, an authority on bells and bell-ringing, has been used for several years. By this arrangement, a special hammer, much lighter than the clapper, is fixed to a beam running beneath the frame or cage in which the bell is suspended. It touches the bell gently, but does not remain in contact. This reduces the risk of cracking to a minimum.

OUR STEEPLE BOARDS.

In St. Margaret's belfry are found the records of four campanological exploits:—

1—1746-7. Jany 20th. There was Rung, ye 5 Thousand and Forty Changes of Gathron's Trebles in 3 hours and 40 minutes by Ringers of ye Steeple named.*

Treble	Jn. Atkin	5th	Jos. Raven
2nd	Jn. Streets	6th	Wil. Moore
3rd	Mes. Atmore	7th	Ant. Berry
4th	Jn. Parkinson	8th	Char. Hill

2—February 23rd, 1770. Was Rung in this Steeple a compleat peal of 5,040 Changes of Bob Major in 3 hours and 28 minutes by the undermentioned persons viz.,

Treble	Robt. Field	5th	Jos. Raven
2nd	Jno. Parkinson	6th	Nathl. Williamson
	(who called the peal)	7th	Thos. Crane
3rd	T. Killingbank	Tenor	Jno. Squires
4th	Jno. Bell		

3—November 5th, 1796. Was Rung a Complete Peal of 6,000 Changes (of Bob Major) in 4 hours and 10 minutes by the Ringers of this Steple, viz.,

Treble	Wm. Russell	5th	Wm. Jackaman
2nd	Jno. Bell	6th	Henry Smith
3rd	Jno. Bodham	7th	Edm. Bodham
	(who called the peal)	Tenor	Thos. Ball, junr.
4th	Ben. Seaman		

* From the time taken for the ringing of this peal it is generally inferred that the old bells were heavier than the present. No mention is made of any conductor.

4—Norwich Diocesan Association. On Friday, January 12th, 1894, a peal of Bob Major, 5,024 Changes, was rung in this Steeple in three hours 28 minutes by the Lynn Company :—

Treble	W. G. Cross	5th	W. Brooke
2nd	T. W. Giles	6th	W. Curston
3rd	J. W. Sedgley	7th	Robt. Crome
4th	F. R. Bacon	Tenor	G. Holland

Composed and conducted by J. W. Sedgley.
 E. G. A. Winter, Vicar.
 W. Burkitt } Churchwardens.
 C. H. Ayre }

The *Norwich Mercury* records the following performance, for which there is no peal-board :—

The fine-toned peal of eight musical bells at St. Margaret's Church, Lynn, having been newly hung and put in proper order by Thomas and Joshua Hurry, and Thursday the 19th of February 1824 being the day appointed for ringing them, the gentlemen and inhabitants of the town were gratified with the improvement, and likewise with a peal that was rung on them of 5,040 Bob Major; and the bold and regular striking reflect great credit on the Company.

William Jackman	Treble	Thomas Bell	5
James Frost	2	Joshua Hurry	6
Francis Lake	3	Thomas Nelson	7
James King	4	Thomas Hurry	Tenor

There are three boards in the tower of St. Nicholas' bearing these records :—

(1)—This peal of bells was opened on 5th July, 1870, the following companies competing—Lynn, Norwich (St. Peter Mancroft), Dereham and a mixed company.

1st Lynn; 2nd Norwich; 3rd Dereham.

Lynn Company :—

Treble	J. Taylor	5	T. Bryant
2	J. W. Taylor	6	T. Taylor
3	H. Holland	7	E. Lockwood
4	M. True	Tenor	W. Agger

(2)—On the 27th December, 1872, a complete peal of 5,040 changes of Bob Major was rung on this peal of bells in 3 hours and 26 minutes by the following :—

Treble	J. Taylor	5	R. Lockwood
2	J. W. Taylor	6	T. Taylor
3	H. Holland	7	T. Bryant
4	M. True	Tenor	D. Greeves

Conducted by J. W. Taylor.
 L. W. Jarvis } Chapelwardens.
 E. M. Beloe }

(3)—King's Lynn, St. Nicholas. On the Feast of Epiphany, January 6th, 1893, a peal of Bob Major 5,040 changes, Time, 3hrs. 15m. Tenor 20 cwt.

W. G. Cross	Treble	W. Brooke	5
Chris. Crome	2	W. Curston	6
J. W. Sedgley	3	Robt. Crome	7
T. W. Giles	4	G. Holland	Tenor

Conducted by J. W. Sedgley.
 E. G. A. Winter, Vicar.
 E. M. Beloe } Chapelwardens.
 H. Plowright }

Although there is no board, the file of the *Norwich Mercury* preserves the following event :—

St. Nicholas', Lynn. On Wednesday, February 4th, 1824, 5,264 Bob Major in 3 hours and 5 minutes.

Thomas Hurry	Treble	William Jackman	5
James Frost	2	Thomas Bell	6
James King	3	Thomas Nelson	7
Francis Lake	4	John Botham	Tenor

Conducted by T. Hurry.

[The peal was rung on the old bells, which were lighter.]

SECULAR PURPOSES.

The anniversaries of the Coronation of our sovereigns were celebrated with campanological expressions of loyalty. The defeat of the Spanish Armada and the coronation of James I. happened on St. James' day (July 25th), and the accession of Queen Elizabeth on St. Hugh's day (Nov. 17th); hence these holy days have gained a fictitious prominence. Strange singers were often engaged to celebrate these auspicious events, and they and the local ringers were hospitably entertained with a bountiful supply of cakes and beer. Preparations, though not on an extensive scale, were made for the becoming observance of Her Majesty's coronation in 1598. The churchwardens paid 10s. for a horse-hide and a calf's skin to make new baldricks. The clappers were then fastened into the crown of the bells with thongs of white leather, which quickly wore away, hence the purchase of horse-hides, etc., was a frequent item. Tallow and "nete's fotes oyle" were procured to lubricate the bearings, whilst for the sustenance of the ringers 5s. was expended for a kilderkin of strong beer, 1s. 3d. for a like supply of ordinary beer, and 3s. 4d. for bread—cheese always figures as an unknown quantity. When Sir Chas. Popham, the Lord Chief Justice, came to Lynn, the ringers' repast consisted once more of cakes and beer (1594). In lieu of the ordinary enervating bill of fare, 3s. 4d. was handed the ringers for their performance on Valentine's day (1634).

To please his royal mistress the Bishop of Norwich (John Parkhurst) issued strict injunctions to the clergy respecting the ringing of their church bells. Omitting all unnecessary flourishes, one peal only, and that a short one, might be rung at noon or curfew, and at the burial of the dead (1561). Of course His Majesty's miraculous escape was annually celebrated, after the reading of the statute relating to Gunpowder Treason and the reciting of the special prayer on the morning of November the 5th, in St. Margaret's church.

Throughout the Commonwealth the voices of the bells were, as a rule, silenced; and the bells themselves in some cases were either stolen or destroyed. However, after the capitulation of our borough to the Parliamentary forces (1643), and throughout the whole interregnum a great and unusual impetus was given to bell-ringing. Although the strait-laced Puritans deprecated such frivolity in other places, they evidently thought a course of bell-ringing might teach the Lynn malignants a valuable lesson. On the 15th of November there was ringing to celebrate the Earl of Manchester's advent into

our borough; indeed, every advantage gained by the Roundheads was made a pretext for municipal exultation. A list of so-called

THANKSGIVING PEALS

will amply vouch for the above assertion.

July 6. (1644) To the Ringers at the thankesgiueing for the Yorke victory (not Naesby fight) 5s. and for candles for them jd.	00 : 05 : 01
Octob. 31. To them at the thankesgiueing for takeing Newcastle	00 : 04 : 00
Novemb. 5.—To the Ringers at the accustomed thankesgiueing for deliuerance from Popish conspiracy in the gunn powder treason	00 : 06 : 08
Decemb. 10.—To them at the thankesgiueing for takeing Crowland	00 : 02 : 00
March 20.—To them at the thankesgiueing for takeing Shrewsberry	00 : 03 : 00
March 27, 1645.—To the Ringers at the Anniversary thankesgiueing for the joyfull Coronation of King Charles	00 : 05 : 00
Aprill 17.—To the Ringers when Coll. Hubbert (Colonel James Hobart) was chosen Governour... ..	00 : 02 : 00
June 19, to Ringers at first hearing Naseby victory by mr Maior's order	00 : 05 : 00
June 26, to Ringers for same victory by a sett day from the Parliament... ..	00 : 05 : 00
June 22, to Ringers for Sr. Tho.: ffairfax successe in the west by same order	00 : 05 : 00
Sept. 26. to them for takeing Devizes, Exetur (Exeter); Prince brought to oxford, Mr. Maior's order	00 : 02 : 00
Octob. 16, to them for taking Bristow (Bristol), Bridgwater, Devizes; C. Poynes (Colonel Poyntz) p's'p (prosper) at chester	00 : 05 : 00
Feb. 12: To the Ringers for takeing the towne of Dartmouth a p'lia't day	00 : 03 : 00
No. 5. To the Ringers at thankesgiueing for deliuerance from powder plot	00 : 06 : 00
Dec. 17. To them for preservation of ye Associated Counties. p'liam't order	00 : 04 : 00
March 27 (1646) To them at thankesgiueing for King Charles coronation	00 : 05 : 00

The casting of a bell is said to have been a rare event during the dark and unsettled times immediately preceding the Puritan ascendancy, but in 1647 "the Margaret" was recast by John Norris of Peterborough, and money was expended upon our chimes. It is surprising that the anniversary of the accession to the throne of our ill-fated sovereign King Charles was celebrated by the ringing of St. Margaret's bells throughout the civil war, with one exception—the year of the siege (1643), despite the fact that Cromwell's forces occupied the town and Presbyterian ministers the pulpit of the church.

CARILLONS OR MECHANICAL CHIMES

whose principle of construction was that of the musical box, were fixed in the belfries of SS. Margaret and Nicholas in 1566 and 1628 respectively. A large drum or barrel, studded with pegs, was driven by clockwork; the pegs raised levers, which pulled wires, connected with hammers, in the bell-chamber. A different tune was probably played each day of the week. In 1592, the apparatus in St. Margaret's played upon five bells. The great bell, the fourth, the

third, and the "two trebles" were then repaired at a cost of £2 9s. 8d. Two tunes were included; they, however, constituted but a part of the sonorous *répertoire*. The first chimes upon *eight* bells were set up at the charge of Sir John Thorowgood of Grimston, afterwards of Kensington, London (1667). A person was specially employed to keep the chimes in order; also to regulate the moondial, a mechanism propelled also by clockwork which shewed the hour of the day and the increase and decrease of the planet.

To the solitary bells far up the grey, sombre towers of St. Margaret and St. Nicholas, our forefathers were indeed indebted, not for the jubilant, palpitating peal alone, but for far sweeter bursts of rippling melody, which floated over their smoke-wreathed cottages. How inexpressibly pleasing to them those aerial waves of clear mellow music, wafted hither and thither by the capricious breeze; now striking the ear with intrusive importunity or bold defiance, and then faintly whispering in timid yet articulate syllables their ceaseless message of enduring love, of future happiness, of perfect peace. And though we hear no more the liquid chimes singing, in Cloudland, a familiar hymn of thankfulness, the voices in the steeple are not silent, neither are our "sweet bells jangled out of tune and harsh." Surely Longfellow's lines are in a measure appropriate even to the bells of Lynn in Norfolk:—

Borne on the evening wind across the crimson twilight
O'er land and sea they rise and fall, O Bells of Lynn!
The fisherman in his boat, far out beyond the headland,
Listens and leisurely rows ashore, O Bells of Lynn
And down the darkening coast run the tumultuous surges,
And clap their hands and shout to you, O Bells of Lynn!

CHAPTER LXIII.

Crimes and Penalties.

"WE have a saying to the effect that 'a man may commit murder in Lynn without fear of the gallows.' " As, however, our annals abound with crimes most reprehensible in their atrocity, as well as with penalties subsequently inflicted, which certainly were in Chatham's words "alike repugnant to every principle of morality and every feeling of humanity," the adage quoted by the late W. P. Burnet could only apply to our borough in its degenerate state, that is immediately before the visit of the Royal Commissioners (1834).

History at one time was indeed, as Gibbon puts it, "little more than a register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind." The pillory and the stocks, as well as the gallows, the gibbet and the stake, were frequently employed in days happily gone by, so that a ghastly and deterrent influence might pervade the minds of the unscrupulous, and thus insure the comfort and safety of the King's

liege subjects. When our population was to a large extent a floating one, crimes of the most flagrant description were common enough. The surrounding woods, heaths and brieries concealed hordes of valiant vagabonds, who either pounced upon the timid wayfarer, or boldly entering the borough, slew and afterwards robbed the hospitable burgesses with whom they sojourned. Our towns-men—and women too, for the word must be understood in a generic sense—were by no means criminally immaculate. An inverted beer barrel made a capital cloak for the drunkard, and a hoop-iron helmet an excellent bridle for the inveterate gossip. For the pilfering loafer there was the branding-iron by which his cheeks or hands were “kissed”; the lash for the hopelessly incorrigible; and for the raving termagant there were the ducking-stool—an easy arm-chair—and the cool pellucid stream. Notwithstanding, quarrels and the effusion of hot blood were the order of the day, and manslaughter and murder were by no means unheard-of occurrences. In minor offences justice was administered in a rough, ready and effective sort of way. But woe betide the poor wretch who found himself in durance vile, for gaol deliveries were not then held at short intervals. Prisoners languished for years in dreadful dens and literally rotted away whilst awaiting their trial; and even when at length the auspicious day came, the witnesses themselves were generally dead.

Let us unearth a few forgotten cases from

THE REGISTER OF CRIMES.

John Hilde, at the head of a band of ruffians, feloniously entered the house of Thomas Woodhouse within the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen on the Gaywood road and stole therefrom articles valued at £8 15s. 1d., to wit, a chalice with paten, silver gilt 30s., a manual 26s. 8d., eight premeres (books used by the brethren) 24s., a hood and bonnet 16s., a silk zone, or girdle, harnessed with silver 8s., a purse containing 23s. 9d. and sundry other goods amounting to 46s. 8d. On the Friday before Passion Sunday, they were tried by William Yelverton, a justice of the pleas, and the jurats of Lynn. Three of the number were convicted, and the rest, two of whom claimed *benefit of clergy* (hereinafter to be explained), were acquitted. Some of the same party were further charged with stealing several pieces of cloth, which the fullers were drying in John Piggot's field, called “Le Balle.” One already convicted, and two previously acquitted, were found guilty. (*Gaol Delivery Roll*: 1455.)

Margaret Rok was fined 6 pence “for hamsoken on Clara Milk-wuman”; * and Geoffrey Tupet, who retailed diseased meat to his neighbours, was fined 12 pence, as he well deserved. (*Leet Roll*: 1334.)

Robert Burmond, of Gaywood, must not be slighted. He used to loiter in alehouses all day, apparently awaiting the coming of the night; then, when the propitious hour arrived, he would sally forth armed with a huge staff, and assault every burgess he chanced to

* *Hymosken*, forcible entry.

meet. At last this foolish fellow met with his desert. (*Leet Roll*: 1435.) On the Sunday after our Lord's nativity, in the year 1305, an inquest was held touching the death of Adam Oter, a son of Robert Oter, of Wells. From the evidence adduced we learn that about the hour of vespers the previous day the deceased was playing at ball with John Godesbirth on the sands of Lenn, near the Douse-hill. A contention arose between the players, and the said John drew forth a dagger and struck Adam in his left side, of which wound he there and then expired. This was sworn to by Geoffrey Drewe and eleven other witnesses. Peter the son of Alan of Geywode, finding the man was dead, at once raised the hue-and-cry; whereupon the murderer fled with all speed to the chapel of St. Nicholas, from whence after nine days he made good his escape. (*Coroners' Roll*: 1302-5.)

In another case, a man was stabbed—the usual method of despatch in those days—and the murderer sought sanctuary in the Church of the Friars' Preachers; when, after nine days' confinement, he abjured the realm, and merrily sailed from Yarmouth. About the year 1332 Alexander Siffe took sanctuary in St. Nicholas' chapel; and John de Swerdeston was appointed to watch and prevent his escape until he had formally abjured the realm. For these services the chamberlains paid 23s., as appears in their account. Wishing to return to his home at Welle, Thomas Crane jumped on board a boat lying temptingly in the haven at Lenn. Just as he was about to sail, the owner, Wgot Lonediestre, sprang upon the scene. In the course of the altercation which ensued, Thomas struck the other abaft the head, so that on the third day he died. (1286.)

A specimen from the pen of Friar Capgrave, who was living when the incident happened, must suffice:—

In the same year (1416) three beggars stole three children at Lynn, and of one they put out his eyes, the other they broke his back, and the third they cut off his hands and feet, that men should of pity give them good. Long after, the father of one of them, which was a merchant, came to London, and the child knew him and cried aloud, "This is my father." The father took the child from the beggars and made them to be arrested. The children told all the process and the beggars were hung full well worthy. [*Chronicles of England*.]

Of penalties deserving consideration, special attention must be given to

THE BLACK ART.

During the 16th century Witch-mania was raging, not only in Italy, Germany and France, but in England. Anticipating the question which naturally arises, it may be well to state, that a witch was generally an ugly, ill-favoured, eccentric old woman, who was believed to have sold herself, body and soul, to the Evil One. "In every place and parish," says Gaule, "every old woman with a wrinkled face, a furred brow, a hairy lip, a gobber tooth, a squint eye, a squeaking voice, a scolding tongue, having a rugged coat on her back, a skull-cap on her head, a spindle in her hand, a dog or cat by her side, is not only suspected but pronounced a *witch*." (*Select*

cases of Conscience touching Witches and Witchcraft: 1646.) The compact between the woman and her invisible master was reciprocal. She was bound to serve him faithfully, whilst he in return engaged to find her with all she wanted, to avenge her on her enemies and, moreover, to provide her with a subservient imp or familiar, who would always be at hand ready to do whatever she suggested.

In bestowing gifts Satan did not act niggardly; he endowed those who made the compact with the power of easily transporting themselves to distant places, whilst seated comfortably, not on aerial bicycles, but astride broomsticks; he permitted them to assume the likeness of various animals, particularly the forms of cats and hares; he endowed them with omnipotence in a degree somewhat less than he himself possessed, so that they could inflict loathsome diseases on whom they pleased, and cruelly torment their enemies in a number of queer ways. If, however, the sufferer could, by pricking, scratching, or cutting, draw the witch's blood, he obtained instant relief and broke the spell under which he laboured. In 1279, John de Warham appeared before the Leet Court at Lenn and was fined twelve pence "for blood draught on Fair Alice," whom he wrongfully suspected.

A variety of methods were subsequently devised for ridding the earth of these obnoxious creatures. Specialists in the art of discovering witches were found everywhere—Cumanus in Italy, Sprenger in Germany, whilst England placed implicit faith in Matthew Hopkins, of Manningtree. This vulgar fellow, who styled himself

THE WITCHFINDER GENERAL,

pretended to be a great authority in skin-marks—these fatal criteria were either moles, warts, or scorbutic spots. Because witches perversely said the Lord's Prayer backwards, any, who were suspected, were requested to repeat it in the usual, orthodox way; if through fear they hesitated or made mistakes the case was indisputable. Sapiens King James asserts in his *Demonology* that "they cannot shed tears while (until) they repent," and, further, that "sparing the lives of witches is no less a sin in the magistrate nor (than) it was in Saul sparing Agag." Hence, if the suspected woman shed any tears out of her right eye, or more than one out of her left, she was accounted guilty. Sometimes the poor wretches were placed upon awkward seats, and pricked with pins so that their guilt might be apparent. The ultimate method, however, to which Hopkins and his ilk resorted was that of swimming. This was considered an infallible test. The thumbs and great toes of the suspected person were tied crosswise—the right hand to the left foot, and *vice versa*. The unfortunate person was next wrapped in a blanket and gently placed upon her back in the middle of a stream. If she sank, in all likelihood she was drowned, though innocent; if, on the contrary, she swam, as was mostly the case, she was of course guilty and was subsequently hanged or burned, because "having renounced the baptism by water, the water refused to receive her."

The alarming effects produced by students of the Black Art were felt everywhere; the whole kingdom suffered from a plethora of witches—not a town or village escaped the plague. No wonder Archbishop Cranmer when setting out on his visitation-tour in 1549 was strictly enjoined to inquire wherever he went, whether there were any in the place, who used charms, sorcery, enchantments, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any like craft invented by the Devil. An Act was moreover passed in 1558; but it failed, as will be seen, to cure the superstition of the Lynn people. Margaret Read was burnt (1590), and eight years later Elizabeth Housegoe was put to death either at the stake or the gallows. Old mother Gabley,

“THE EXECRABLE WITCH OF KING’S LYNN,”

managed to escape, however, through the good-natured stupidity of Richard Clarck, our addle-pated mayor. In the parish register of Wells an interesting account is given of her behaviour, which resulted in the death of fourteen seamen, whose names are fully recorded. They were on board a vessel coming from Spain, but being misled through the wicked machinations of this unscrupulous woman, they were wrecked upon the Norfolk coast. Well is it that, for the warning and guidance of the present generation, the particulars of so fatal an experiment are preserved. The disaster was brought about “by the boyling or rather labouring of certeyne eggs in a payle full of colde water.” The old woman was tried of course and “approved sufficiently”; but to the eternal disgrace of our borough, this clever exponent of so remarkable an egg-trick was never adequately rewarded. May we profit by the moral and never endanger our shipping interests and the prosperity of our town by—“boiling eggs in cold water” (1583).

Mary Smith was burnt in 1616, and the same year an interesting pamphlet was published bearing this curiously tedious title: “A Treatise on Witchcraft wherein sundry propositions are laid downe, plainly discovering the wickedness of that damnable art, with diverse other special points annexed not impertinent to the same, such as ought diligently of every Christian to be considered. With a true narrative of the Witchcraft, which Mary Smith did practice of her contract vocally made between the devill and her in solemn terms, by whose means she hurt sundry persons whom she envied; which is confirmed by her own confession and also from the publique records of the examination of diverse upon their oathes: and lastly of her death and execution for the same on the twelfth day of Januarie last past, by Alexander Roberts, B.D., and preacher of God’s word at King’s Linne in Norfolk, 1616.” (Small 4to.) *

Thirty years later the following minutes were entered in the Hall Book:—

Ordered that Alderman Rivett be requested to send for Mr. Hopkins, the witch discoverer, to come to Linne, and his charges and recompense to be borne by the town. (May 11th 1646.)

It is this day ordered that Mr. Hopkins shall have £15 paid him out of this House, towards his pains and for his charges to this day in discovering of

* Master of the Grammar School (1590-2).

witches ; and he is to discharge and pay all charges upon those occasions, and is to have further satisfaction after next sessions, which £15 is delivered to Mr. Mayor to be paid to the said Mr. Hopkins. (2nd September 1646.)

It is to be regretted that a full report of the doings of Ambassador Hopkins, as Butler satirically termed our visitor, are not forthcoming ; but Dorothy Lee and Grace Wright (1646) and Dorothy Floyd or Lloyd (1650), who were hanged, are supposed to have suffered at his instigation.

Ignoring Mother Gabley and her remarkable though fatal egg-experiment, Lynn during the last century, boasted of a wise woman in the person of the wonderfully omniscient Mrs. Sparrow, who could not only detect those who had secretly purloined goods, but point out the person who bewitched cows. Hydra-headed superstition dies hard, it is true, but in the near future the monster must succumb. Seventy years ago Lord Brougham exclaimed, " The schoolmaster is abroad ; I trust to him, armed with his primer, against the soldier in full military array." If militarism must yield to education, how can witchcraft hope to survive the scientific discoveries of a Twentieth Century !

THE GALLOWS.

Hanging, our present method of inflicting the extreme penalty of the law, is of ancient origin. Capital punishment was carried out on the same lines by our Saxon ancestors ; it is, however, probable that in flagrant cases the bodies were kept suspended for some time, so that a salutary lesson might be enforced by a gruesome exhibition. Hanging was a common occurrence in Lynn. In the following cases, where not otherwise stated, the gallows was erected in the Tuesday Market-place :—

- (1.) For burglary, felony and shop-lifting.
 1676. William Pearson, for shop-lifting.
 1677. John Swift, for shop-lifting.
 1679. John Page, for shop-lifting.
 1686. Samuel Moor, for shop-lifting.
 1708. Michael Hamond and his sister, aged 7 and 11 years respectively, for felony.
 1723. Thomas German, or Jarmey, for burglary ; hanged on the gallows, South Lynn Common. Possibly he did not belong to the town.
 1750. Charles Holditch, for burglary in his father's house ; he *attempted* to murder the old man, but was prevented by the presence of a child, who was in the same room. (February 14th.)
 1783. Joseph Beeton, for robbing the North Mail. (February 17th.)
 1783. Robert Fox, on the Hardwick Common, for robbing a Jewish lad named Isaac Levy, aged sixteen years, and leaving him apparently dead. (September 7th.)

When confined in the Lynn gaol, Robert Fox requested that he might see the Rev. William Richards, whom he heard preach some time before. He was accordingly visited several times, and the subjoined paragraph taken from a memoir of our local historian may prove interesting :—

In the year 1783, a young man of the name of Fox, not more than eighteen years of age, had stopped a poor itinerant Jew on a common near Lynn, robbed him and beat him—a deed of barbarous atrocity. He was immediately taken,

tried at Norwich the ensuing assizes and condemned to be hanged on the spot where the offence was committed. On his trial the culprit urged that he was young, had been to sea in the service of his country, was just discharged, and in a fit of intoxication had been guilty of the outrage with which he stood charged. In addition, he mentioned that it was his first and would be his last offence, for he sincerely repented of it. While he lay in prison, from the time of his conviction to that of his execution, he behaved with a decorum befitting his wretched condition. The magistrates were urging him to the confession of other crimes, which he solemnly denied, and which denial was deemed an induracy of heart. The fact was he confessed that he deserved to die, but complained bitterly that he was to be dragged forty miles to the spot near Lynn where the outrage was perpetrated, and through a village where dwelt his aged father, who would witness the spectacle with excruciating agony.

(2.) For actual murder.

- 1648. Rose Warne, for infanticide.
- 1653. A woman named Say, for poisoning her husband.
- 1658. Dorothy Warden, alias Billins, for child murder.
- 1686. Richard and Alice Ship, for murdering a servant-girl.
- 1687. A woman named Wharton, for child murder.
- 1731. George Smith, for murder.
- 1766. John Rudderham, for murdering Leonard Wilson near the Rope Walk. (January 27th.)

A narrative of the penitential behaviour and execution of Rose Warne was published by the Rev. John Horne, vicar of Allsaints' church.

George Smith was hanged for the robbery and murder of Mrs. Ann Wright, a publican, who is said to have kept the *Queen's Arms* in High Street. One writer describes him as a reckless bravado, who in his dying speech and confession, urged all employers to pay their servants regularly, insinuating that through his own master's negligence, he had been tempted to commit the heinous crime for which he was about to suffer. As the rope was being adjusted he kicked off his shoes, saying, "My mother always told me I should die in my shoes. I never did the old woman any good, and I can't now, that's certain; but just for a joke, I'll make her a liar." Whereas another authority gives the penitential verse, composed by the culprit, to be fastened to his coffin:—

Oh Lord consider my distress,
And now with speed some pity take,
My sins forgive, my faults redress,
Good Lord for Thy great mercies' sake.
Wash me O Lord and make me clean
For this unlawful act,
And purifie me once again
From this foul crime and bloody fact.

As a similar anecdote respecting the removal of shoes is told of a criminal named Hayward (*European Magazine*, vol. XLVII., pp. 232-40), we are inclined to believe Smith died penitent, and that his accredited obduracy is traceable to the gossip of the times. Smith's accomplice in guilt, Mary Taylor, a foolish young woman, was burnt at a stake in the Tuesday Market-place about seventeen yards from the gallows whereon her lover was suspended.

Rudderham, or "Honest John," as he was satirically styled, appears to have had no principles of morality or idea of a Supreme Being. When asked, whilst under sentence of death, whether he had ever heard of Jesus Christ, he replied, that he really could not say positively. "And yet," he added, "I do rather think I have heard something of such a gentleman, though I cannot now remember what it was."

(3.) For other crimes.

1537. William Gisborough, a friar of Lynn and his father, belonging to Walsingham, both for attempting to revive their Order, which had been suppressed. The Carmelite friar Peacock also suffered at Lynn (1st June 1537).

1587. At the Court of Admiralty (Lynn), presided over by Sir Robert Southwell, Admiral of Norfolk, sixteen pirates were condemned and most of them expiated their crimes on the Gallows' Hill (Hospital field).

1602. Hancell Gose, hanged, but apparently received Christian burial (24th July). A month later his wife died. The entry in St. Margaret's Register reads:—" (Buried) 1602 Aug. Mary, wife of Hancell Gose, hanged, 21 (st)."

1604. A man probably hanged for criminally assaulting a child.

1650. Colonel John Saul, and a respectable shoemaker; both were seriously implicated in a Royalist rising. White gives the name of Major Stanworth.

1770. William Pilling, for a criminal assault. (1772 query.)

1801. Peter Donahue, sergeant of the 30th Foot Regiment, for forgery; or for a murder committed on the road leading to Wiggenhall. (13th Nov.)

In leases up to 1680, clauses were inserted reserving the right of hanging criminals in the Gallows' Pasture, although the real place of execution was practically beyond the South Gates, in a field where the cattle market was formerly held. Here the Marshland culprits were once despatched.

THE GIBBET.

Hanging the body of a criminal in chains—that is, in a rough frame-work of wrought-iron—was not wholly abolished in 1834, although an Act passed for its suppression in 1752, stipulated that no bodies were to be buried until they had been dissected by the surgeons; the judge, however, if so disposed might give an order to the sheriff to the contrary. In some instances the culprits were starved to death, being gibbeted whilst alive. Generally, however, they were hanged where the assizes were held; and the bodies were afterwards removed to a gibbet erected on the spot where the murder was perpetrated. In old county maps the gallows and gibbets were carefully marked. The result of the survey of Norfolk (1790-4), as embodied in Faden's Map, gives gibbets near Holt, Martham, Wereham, Methwold, East Bradenham heath, Badley Moor (East Dereham) and the north Denes (Great Yarmouth). Gallows appear in the vicinity of Burnham Market, Weeting, Diss and Thetford. William Chaplain was gibbeted on the South Lynn common, not far from the Old Toll Bar, at the junction of the Wisbech and Saddlebow Roads, for the murder of Mary Gafferson (1751). A man, too, named Watson, was executed in Lynn at the beginning of the 19th century for the murder of his wife and child. He was hanged in chains on Bradenham heath. It is recorded, how an old lady, who died some

few years since, could remember noticing a nest of starlings in the culprit's ribs. Fragments of the skeleton were recently deposited in the Norwich Museum by Mr. Rider Haggard.

There is no need to repeat the tragic story associated with the name of Eugene Aram. Dr. Jessopp, Lord Bulwer-Lytton, Thomas Hood and the late Sir Henry Irving—the historian, the novelist, the poet and the prince of English actors—have done their best to preserve the memory of this misguided though remarkable scholar, who was apprehended in our town. Mr. Knox, the master of the Grammar School, which was until the year 1779 conducted in the Charnel house adjoining St. Margaret's church (where the Shambles now stand), reported to the Assembly the dismissal of an usher, John Birkes, and the appointment of a successor in the person of Eugenius Aram (14th February 1758). The next year Aram was suddenly arrested for the murder of Daniel Clark, which happened some fifteen years before. In the words of the poet—

Two stern-faced men set out from Lynn
Through the cold and heavy mist,
And Eugene Aram walked between
With gyves upon his wrist.

On the 3rd of August 1759, he was arraigned at York, and executed on the 6th. The grand jury in this case recommended what was regarded as a severer form of death. The day following the execution the body was hanged in chains by the roadside at Knaresborough, where the murder was committed. His wife is said to have "attended to the body" until her death (1774). The gibbet was destroyed fourteen years afterwards, when the land in that district was enclosed. "How many noble natures," exclaims the novelist, "how many glorious hopes, how much of the seraph's intellect have been crushed into mire or blasted into guilt by mere force of physical want!"

The trend of public opinion, which led to the abolition of the gibbet, is said to have been greatly influenced by a poem from the pen of Richard Kittle, who, known as "Kito," belonged to the local Amateur Theatrical Company, and was interested in a chemist's business, conducted by Messrs. W. and F. P. Bayes, 55, High Street. The effusion was entitled—*The supposed soliloquy of a father under the gibbet of his son. Time, midnight. Scene, a storm on one of the Peak mountains.* Possibly a poem consisting of six four-line verses—*William—a [gibbet] ballad* (1791) composed by "a resident in Lynn," was by the same writer.

THE CAULDRON.

Before the time of Henry VIII. boiling to death was occasionally resorted to, in England as well as on the Continent. Moreover, a special Act. sanctioned in 1531, temporarily rendered this inhuman method of capital punishment more than ever popular. It was brought about, as the informing preamble of the statute declares, through the misdeeds of Richard Roose, a cook, who, by putting poison in the food intended for the household of the Bishop of

Rochester, besides in that provided for the poor of the parish in Lambeth Marsh, where his lordship's palace was situated, caused the death of two persons and the serious illness of others. He was considered guilty of treason and was sentenced to be boiled to death without benefit of clergy. A succeeding Act ordained that a similar fate should in future be meted out to poisoners of every description.

It was once the custom for those belonging to the clerical orders to claim exemption from civil punishment. This plea was believed to be enjoined by a passage in Holy Writ—"Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." In course of time, the meaning of this saving clause was supposed to comprehend not only the ordained clergy but all those who, being able to read and write,—rare acquirements, be it remembered, in those days—were capable of entering holy orders. If the condemned, claiming "benefit of clergy," could read in Latin the first verse of the fifty-first Psalm—"Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness; according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions,"—he saved his neck, and after being branded in the hand was set at liberty. A plea of scholarship and the correct reading of the so-called "neck verse" was inadmissible with poisoners.

The very year this infamous Act was entered on our Statute Book, a maid-servant was boiled to death on the Tuesday Market-place (1531). A fire was placed beneath a huge cauldron filled with water, and the terrified victim was plunged in as soon as boiling-point was reached. By means of a chain, thrown over the top of the gibbet, the body was pulled up and down until life was extinct. This barbarous law was repealed in 1547.

THE STAKE.

The burning of women was regarded as a merciful commutation of the sentence of hanging—a concession made to the sex of the offenders, decency forbidding the exposing of their bodies. This brutal law was repealed in the reign of George III., so that after the 5th of June 1790, women were no longer to suffer a lingering death at the stake, but they were to be hanged as in the case of men. Here are a few cases other than those connected with trials for witchcraft:—

1515. A woman, for poisoning her husband.

1535. A Dutchman, for reputed heresy.

1557. Simon Miller, a Lynn merchant, was burned at Norwich during the Marian persecution.

1731. Mary Taylor, as an accomplice in the robbery and murder of her mistress. (See note on George Smith, who was hanged 1731.)

PILLORY AND STOCKS.

The pillory was placed on the Tuesday Market-place, because if the local authorities failed to provide so necessary a piece of municipal furniture, they ran the risk of forfeiting their right to hold a market, and this in bygone days was an intensely serious matter for a community to contemplate. Here, not far from the Pillory Lane, a narrow byway running beside the *Duke's Head* hotel, many an erring

townsman was ignominiously pelted with rotten eggs by an unmerciful crowd. As early as 1325, a certain man, imprisoned for maliciously permitting the salt water, when the tide was up, to enter the Common Ditch and thus spoil the town's stock of fresh water, was condemned to stand in the pillory "on the Tuesday Market," and afterwards to abjure the town. Henry Wayte went out of his way to scandalise our virgin Sovereign, the recently deceased Elizabeth. He was sentenced at the Assizes at Norwich (July 8th 1605) to stand on the pillory in the Lynn market for one hour, to suffer confinement in Norwich Castle for six months and to pay one hundred marks. By command of the King, the fine was handed to John Bird, a yeoman of the guard, in consideration of certain services rendered to his Majesty and his Majesty's late sister. In the 18th century, Elizabeth Nevill (1754), Mistress Howard (1782) and Henry Youngs (1794) went through this unsavoury ordeal. Their delinquencies are not preserved for the amusement of a pharisaical generation.

The Assembly in their wisdom ordained, that if a constable or watchman detected any man "fraying in breaking the King's peace," he was, with the assistance of William—an undoubtedly able-bodied person,—to forthwith place the offender in the stocks "at the Tuesday Market," and remain there with him until the Mayor decided either on the culprit's acquittal or further detention (1483). Three years later the Assembly were constrained to provide a new pair of stocks.

Excessive drinking, especially during divine service on Sundays, was the cause of many an offender finding his feet fast in the stocks. Sometimes the churchwardens of the different churches constituted themselves into a kind of municipal vigilance committee; they paraded the streets and visited (when least expected) the most obscure tapsteries to ascertain whether any were thoughtlessly indulging in fermented liquors during inappropriate hours. To make "the punishment fit the crime" fines were often imposed. In 1618, the churchwardens received £12 10s. 7½d. and in 1644 as much as £13 14s. 6d., every penny of which was given away during the current year in alms to the poor.

Here are a few extracts bearing upon the subject:—

1620. Received of Thomas Collyngwood, constable, that he received of France Dallton, innkeeper, 30/-.

17m. More of Thomas Collyngwood, that he received of John Smithe, ale-house keeper, 10/-.

1644. July 13: (Received) of John Henderson, ostler, for an oath swearing in Mr. Mayor's hearing, 1/-.

March 15: Of Philip Murrell for loitering in time of church service on Lord's Day, 5/-.

March 16: Of Rich. Porter, pinner (cattle pounder), for an apprentice boy of his, offending in the like, 1/- [C. W. A.; St. M.]

The following year, William Thurston and his wife Jane were convicted and fined 20s. for "profanely swearing each ten oaths." As they obstinately refused to pay, a distraint upon their goods was at once levied; twelve pewter platters and sundry other articles were

sold; the amount was realised and the wicked couple were taught that every time they indulged in a verbal luxury of this kind, they were liable to pay a shilling for the pleasure.

A stranger staying at an inn kept by Peter Laurs was fined 5s. for travelling on a fast-day (March 11th 1642); and a fortnight later another stranger, who perhaps knew no better, was fined the same amount for a like offence. But the churchwardens received only 4s., one-fifth of the fine having been handed over to Brian Middleton, the informer. Now we should hardly have expected this of a well-to-do merchant tailor, who struck his own tokens and who was rated £5 for a house in the Chequer Ward. Such, however, was the astonishing cupidity of Master Middleton!

PUBLIC PENANCE,

the outcome of church discipline, was in olden days imposed upon all grades of society; there were no exceptions. But in more recent times, through the merciful discretion of the Church, this form of punishment was reserved for those unfortunates "who bore unhusbanded a mother's name." Barefooted, clad in a thin, white garment and carrying a lighted candle, the frail penitent entered the church, approached the pulpit and at the dictation of the clergyman repeated a confession. Conscious of the disdainful gaze of the congregation, how unspeakably degrading was this punishment. In the same book, we find this entry:—"1634 Paid for a Sherte, for one to do pennanse in.....00:01:00." But at the next vestry meeting the churchwardens were surcharged the amount, as the shirt ought to have been provided by the apparitor. Again, in 1664 a woman did penance; the apparitor was on this occasion present and pocketed half-a-crown, for the part he took in the unseemly farce.

WHIPPING POST.

The Whipping Act of 1530 enacted that the offender should be "tied to the end of a cart, naked, and beaten with whips throughout such market-town or other place till the body be bloody by reason of such whipping." Widow Porker and the wife of John Wanker were "carted" as common prostitutes (1587). Ten years later whipping-posts were ordered to be used instead of carts. Among the papers in the Record Office, is a certificate (April 6th 1634), from the mayor and recorder, shewing how proceedings, according to the Book of Orders, had been taken against various beggars, whom they had whipped as rogues, with Thomas Ramsdell, a wandering minstrel, and sent to the places where they were born. Anne Sparrow and Mary Priestly, mothers of illegitimate children, were publicly whipped and then taken to the House of Correction. At the Quarter Sessions (January 18th 1796), a prisoner was sentenced to be publicly whipped, to be imprisoned for six months and at the end of the term to be publicly whipped again, for robbing the shop of John Grisenthwaite, the druggist. The same year two grenadiers of the East Yorkshire Militia, when passing through the town to the camp at Brighton, received five hundred lashes each, for endeavouring to

rescue a pickpocket at Swaffham fair. Half a century later, one prisoner was sentenced to seven years' transportation, and two to imprisonment and whipping. Some of our older readers may remember a lad about sixteen years of age being publicly whipped for sheep-stealing (13th January 1847).

TRANSPORTATION.

1753. Jumper, a man reprieved for the murder of Jones, was transported for life.

1761. A man was transported for seven and his "better half" for fourteen years; their crimes are not stated.

1785. The Recorder being ill, the mayor, William Bagge, presided at the Sessions. John Bradley and another person were sentenced to transportation. (Nov. 5th.)

1802. Robert Nichols was condemned for sheep-stealing and was probably transported.

In the early part of the past century "Roger Rainbow," whose real name was Watts, was condemned to be hanged for an attempt upon the virtue of a girl. The gallows was constructed in the old Corporation yard—on the ground where Framingham Hospital stands. He was reprieved and afterwards transported. The gallows, we are told, though carefully packed away in the Town Hall, was never afterwards used. About the same time a man named Swavey was summarily "drawn through the fleet" for committing an unnatural offence at the *Boar's Head*, a public-house at the foot of the High bridge.

THE DUCKING-STOOL.

Among other privileges, corporate towns during the Middle Ages were allowed to frame regulations for the punishment of any crimes not rendered penal by the laws of the land. Scolding women, as offenders against the public peace, were liable to several modes of correction, which, though they varied in character, were all decidedly cruel. Domestic broils were bad, but social feuds involving a majority of the inhabitants were unquestionably worse; besides they were far more frequent and lasted much longer. When the "most honourable and venerable" alderman of the Guild of the Holy Trinity is reminded of his humble parentage by an envious cordwainer, and told that his worthy sire was only a sutor or cobbler, who forgot to repay the money he borrowed with which to purchase the freedom of the burgh, nothing serious is likely to happen. The merchant pockets the affront and in future passes his neighbour without the usual and familiar sign of recognition. But when Mistress Potentior brushes rudely against Goody Mediocre, or when the wife of the well-to-do Stranger presumes to upbraid the impudent children of a low-bred Inferiore, there is sure to be a melodious recitative pitched in a very high key; the staccato phrases of which may be emphasised by spasmodic movements of the feet and arms. If any well-meaning neighbours interfere, the peace of the street is immediately jeopardised. Summary punishment is meted out to the low-bred plebeian, whilst the haughty aristocrat goes on her way rejoicing.

Ducking-stools, fixed near ponds, rivers, or open sewers, were specially designed for the hydropathic treatment of viragoes, who had rendered themselves a nuisance to society at large. Imagine a gigantic, though somewhat modified, pair of wooden scales. Over an upright post there is a beam sixteen or twenty feet long. At the end, which can be turned over the stream, hangs a rough chair into which Eve's fair and amiable daughter may be securely fastened; then, by means of ropes attached to the other end of the beam, when all is ready, the lovely being is soured up and down until articulation ceases. * The chair was sometimes fixed to the back of a low cart having abnormally long shafts. In this case the tumbril, as it was called, was run in and out the water until a temporary cure, at least, was effected. The words "ducking-stool" and "tumbril" are used indiscriminately.

In the 13th century, Simon de Mynthinghe paid twenty pence to the bishop as rent for a house next to the "tumberel" (probably a stationary ducking-stool), situated beside Colville fleet, which once ran through what is now termed Broad Street. The town was fined £2 by the Court Leet for not maintaining a ducking-stool, according to ancient custom (1663). In later years, this useful apparatus was fixed near the Purfleet, and at no great distance from the Custom House. As late, however, as 1754 the loquacious Hannah Clark was ducked for scolding.

The ducking-stool and the cucking-stool are often confounded; they were originally distinct machines. The cucking-stool was "a seat of infamy where strumpets and scolds, with bare feet and heads, were condemned to abide the derision of those that passed by" (Borlase). Whether our town possessed one of these inviting seats, it would be hard to say. William Blome, it may be noted, was fined twelve pence "for enclosing land at the cucking-stool (query, ducking-stool), and stopping the Common fleet." (*Leet Roll*, Richard II.)

And now, patient reader, thy perseverance shall be rewarded with the inevitable verse:—

If noisy dames should once begin,
To drive the house with horrid din,
Away, you cry, you'll grace the stool,
We'll teach you how your tongue to rule.
The fair offender fills the seat
In sullen pomp, profoundly great.
Down in the deep the stool descends,
But here at first we miss our ends;
She mounts again and rages more
Than ever vixen did before.
If so, my friend, pray let her take
A second turn into the lake,
And, rather than your patience lose,
Thrice and again repeat the dose.
No brawling wives, no furious wenches,
No fire so hot, but water quenches.

[*Miscellaneous Poems*, by Benjamin West : 1780.]

* The last of a useful series of ducking-stools may be seen in the Museum.

CHAPTER LXIV.

The Poor Man's Church.

THE following interesting anecdote is told in connection with the origin of St. John's church:—In the year 1843, the late John Motteux, a retired silk merchant and a former owner of the Sandringham and Beechamwell estates, was residing temporarily at Lynn, whilst his home at the Hall underwent certain repairs. During his stay he attended divine service at the chapel of St. Nicholas. On the first occasion, he thoughtlessly seated himself in a pew from which, on the arrival of the family to whom it was said to "belong," he was politely asked to move. Whereupon the visitor sought another seat, from whence he was also summarily ejected. To this unpleasant circumstance, the existence of the "poor man's church," with its *free* sittings may be attributed.

The building cost £5,000, to which our "Neighbour in Aid" generously contributed £2,000. His gift was supplemented by £500 from the Hon. Spencer Cowper, by £400 from the Church Building Society, and by smaller sums from similar benevolent institutions. A donation of £500 was given by Daniel Gurney, and £100 by each of the following persons:—The Marquis Cholmondeley, Lord George Bentinck, M.P., Richard Bagge, Thos. E. Bagge, William Everard, Francis Cresswell, Frederick Lane, Charles Goodwin, Mrs. Elsdon, James Dillingham, Thomas Ryley, and the Rev. S. C. E. Neville Rolfe (Heacham).

The site, provided by the Corporation, formed a part of a paddock then known as Allen's Close. In 1575, this land—the Tenture Pasture—was in the occupation of Thomas Marshall, who appears to have been a manufacturer of cloth, for in his field there was a "pair of tentures," which were long wooden frames upon which woollen fabrics were stretched in order to make them even and square. Along the upper and lower cross-pieces were numerous sharp-headed nails, termed *tenter-hooks*, to which the selvages were fastened. If necessary, the lower cross-piece, which was movable, was either raised or lowered. The word "tenture," which means *tapestry* or *hangings*, was borrowed from the French. *

The neat building, familiar to those passing to and from the railway station, was erected at the crossways, where the principal entrance to the old town, by way of the East Gates, was intersected by a narrow road leading to one of the sluices, connected with the Purfleet. Here, at this spot in days gone by, a suicide was buried. How little did those think, who bore the corpse of the poor outcast to his last lonely resting-place near the wayside pound, that before long a bishop would stand beside the unhallowed grave and consecrate the very spot. Whilst lowering this old road, the workmen found a brass seal. Around the shield was the legend:—*Sigillum*

* "He was not kept on the tenter-hooks of impatience longer than the appointed moment." [Sir W. Scott's *Redgauntlet*]. That is—his impatience was stretched to the utmost.

Domini Walteri Fitzwalter; this relic is supposed to have belonged to Walter, the second son of Walter Fitz-Walter, the brother and successor to Humphrey Fitz-Walter (15th century).

The sacred edifice was designed by Mr. A. Salvin, of London, an architect of reputation; and its erection was satisfactorily accomplished by Messrs. Charles Bennet and Son, of Whittlesea.

In consequence of the present churches in Lynn being almost entirely taken up by appropriated pews, there is little church accommodation for the bulk of the people. Independently of this consideration, if all the sittings in the churches were open to the public, there is not room for one-fifth of the population. There are about 16,000 inhabitants in Lynn, and the churches would hold something less than 3,000. A subscription therefore has been entered into for the purpose of building and endowing a church to consist principally of *Free* sittings, and it is proposed that the Bishop of the Diocese should have the nomination of the officiating clergyman or clergymen. [*Cambridge Advertiser*: 14th June 1843.]

The population, moreover, of the parish of St. Margaret had increased from 9,387 in 1801 to about 13,000. There was of course especial need of greater accommodation. Hence the parish was divided. The ecclesiastical division, set apart for the proposed new church, comprises so much of the old parish as lies south and east of a line drawn from the East Gate, along the middle of Norfolk Street as far as the middle of Broad Street, Baxters' Plain and Tower Street to the middle of St. James' Street, thence along the middle of St. James' Street to the middle of London Road, and from that point up the middle of the London Road to an arch then called the Hospital Gate. And strange though it may seem, these ecclesiastical boundaries were in part prescribed more than 500 years ago. To prevent misunderstanding, the jurisdiction of St. James' and St. Nicholas—the two chapels-of-ease to the parish church of St. Margaret—was scrupulously settled. In 1361, it was resolved "That the priests of St. James' chapel should carry their holy water from the East Gates, down the *south* side of Damgate" (that is, Littleport Street) "and through Websters' Row" (Broad Street); "and that the priests of St. Nicholas' should carry theirs from the said gates down the *north* part of Damgate." No doubt the yearly perambulations during Rogation week tended more to perpetuate a knowledge of these ecclesiastical landmarks, than the minute passed by our ancient municipal Assembly.

The general appearance of this Church is somewhat massive; and the style, though Early English, is severely plain in character. The following dimensions were taken within the walls:—

	ft. in.		ft. in.	
Nave	73	3	by 55	9
Chancel	39	9	„	25 6
Transepts	15	0	„	15 0
Height of Nave to the ridge of roof			56	0
„ Chancel			42	0
„ Clearstory walls			33	6
„ Aisle walls			17	0
„ Chancel walls			20	0

A gentleman, "well qualified to the task," thus minutely describes the building :—

The west front is in three divisions, horizontally, with quadrilateral staircase and bell turrets at the angles. In the lower division is a well proportioned doorway, with oak doors and wrought-iron furniture; the second division has an arcade of fine arches, two of which are for windows; the third division includes the lofty and elegant gable pierced with a small lancet window for the roof. [Owing to an unfortunate settlement, it has been necessary to build two massive flying-buttresses to counteract the outward thrust.] The south elevation presents a row of five circular windows with trefoil lights in the clerestory. The south aisle receives light from five lancet windows, one of which is at the west end, and the walls are supported by six massive buttresses of good proportion. The south door is between the second and third buttresses. The north elevation differs from the south, having a porch with a high-pitched gable of extremely picturesque form; an oaken door with wrought iron hinges, handle, &c. There is also a door of entrance to the vestry on the north side. In the east elevation the gable of the nave, surmounted by a cross, rises above the gable of the chancel, which has also a cross; there are in all three stone crosses placed on the gables, and two of gilded metal on the pinnacles of the west turrets. The roof of the nave, aisles and chancel are covered with scallop-tiles, the effect of which is exceedingly picturesque. [To reduce the pressure upon the roof of the nave, these tiles were replaced with slates a few years since.]

On the north side of the chancel there is a commodious vestry. The aisles terminate in what are in reality chapels; these, lit with double lancet windows, are open to the chancel on the north and south sides. Five arches springing from six columns, two of which are engaged, support the roof of the nave and clearstory. The beams bearing the roof of the nave and chancel rest upon stone corbels, which in the nave represent the heads of the twelve Apostles, and in the chancel those of the early kings and queens of England. On the right side of the central arch there is a well-carved head of Queen Victoria, and on the opposite side that of Edward Stanley, bishop of Norwich. The triple-lancet window at the east end, filled with stained glass by Wailes, contains brilliant medallions, representing the Crucifixion, the Ascension, Emblems of the Evangelists, etc.

The aspect of the east end was greatly improved by mural decorations, designed by William White, architect of Wimpole Street, London, at a cost of about £80. Over the altar was a cross with small figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John, under canopies on each side; the rest of the wall beneath the string course being neatly stencilled. The ornamentation—a memorial of the late Mrs. F. R. Partridge, carried out by her sons and daughters—has disappeared.

The interior is fitted with comfortable open benches; the communion-table is of oak. The font is octagonal, and its sides are enriched with columns and arches. An eagle lectern was added by subscription, to perpetuate the memory of Frederick R. Partridge, who was churchwarden for thirty years (1876).

The first organ, which cost only £115, was replaced by a more costly instrument in 1892 (£300); a beautiful reredos was erected by the congregation in 1896, in commemoration of the jubilee of the "poor man's church." It was designed by Mr. Herbert Tilson

and executed by Mr. Harry Brown (£170). The stone pulpit and reading desks were added by subscriptions to the memory of Francis Joseph Cresswell (1885).

The church contains 1,008 sittings, of which 800 are entirely free.

In 1871, a substantial vicarage-house was built in an adjacent field, at a cost of £1,500. Ten years later the Mission Hall in Railway Road was opened.

LIST OF VICARS.

Edward Francis Edwards	Hankinson	...	24th September, 1846
John Fernie	...	...	12th January, 1860
Thomas Vincent Williams	...	...	9th April, 1877
Sydenham Lynes Dixon	...	...	7th July, 1879
Nathaniel Vickers	...	...	25th January, 1884
Henry Harkness Streeten	...	...	23rd April, 1890
Walter Giles Morgan	...	...	23rd December, 1896

Disjecta Membra.

(1) OBSOLETE STREET-NAMES, ETC.

Artillery Yard (1643).

Baksterr Rowe, Baxter Row (1422), now Tower street.

Baxter Row, Baxters rowe (1461)—(Hist. MSS. Com., p. 217).

Bever's Bridge (1725), over the Mill fleet. (Rastrick's map.)

Bible, the; High street,—a shop-sign (Hist. Notices and Records of Fincham by Rev. W. Blyth, 1863, p. 37).

Boyland Hall (1271)—(Blomefield's Hist. Norfolk, VIII., p. 491).

Briggate, Brige-gate (1340)—(Hist. MSS. Com., p. 217); *Brigge-gate* (1303), (p. 153).

Bunchesham, in the Cowgate (Blomefield's Hist. Norfolk, VIII., p. 536).

Burgharde's Lane (1345), otherwise Fincham street;—de Burghard was mayor in 1326 and 1331.

Checker, le (1399), a street near the old Exchequer (Blomefield, VIII., p. 505).

Checker, the (1598)—(Parish Register, St. Margaret).

Chequer Street was first called *King Street* in 1814, to distinguish the two theatres (Playbills).

Clough, the (1598)—(Parish Register, St. Margaret).

Codlin Lane (1536), i.e. Tower Place (Mackerell's Hist. Lynn, p. 88). Adam Codlin (*circa* 1248)—(Blomefield, VIII., p. 492).

Coldhurn Street, now Allsaints Street.

Cooke's Place, Coronation Square (1845).

Cook's Row (1725), High Street (Rastrick); *Le Cok Rowe* (1381), "*juxta* Bokenham's place." (Powell's Rising in East Anglia, p. 36.)

Corne Lane (1391 and 1413), "*venellam* running from the street called *le cheker* to the great bank of the river," i.e. north of St. George's Hall (Blomefield, VIII., p. 505).

Crooked Lane (1792)—(Parish Register, St. Margaret).

- Damgate* (1307); John Ode's will (Report Hist. MSS. Com., p. 154).
- Dovecote* meadow, near St. James' Chapel, where was the Prior's dovecote; 1575 in the occupation of Thomas Maye (Harrod).
- Drews Street*, in 1738 Fishers' Row (Mackerell, p. 272).
- Ducishyl, Ducehill*; *Dows* (also *Deuce-bridge*) *fleet, gate and yard*, i.e. Fisher Fleet, etc. *Douz-hill* (1426)—(Hist. MSS. Com., p. 160).
- Duffecote Yard*, i.e. *Dovecote vard* (1307), "near Meiris fleet"—near the Mayor's (or the Mill) fleet (John Ode's will).
- Fincham Street*; *Burgharde's Lane*; but subsequently *New Conduit Street*, 1425 (Mackerell, p. 273).
- Finkel Rowe*, subsequently *Valenger's Road*.
- Finnislane* (1239); now *Tower Street*; "adjoining the lands of the Prior of Acre, reaching to the common gutter"—the *Purfleet* (Ancient Deeds, Record Office; A. 2979, vol. II., p. 141).
- Fynnes Lane* (1481); "then called *Baxterrowe* between the common way and the common gutter called *Purfleete*" (Ancient Deeds, C. 991, vol. I., p. 484; Harrod, p. 14).
- Gaynesland* in *South Lynn* (Blomefield, VIII., p. 543).
- Goole Bank*, from *River Nar* to *Hardwick Common*.
- Grassmarket*; *Gree-*, *Gres-*, *Grass-market*, west end of *Norfolk Street*; *Greef'smarket* (1307)—(Hist. MSS. Com., p. 154).
- Gryffyn, the* (1527)—(Ancient Deeds, A. 2961, vol. II., p. 139).
- Hall's Place*, a manor in *South Lynn*, circa *Edward III.* (Eller's Memorials of *West Winch*, p. 108).
- Helmyng Lane* (1310), where was a water-gate (*Leet Roll*).
- Helmynges Lane* (1422), near *St. Nicholas' Chapel* (Ancient Deeds, C. 2528, vol. II., p. 529).
- Herlewyns*, in *South Lynn*, circa *Edward III.* (Eller's Mem. of *West Winch*, p. 108).
- Hewaldes Lane* (1319)—(Ancient Deeds C. 2528, vol. II., p. 529).
- Hewery's Lane* (1272)—(*Leet Roll* and *John Ode's will*, 1307).
- Iron Row* (1463), *Tuesday market-place* (Harrod, p. 36).
- Iron Yard*—(*Fenland Notes and Queries*, 1900, vol. IV., p. 325).
- Jewes or Gewys Lane* (13th century), *Surrey Street* (1307)—(Hist. MSS. Com., p. 155).
- Lay, Ley*, also *Lath Street*, now *Nelson Street*.
- Leadenhall*, between *St. Margaret's Church* and the river (Harrod, p. 76).
- Listeres gate, Listergate*—(Hist. MSS. Com., p. 232).
- Littleport Bridge* (1536)—(Blomefield, VIII., p. 525).
- Littleport Street* (1584)—(C.W.A.; St. M.).
- Lynneshy, le*; near *St. George's Hall*, circa *Edward VI.* (Blomefield, VIII., p. 506).
- Mad Lane* (1752); *Union Lane* (Rastrick).
- Mayde Lode* (1535)—(Blomefield, VIII., p. 498).
- Milne Lane*, *Mill Lane*, *Stonegate Street*.
- Mor Lane* (1379)—(Harrod, p. 16).
- Northirne, Street, le* (1422), "adjoining a lane called *Helmynge's Lane*, abutting eastward on the high road opposite *St. Nicholas' Chapel*" (Ancient Deeds, C. 2582, vol. II., p. 529).
- Page's Stairs Lane* (1725), *Tuesday market-place* (Rastrick).
- Pagester's Lane* (1814)—(a handbill).
- Pakker's Lane* (1345).
- Pierpoint Drain*, near "*Hardwick Bridge*"; *Sir George Pyerpounte* founder of the *Gild of Allsaints*, *South Lynn*, 1498; *Henry Pierrepont*, viscount of *Norfolk*, 1639.

Pound Lane, Gladstone Terrace.

Pudding Lane (1725)—(Rastrick).

Puny Drain, joins the Nar, above the Manure Works; called *puisne* or the lesser, in contradistinction to the Setchy River, which is tidal, and with which it runs parallel.

Purfleet, *Pufflet* (1352)—(Hist. MSS. Com., p. 232).

Ratimer Row (1310)—(Leet Roll).

Raton Row (1425)—(Mackerell's Hist. Lynn, p. 273).

Rotton Row (1379)—(Harrod).

Ryfield (1382), Gaywood (Blomefield, VIII., p. 495).

St. Margaret's Fen (1257)—(Blomefield, VIII., p. 490).

St. Margaret's Muckhill, near St. Margaret's Lane" (Bell's Plan of the Harbour).

Schole Lane (1630), "with scholehouse," near St. Margaret's Church (C.W.A.; St. M.).

Seggesford Lane (1422), "near Baksterrowe" (Ancient Deeds, C. 2528, vol. II., p. 529).

Skinners' Row; Leeds Street, Three-Pigeon Street, now St. James' Street.

South Lane, now Friars Street (Blomefield, VIII., p. 525).

Spawshall (1425)—(Mackerell, p. 273).

Spence, le (1406)—(Ancient Deeds, A. 2962; vol. II., p. 139).

Stokfish Row (1325)—(Mackerell, p. 273).

Tenture Pasture (1575)—Survey of the town.

Tuesday-market Street (1433)—(Ancient Deeds, C. 2966, p. 139).

Webster Row (1345).

West Lenn (1307), John Ode's Will (Report Hist. MSS. Com., p. 154).

Woollen Market (1536), "Blackgoose Street" or Chapel Street (Eller's Mem. of West Winch, p. 84). *Woolpack Street* (1618)—(C.W.A.; St. N.).

Wyngate (1307)—(Hist. MSS. Com., p. 154). *Wingate* also *Windgate* (1387), now Queen Street (Rye's Norfolk Topography).

(2) BOROUGH OFFICIALS.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.—See *Norfolk Official Lists* (1890), by H. Le Strange, Esq., and the continuation on page 589.

HIGH STEWARDS.—As above, followed by—

1870 Edward Henry Stanley; 15th Earl of Derby	1896 Thomas de Grey; 6th Baron Walsingham
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RECORDERS.—As above, followed by—

1869 Douglas Brown	1898 Hon. John Augustus de Grey
1885 Carlos Cooper	1905 Henry St. John Raikes, Esq.

MAYORS.—Lists are given by Blomefield to 1711, Mackerell to 1737, Harrod to 1873 and Le Strange to 1890. Appended is the continuation :—

1890 William R. Pridgeon	1898 John T. Bunkall
1891 " "	1899 George Bristow
1892 Alfred Ream	1900 John T. Savage
1893 William S. V. Miles	1901 Thomas E. Bagge
1894 " "	1902 Frederick J. Carpenter
1895 Edwin Dunn	1903 William R. Smith
1896 Somerville A. Gurney	1904 Edwin Dunn
1897 Alfred Jermyn	1905 " "
1906 George E. Rose	

TOWN CLERKS.—

1864 Thomas G. Archer

| 1900 Johnson W. Woolstencroft.

(3) MASTERS OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

1510 Robert Burgh
 1511 Thomas Rix
 1513 Thomas Pokering } Charnel
 1530 Thomas Person } priests.
 1534 William Leyton
 1539 Richard Hall
 1551 John Backster
 — Ralph Johnson
 1569 John Iverye
 1590 Alexander Roberts, M.A.
 1592 Nicholas Eston, M.A.
 1597 John Man, M.A.
 1608 Henry Alston
 1612 — Armitage
 1618 Robert Robinson
 1626 Ambrose Fish
 1627 Robert Woodmansea, M.A.

1634 John Rawlinson, M.A.
 1637 Edward Bell, M.A.
 1678 John Horne, M.A.
 1730 Rev. Charles Squire, M.A.
 1738 Rev. T. Pegge
 1746 Rev. John Daville
 1755 John Knox
 1760 David Lloyd, LL.B., LL.D.
 1794 Rev. Henry Lloyd, M.A.
 1797 Rev. Richard Scott, M.A.
 1803 Rev. Martin Coulcher, M.A.
 1818 Rev. Thomas Kidd, M.A.
 1825 Rev. John Bransby, M.A.
 1851 Rev. Francis Bagge Scott, M.A.
 1858 Rev. Thomas White, D.D.
 1874 Rev. John Bullivant Slight, M.A.
 1887 Rev. Walter Boyce, M.A.

(4) ORGANISTS : ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH.

— James Townshend (b. 1688, d. 1724).
 — Gabriel Barlow (d. 1744).
 1744 John Barlow (buried 25th April 1751).
 1751 Charles Burney (appointed *circa* December).
 1760 Peter Helendaale (29th Sept.).
 1763 Richard Harris (25th March).
 1796 Richard Sly (d. 1805).
 1805 Philip Taylor, of Huntingdon.
 1823 William Hitchcock (b. 1803, d. April 1828), St. James' Street.
 1828 Josiah Ferdinand Reddie, of Boston.
 1839 George Townsend Smith (Mus. D. ; 1843).
 1843 Josiah Ferdinand Reddie (d. 20th Feb. 1860).
 1854 James Thomson (F.R.A.M. and G.O.).
 1858 Josiah Henry Reddie, from Allsaints' church (b. 1822, d. 1905).
 1894 Henry B. Collins (Mus. B. ; Oxon.).
 1898 George Farrant (Mus. B. ; Oxon.).
 1899 George J. Clarke.
 1901 Robert Vinen Stanley.
 1902 Arthur Shirley.

Gabriel Barlow was a native of Lynn, who, when applying for his freedom, advanced the plea of *patrimony*, being as he was the son of Gabriel Barlow, a freeman. The boon was conferred the 21st of October 1730. In his will, dated the 30th of October 1725, after munificently bequeathing one shilling to each of his brothers and sisters, he directs his wife Jane "to prosecute the executors of his mother-in-law for a silver tankard that Mrs. Sarah Tolls, his aunt, had left him by will." This remarkable document was proved the 19th of October 1744. John Barlow, a younger son of Gabriel Barlow *père*, succeeded his angelic brother as organist at St. Margaret's (1744). Dying in April 1751, he was in turn succeeded by Charles Burney.

William Beton, organ-maker, paid 40s. for his freedom (1519) ; whereas two "musitians"—Edmund Roe (1709) and Andrew George Lemon (1734)—received theirs *gratis*.

Pastoralia.

THE PARISH OF ST. MAR

(1.) ST. MAR

The benefice styled " St. Margaret with the Chapels of St. Nicholas perpetual curates are entitled to be styled

Date.	Priors and Curates.	Patrons.	Reigning Sovereigns.	Bishops of the Diocese.
	Priors:—	The Bishops of Norwich probably:—		Bishops of Norwich:—
				Herbert de Lozinga 1091
				Eborard 1121
				William Turbus 1146
1189	William	John de Oxford	Richard I.	John de Oxford 1175
1199	William de Lenn	"	John	
1200	William	John de Grey	Henry III.	John de Grey 1200
				Pandulph di Masca 1222
				Thomas de Blunville 1226
				William de Ralegh 1239
				Walter de Suffield, or Calthorp 1245
				Simon de Wauton 1258
				Roger de Skerning 1266
1285	Adam de Schipdam	William de Middleton	Edward I.	William de Middleton 1278
1309	John de Bromholm (?)	John Salmon	Edward II.	Ralph de Walpole 1289
1325	John de Stratton	William Ayermin	"	John Salmon 1299
1331	*Simon de Walsingham	"	Edward III.	William Ayermin 1325
		Priors of Benedictine Convent at Norwich:—		Antony Bek 1337
1379	*Ralph de Martham	Nicholas de Hoo	Richard II.	William Bateman 1344
1393	*John de Carleton	Alexander Totyngton	"	Thomas Percy 1356
1398	*Walter Ormesby	"	Henry IV.	
1399	*Richard de Ffolsham	"		Henry de Spencer 1370
1407	John Elys or Ellis	"	Henry V.	Alexander Totyngton 1407
				Richard Courtenay 1413
				John Waking 1416
1427	*John Derham	Robert Brunham	Henry VI.	William Alnwick 1426
1437	*John Ffornesete	John Hewyrynglonde	"	
1452		John Molet	"	Thomas Brown 1436
1454	*John Burton	"	Edward IV.	William Lehart 1446
1462	*Thomas Bozoun			
1469				
1472	*John Bonewello	Thomas Bozoun	"	James Goldwell 1472
1477				

* From the Rolls in the Diocesan Registry, Norwich; the Patrons and other Vicars are compiled from Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* (Tanner's MS.) and the Churchwardens' Books.

GARET, KING'S LYNN.

GARET'S CHURCH.

and St. James," is a perpetual curacy, and in certain cases and designated "vicars." [31-2 Vic., c. 117, s. 2.]

Parochial Events.

The Benedictine Priory, with the Church dedicated to St. Margaret, etc., was founded by Herbert de Lozinga, Bishop of Norwich, probably upon the site of a much earlier church; the cell was a gift to the Priory at Norwich (1101).

St. James' church, a chapel-of-ease, probably built by Bishop Eborard (1101—1150). It was subsequently known as the "old workhouse."

Two western towers added to St. Margaret's church (1146—1174).

Adam de Geyton gave legacies to St. Margaret's, St. James', St. Nicholas', and All Hallows' churches; also to St. Edmund's (North Lenne) and St. Peter's (West Lenne) churches, both "beyond the water" (1276).

The town visited by the "Black Death"; great mortality (1349).

Margaret Frenghe (widow) buried beside her husband John Frenghe; she bequeathed 40/- to the high altar for forgotten tithes, 6/8 to the fabric of the church, and 2/- to the chapel of St. James' (1352).

The Gild of the Holy Trinity gave £5 for repairing the conduit of St. Margaret (1372).

Any townsman summoned by the common sergeant must appear before the Mayor, &c., "before 9 struck by the clokke of St. Margaret under a penalty of 4 pence" (1377).

John de Grantham (buried in the church) bequeathed 40/- to the high altar, 3/4 to the fabric of the church, and 2/- to St. James' chapel (1384).

Bishop Spencer headed an army of 30,000 foot and 2,000 horse-soldiers to fight for *Pope Urban VI.* against *Pope Clement* (1384).

Bartholomew de Belvaco demised to his wife Richeman a donation to be paid to the chapel of St. Michael with St. Margaret's church (1385).

The Gild of the Holy Trinity spent large sums in furnishing and decorating the chapel of St. Peter in St. Margaret's church (1390).

Sir Wm. Sawtre, a priest connected with the church, publicly recanted in St. James' churchyard (25th May 1399); he was afterwards burnt at Smithfield, London (26th February 1400), and is regarded as the first Lollard martyr.

The gild of the Holy Trinity provided an altar cloth (1400).

The gild advanced £20, for which ten parishioners were bound, also 12/8 for lead for the roof (1409).

The "little belfry" in a decaying state. Instead of the usual tax, the £25 necessary for its repair was raised by voluntary subscription (1419).

The Chapter House pulled down, and a Chancel built (*circa* 1400).

The constables or captains of the wards collected money for building "two archbuttants"; during the reparation, service was held in a chapel hired by the Mayor (1432).

The expense of the light constantly burning before the Gesyn in the church was paid by the town (1434).

Great uneasiness respecting the *hoste* (a consecrated wafer used in the Eucharist, and believed to contain the Real Presence), which was hidden by stones in the cross aisle. It was reverently removed by John Ffornesete (the prior) and his brethren (1438).

New clock fixed to strike against the great bell; afterwards removed from the *new* belfry to the lantern (1444). St. Stephen's chapel erected about this time, upon the site of the chapter house, probably by Henry Thoresby.

Licence was granted for founding the gild of St. George, in connection with the church (1461).

The south aisle of the chancel built by Thomas Thoresby (1472).

Date.	Priors and Curates	Patrons.	Reigning Sovereigns.	Bishops of the Diocese.
	Priors:—	Priors of Benedictine Convent at Norwich:—		Bishops of Norwich:—
1479	*William Spynk	William Spynk	Edward V. Richard III.	James Goldwell 1472
1489 } 1499 }	*William Berdeney	„	Henry VII.	Thomas Jane 1499
1504	*John Hopstede	R— Latton	„	Richard Nix, or Nykke 1501
1508 } 1518 }	*George Hyngham	„	„ Henry VIII.	
1536	Edmund Norwich	William Castleton	„	Wm. Rugg, or Repps 1536
	Curates or "Vicars":	The Dean and Chapter of Norwich:—		
1552	†John Stokes, D.D.	William Castleton	Edward VI. Mary	Thomas Thirlby 1550
1559	Thomas Howes	John Salisbury	Elizabeth	John Hopton 1554 John Parkhurst 1560
15—	Samuel Staller (d. 1565)	Thomas Dove	„	Edmund Freake 1575 Edmund Scambler 1585
	* * *			William Redman 1595 John Jegon 1603 John Overall 1618 Samuel Harsnet 1619
1592	Peter Smythe		„	
1623	Matthew Swallow, M.A.	Edmund Suckling	James I.	

* From the *Rolls in the Diocesan Registry, Norwich*; the Patrons and other Vicars are compiled from *Blomefield's History of Norfolk* (Tanner's MS.) and the Churchwardens' Books.

† Return of Church Goods: Edward VI.

Parochial Events.

Walter Coney erected the Trinity chapel (north aisle of chancel); also the cross-aisle and the "high roof" (1472-6); he died and was buried in his tomb-chapel (1479). His executors moreover built the clearstories of the nave, and glazed the windows (1481).

The south aisle of the nave built, mainly, if not wholly, with £80 left by Edmund Pepyr, hence called "Pepyr's side" (1483).

The executors of Walter Coney granted £20 towards making a pinnacle or spire for the "clocher stepill" or bell tower (1485).

The prior built the wayside oratory dedicated to St. Mary, now called the "Red Mount" (1485).

Richard Scowle bequeathed £40 for making the south aisle of the chancel. This money was paid to Thomas Thoresby, because he had already done the proposed work at his own expense (1494).

Walter Coney's executors gave a processional cross of silver gilt (178 ozs.) with a beautiful banner, in lieu of the £20 offered for the erection of the spire in 1485, the work not having begun (1496).

John Wells, chaplain of the chancel, received £8/4/0 a year (1497).

Thomas Thoresby added the north aisle to the nave; he also erected "the college of Lenne," now known as "Thoresby's College" (Queen Street), for priests (1502-10).

Because certain episcopal orders were ignored, Bishop Nix "interdicted the church." Public service in the nave was suspended, and christenings were performed in the chancel (1506). A bond relating to the Diet at Antwerp was sealed in the church (1506).

The parishioners of St. James' chapel rose against the prior for cutting down the trees in the churchyard (1512).

John Streme appointed to look after the clock and chimes; stipend 13/4 per annum, rent free (1518).

St. Margaret's skull, a sacred relic, was "to be had in honour" in the Trinity chapel. The oblations, divided into four equal parts, were paid to the prior, the curates, the churchwardens for the repair of the church, and the gild of the Holy Trinity respectively (1523).

Burial obsequies were only allowed in the churchyard (1532).

The Benedictine monks (Priory) and the four great orders of mendicant friars suppressed (1536).

John Grindell received £100 for the yearly observance of an obit on the Friday after every Trinity Sunday (1538).

The St. James' chapel partly demolished (1549).

The five little bells in the *little* steeple (south-west) of the church, also three bells at St. Nicholas', three at St. James', and two at Magdalen (Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen), were sold to provide ordnance for the defence of the town (1550). All the inhabitants were compelled to contribute according to their assessments toward the Holy Bread used in the various churches (1550).

Another bell at St. James' chapel (weighing 20 cwts.) sold for £20, to raise money to repair St. Margaret's church. The rood-loft taken down, the images removed, the floor at the east end levelled to that of the nave, and the windows furnished with white glass instead of wooden shutters (1559).

The visit of the Privy Council to examine the state of St. James' church, greatly opposed by the Corporation (1560).

Relics burnt in the Tuesday market (1561), and the organ, vestments and ornaments sold to repair the church. The chalices realized £19/9/8; three *cups* for the communion table purchased with the money (1564).

Owing to the poverty of the town there was no minister (1565).

The Dean and Chapter relinquished St. James' chapel to the Corporation. First chimes set up, which played a different tune every day of the week (1566).

The spire, various crosses, &c., upon St. Margaret's church shot off by a Dutch ship lying in the harbour (1567); other crosses on the steeple taken down. Vestments brought from [query: Terrington] S. John's and Tilney, and burnt in the market place (1563).

Date.	Priors and Curates.	Patrons.	Reigning Sovereigns.	Bishops of the Diocese
	Curates or "Vicars":—	The Dean and Chapter of Norwich:—		Bishops of Norwich:—
1626	William Leeds (d. 1628)	Edmund Suckling.	Charles I.	Francis White 1629 Richard Corbet 1632
1635	Thomas Purchas	John Hassall	"	Matthew Wren 1635 Richard Montagu 1638
1637	Lionel Gatford	"	"	Joseph Hall 1641
1644	Nicholas Toll	"	"	
			[Commonwealth]	
1662	Thomas Hoogan, M.A.	John Crofts	Charles II.	Edward Reynolds 1661
1669	*Mordaunt Webster	"	"	
1672	Richard Salter, M.A.	Herbert Astley	"	
1675	Robert Pepper	"	"	
1680	Thomas Fysh	"	James II.	Antony Sparrow 1676
1689	Thomas Littell, D.D.	Henry Fairfax	William and Mary	William Lloyd 1685
1700	John Jaggard, S.T.B. (d. 1702)	"	Anne	Thomas Moore 1691 Charles Trimmel 1708
	* * *		George I.	Thomas Green 1721 John Leng 1723
1731	†Thomas Pyle, M.A.	Thomas Cole	George II.	William Baker 1727 Robert Butts 1733 Thomas Gooch 1738 Samuel Lisle 1748
1755	Charles Bagge, D.D.	Thomas Bullock	"	Thomas Hayter 1749
		Philip Lloyd	George III.	Philip Yonge 1761

* Also Vicar of Allsaints' Church (1668-1689).

† Also Vicar of Allsaints' Church (1718-1754).

Parochial Events.

The carved screen made (1574 or 1584).

Part of the ruins of St. James' chapel repaired and used as a workhouse (1581).

The art of ringing revived, but was greatly opposed by the Corporation (1582).

A new bell, "the St. Margaret," cast; the "Trinity" recast; all were rehung at the town's charge (1598).

Middle and south aisles repaired (1605) and the roofs of the south aisle and the chapels repaired (1608), and a new pulpit provided (1609). The roof painted (£19) and the lantern repaired (1617).

A ringer accidentally killed (1621). Interior of lantern (132 ft. high) decorated (1621).

The Dean and Chapter granted to the Mayor and Burgesses a lease for 21 years of "the rectory of St. Margaret in King's Lenne, sometimes called the Priory of Lenne, and all glebe lands, tenths, tithes, oblations, unto the parsonage of St. Margaret and unto the chapels of St. James and St. Nicholas, at the yearly rent of £20/2/0"; also a piece of land for enlarging the churchyard (1626).

The writing school established; held over the Charnel in the Saturday market (1629). It was, however, termed the "School House" (1621).

John Atkins, of Norwich, a native of Lenne, fixed a sundial. One shilling (disallowed) charged by the wardens for a shirt in which someone did penance (1634).

Many "collectioners" relieved; and yarn-spinning introduced to employ the poor. Order from Archbishop Laud to have the chancel floor raised; communion table placed in the chancel (1637).

Lynn besieged by Cromwell's troops under the Earl of Manchester. On Sunday afternoon, Sept. 3rd, an 18-pounder from the battery on the west side of the river smashed the great west window. None of the terrified congregation were hurt. The window repaired at a cost of £5/10/4. An assessment made for placing white glass in all the windows (1643).

About the year 1657 attempts were made to suppress drunkenness and profanity; the fines used to relieve the poor.

To celebrate "the Restoration," three hundred girls dressed in white paraded the streets (May 29th); the King's arms set up; divine service in the morning, at 5 o'clock in the summer and 6 o'clock in the winter (1660).

Several Friends imprisoned for non-conformity (1663).

The largest bell rung at 8 o'clock p.m. daily; a woman did penance in the church (1664).

John Halcott, who partly built the Framingham Almshouses, Broad Street, bequeathed the rent of a house in King Street, which was to be spent in bread for the poor, 5/- each Sabbath (1676). Efforts were made to discover this property in 1748, and again in 1808, but the result was a failure.

Faculty obtained for erecting an organ (1677), which was perhaps given by John Tinner (1677); the pedestal by Sir John Turner (1679).

Thomas Tue presented a moondial, "actuated within by clockwork" (1681).

The organ, partly made by Dallans, placed over the screen (1687).

Dr. Thurlin's books added to the church library (1714).

Two galleries erected, one on each side of organ-loft, "with projections for particular families" (1723).

Violent storm, Sept. 2nd, 1741; the spire (193 ft. high) blown into the body of the church. The lantern soon afterwards taken down, for fear it might also fall.

Rebuilding commenced; George II. gave £1,000, &c.; the rest raised by annuities (1742). Restoration completed; Bartholomew Brettingham of Norwich, architect; fittings for nave, Mr. Ward, of Bury St. Edmunds; ceiling designed by Mr. Ward and executed by Mr. Clark, a plasterer (1747).

Faculty obtained to sell the organ and to erect a new one at the east end. The present organ was built by Snetzler, who here introduced the first dulciciano stop used in this country; the expense was defrayed by the Corporation (1753). The celebrated Dr. Charles Burney was organist (1751-1760).

Date.	Priors and Curates.	Patrons.	Reigning Sovereigns.	Bishops of the Diocese.
	Curates or "Vicars":—	The Dean and Chapter of Norwich:—		Bishops of Norwich:—
1791	Stephen Allen, D.D.	Joseph Turner	George III.	Lewis Bagot 1783 George Horne 1790 Charles Manners Sutton 1792 Henry Bathurst 1805
1847	Robert Edwards Hankinson, M.A.	Hon. George Pellew	George IV. William IV. Victoria	Edward Stanley 1837
	Curates of St. Margaret with St. Nicholas, and Rectors of North Lynn:—			
1850	Charles Nourse Wodehouse, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich	"	"	Samuel Hinds 1849
1860	Edward Francis Edwards Han- kinson, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich	"	"	John Thomas Pelham 1857
1866	Philip John Wode- house, M.A.	Edward Mey- rick Goul- burn, D.D.	"	
1872	John Durst, M.A.	"	"	
1882	Benjamin Dale, M.A.	"	"	—

Parochial Events.

- The *small* fire engine and 24 buckets sent to St. Nicholas' chapel; the churchyard closed; all buried on north side of St. Nicholas' churchyard. Many Friends refused to pay church rate (1754).
- The north and east galleries erected; sittings secured by payment and a lottery; amount received £324 (1765).
- The old organ, with beautifully carved case, sold for £33 (1766).
- A peal of eight bells cast by Messrs. Lester & Pack, London, £323.17/0. (1766.)
- A larger fire engine provided by churchwardens; cost £52.17/3. (1770.)
- The church damaged by thunderstorm (1772).
- The south tower raised as high as the bell tower, on which a turret was erected; cost, £214/10/0. Contractors, Messrs. Brown & Anderson (1775).
- The churchyard enlarged by the purchase of an adjoining strip (72 ft. by 66 ft.); cost, £38 (1778).
- The Chancel taken down (1779), and the Shambles built (1793).
- Bill of Indictment from the Quarter Sessions of the Peace at Norwich, because of defective pavement, from Capt. Middleton's house in South Lynn to the post office in High Street. Vestry decide that the inhabitants ought to make good the pavement (1802).
- Sexton's house north side of chancel taken down to widen the street. New burial ground, St. James', consecrated (Dec. 14th, 1803). It cost £697/14/2, and was opened in 1807. The Trinity chapel partly taken down to widen the street (about 1807).
- Churchwardens drew up special rules for working the fire engine (1810).
- The church whitewashed and "beautified" at considerable expense; the cornice repaired at a cost of £100 (1811).
- The living augmented by a grant of £1,000 from government; invested in £1,131/10/0 three per cent. reduced Bank Annuities; valued at £138 in 1831.
- Gallery erected in the north transept (1825).
- Gas substituted for whale oil in the church; gas cost £18 per annum (1829).
- At the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act, the town ceased paying the stipends of the clergy (1835).
- Church property, 21, Tower Street, and the corner of South Clough Lane, pulled down and houses built (1839).
- Action against Mr. J. Keed and others for the recovery of church rates (1843).
- A new clock with chimes fixed in the north-west tower; the ten commandments, creed and Lord's Prayer painted "in 15th century style" (1845).
- The rectory of St. Edmund, North Lynn, united to the "curacy" of St. Margaret by Act of Parliament, 9th and 10th Vic., c. 376 (1846).
- The St. Margaret Church of England Elementary School established (1849).
- Church windows damaged by fire; cost £8/4/10 (1852).
- The late J. F. Reddie, organist for 30 years, died Feb. 20th 1860.
- The interior walls scraped, but no care taken with the brasses (1861).
- The church thoroughly restored under the direction of Sir Gilbert G. Scott (cost £8,000); the square base of the proposed lantern built with £1,000 given by the late Stephen Allen, of Shouldham Hall, as an act of thanksgiving on the recovery of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales; the chancel screen also restored (1874).
- Action, *Durst v. Marsters*, for taking away "a movable cross" without a faculty; the judicial Committee of the Privy Council (*Marsters v. Durst*) advised, as both parties were wrong, that the case be dismissed (July 11th 1876).
- Sunday evening, March 11th, 1883, a very high tide (29 feet 11 inches at the Dock sill) St. Margaret's church flooded during divine service.
- Henry Krinks, of Congleton, Cheshire, endowed the St. Margaret Church of England Elementary School (of which he was master from 1851 to 1857) with £500 as a prize fund; invested with the Official Trustees for Charitable Funds (1887).
- St. Margaret's bells increased to ten in honour of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, Wm. Burkitt, Esq., presenting the D or 2nd bell, named the "Albert," and his wife, Mrs. E. R. Burkitt, the E or treble bell, named the "Victoria" (1887).

Date.	Priors and Curates.	Patrons.	Reigning Sovereigns.	Bishops of the Diocese.
	Curates of St. Margaret with St. Nicholas, and Rectors of North Lynn:—	The Dean and Chapter of Norwich:—		Bishops of Norwich:—
1891	Edward George Adlington Winter, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich	William Lefroy, D.D.	Victoria	John Thomas Pelham 1857
1900	Robert Gordon Roe, M.A., Rural Dean	„	„	John Sheepshanks 1893

(2.) THE CHAPEL OF

Date.	Priors and Curates.	Patrons.	Reigning Sovereigns.	Bishops of the Diocese.
	Priors:—	The Bishops of Norwich probably:—		Bishops of Norwich:—
				William Turbus 1146
1189	William	John de Oxford	Richard I.	John de Oxford 1175
1199	William de Lenn	„	John	John de Grey 1200
1200	William	John de Grey	Henry III.	Panulph di Masca 1222
				Thomas de Blunville 1226
				William de Raleigh 1239
				Walter de Suffield or Calthorp 1245
				Simon de Wauton 1258
				Roger de Skerning 1266
1265	Adam de Schipdam	William de Middleton	Edward I.	William de Middleton 1278
1309	John de Bromholm (?)	John Salmon	Edward II.	Ralph de Walpole 1289
1325	John de Stratton	William Ayermin	„	John Salmon 1299
1331	*Simon de Walsingham	„	Edward III	William Ayermin 1325
		Priors of Benedictine Convent at Norwich:—		Antony Bek 1337
				William Bateman 1344
				Thomas Percy 1356
1379	*Ralph de Martham	Nicholas de Hoo	Richard II.	Henry de Spencer 1370

* From the Rolls in the Diocesan Registry, Norwich; the Patrons and other Vicars are compiled from Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* (Tanner's MS.) and the Churchwardens' Books.

Parochial Events.

- A severe gale damaged the organ (1893). The 8th bell recast by Messrs. Mears & Stainbank, of London, and the whole peal rehung and put into order by Messrs. G. Day & Son, of Eye (1893).
- The organ greatly improved by Messrs. Wordsworth, of Leeds, at a cost of £1,650; the late Miss Margaret Blencowe presented the swell organ in memory of her sister, the late Miss Ellen Blencowe (1895).
- The Trinity chapel restored, and a new oak reredos presented by Wm. Burkitt, Esq., in memory of his wife, Mrs. Emma R. Burkitt; it was designed by Messrs. Milne & Hall, of London, and executed by Mr. R. Bridgman, of Lichfield (1898).
- New reredos in the chancel erected with £1,000, a legacy, left by the late Miss Margaret Blencowe; it was designed by Mr. G. F. Bodley, A.R.A.; the carving was executed by Mr. R. Bridgman; Messrs. Powell, of London, were the decorators (1899).
- New choir stalls erected; the gift of the Rev. R. C. S. and Mrs. Sweeting, in memory of the late Mr. Robert H. and Mrs. Aldham (1902).

ST. NICHOLAS.

Parochial Events.

- William Turbus, Bishop of Norwich (1146-1175) enclosed the "Newland" (north of the Purfleet) and subsequently built a chapel of ease to the parent church, which was dedicated to St. Nicholas. This, with St. James' chapel, already built, he gave to the Benedictine monks of Norwich "located in Lenne."
- The chapel of St. Nicholas was apparently pulled down and replaced by a smaller one; to which a tower was afterwards added.
- Bishop John de Grey (1200-1222) erected a palace at Gaywood, and a town residence—a white house on the bank near the chapel of St. Nicholas.
- The prior of St. Margaret objected to the celebration of mass at the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, in the Damgate (Norfolk Street). The award shows how subject the master and his brethren were to the prior (1234).
- Alexander Siffe took sanctuary in the chapel, and subsequently abjured the realm (1332).
- The town visited by the "Black Death": great mortality (1349).
- Margaret Frengehe, widow, bequeathed 2/- to the fabric (1352).
- The gild of the Holy Trinity paid their annual contribution of 5/- towards the maintenance of the hermit of St. Nicholas (1354).
- Thomas Rightwise directed his body to be buried in the chapel of St. Edmund (1365), and Thomas Rightwise, junior, in the chapel of St. Peter, both in St. Nicholas' chapel (1371).
- Pope Gregory XI. granted a bull for rebuilding the edifice (1371).
- William de Bittering, four times mayor, was buried in the choir of the Blessed Virgin Mary in St. Nicholas' chapel (1372).
- Sir John Peye, chaplain, petitioned Pope Urban VI. for the right to administer the sacraments of baptism, &c., in the chapel. The petition was granted, but the inhabitants, thinking it prejudicial to the church of St. Margaret, issued letters patent addressed to the Court of Rome renouncing the privilege (1378).
- Bishop Henry le Spencer headed an army of 30,000 foot and 2,000 horse-soldiers, to fight for Pope Urban VI. against Pope (or anti-Pope) Clement (1384). John de Grantham bequeathed 2/- to the chapel (1384).
- John Wace left £30 towards the repairing of the building, and a further £20 from the residue of his estate (1399).
- Another payment, 13/4, from the gild of the Holy Trinity to "John. Hermit of St. Nicholas" (1407).

Date.	Priors and Curates.	Patrons.	Reigning Sovereigns.	Bishops of the Diocese.
	Priors:—	Priors of Benedictine Convent at Norwich:—		Bishops of Norwich:—
1393	*John de Carleton	Alexander Totyngton	Richard II.	
1398	*Walter Ormesby	"	"	
1399	*Richard de Ffolsham	"	Henry IV.	
1407	John Elys or Ellis	"	Henry V.	Alexander Totyngton 1407 Richard Courtenay 1413 John Waking 1416 William Alnwick 1426
1427	*John Derham	Robert Brunham	Henry VI.	
1437	*John Ffornesete	John Hewyrynglonde	"	Thomas Brown 1436
1452				
1454	*John Burton	John Molet	"	William Lehart 1446
1462	*Thomas Bozoun	"	Edward IV.	
1469				
1472	*John Bonewello	Thomas Bozoun	"	James Goldwell 1472
1479	*William Spynk	William Spynk	Edward V.	
1489	*William Berdeney	"	Richard III	
1499				Thomas Jane 1499
1504	*John Hopstede	R— Latton	Henry VII.	Richard Nix, or Nykke 1501
1506				
1516	*George Hyngham	"	Henry VIII	
1536	Edmund Norwich	William Castleton	"	Wm. Rugg, or Repps 1536
	Curates or "Vicars":—	The Dean and Chapter of Norwich:—		
1552	†John Stokes, D.D.	William Castleton	Edward VI. Mary	Thomas Thirlby 1550
1559	Thomas Howes	John Salisbury	Elizabeth	John Hopton 1554 John Parkhurst 1560 Edmund Freake 1575 Edmund Scambler 1585 William Redman 1595
15—	Samuel Staller (d. 1565)	Thomas Dove	James I.	
	* * *			
1592	Peter Smythe			John Jegon 1603 John Overall 1618 Samuel Harsnet 1619
1623	Matthew Swallow, M.A.	Edmund Suckling	"	
1626	William Leeds (d. 1628)	"	Charles I.	Francis White 1629 Richard Corbet 1632
1635	Thomas Purchas	John Hassall		Matthew Wren 1635
1637	Lionel Gatford	"	"	Richard Montagu 1638

* From the Rolls in the Diocesan Registry, Norwich; the Patrons and other Vicars are compiled from Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* (Tanner's MS.) and the Churchwardens' Books.

† Return of Church Goods: Edward VI.

Parochial Events.

The rebuilding of the chapel begun. The mayor, Bartholomew Petipas, bought the old materials (the lead from the roof excepted) from the side-chapel of St. Mary connected with the chapel of St. Nicholas, for £11, in order to repair the South gates and the bridge therewith. The Trinity gild afterwards paid the mayor for the outlay (1413).

In 1429, the edifice is spoken of as "newly built and constructed from the alms of the benevolent, and no one whomsoever (was) distrained, oppressed, or in any way molested in that behalf"; in other words the people gave voluntarily, and were not taxed.

The Corporation made application to William Alnwick, bishop of Norwich, asking that the sacraments of baptism and purification might be celebrated in the chapel. It was, however, refused. The phrase "the parish of St. Nicholas" sometimes used. Roger Pigefield and his wife Rosa demise a piece of land near the chapel (1432).

William Shyrewyn, cooper, conveyed a tenement in Iron Row, Tuesday market-place, to the chapelwardens (1463).

John Alcock, bishop of Ely, granted 40 days' indulgence to the brethren and sisters of the gild of St. Etheldreda, on condition that they heard mass at her altar in the chapel of St. Nicholas (1490).

A list taken of all the goods belonging to the chapel (29th Sept. 1495).

Certain lands outside the East gates were conveyed to the chapel (1497).

The chapel indebted to the gild of the Holy Trinity for £20, for which John Wace, T. Waterden, J. Wyntworth and W. Hunderpound were bound (1509).

The convent of Benedictine monks (with which St. Margaret's church and the various chapels of ease were affiliated) and the four great orders of mendicant friars were suppressed (1536).

The plate belonging to the chapel sold "for the advancement of the common-wealth of the town." It realised £73, for which the Mayor and Burgesses granted the chapelwardens an annuity of 26/8 (1543). It was afterwards increased to 40/-, and is still being paid.

Three bells sold to buy artillery with which to defend the burgh (1550).

The plague was prevalent and the mortality very great (1558).

The rood-loft taken down; the images removed; the east end levelled to the other part of the chapel; and the windows furnished with glass instead of wooden shutters (1559).

Superstitious relics burnt in the Tuesday market (1561).

The organ sold to repair St. Margaret's church. Ornaments, which realised £20/3/0, were also sold by the consent of the parishioners. No minister (1555).

The chapel repaired at great expense (1581).

The roof, which had been damaged by a storm, was restored (1607).

The interior of the chapel "whited" or white-washed (1608).

A final attempt was made to make the chapel parochial: the Consistory Court, however, objected to the administration of the sacrament of baptism, because "there was no font" (1609).

A new clock-bell hung outside the steeple; a sun-dial fixed (1613).

The King's arms gilded (1616).

"The newe seate called the Consistorye" which cost £6/1/1, was made. The St. Nicholas' library, founded by the Mayor and Corporation (1617), was afterwards added to the library at St. Margaret's.

The chapel was included in a grant of lease for 21 years of the priory, and the chapel land at a yearly rent of £21/2/0 (1622).

The gallery on the north side repaired: certain windows, brought from the ruins of St. James' chapel, were fixed in the chapel; and a new bell cast by John Draper of Thetford (1626).

Bishop Samuel Harsnet granted, and moreover consecrated, a font (1627).

Chimes, probably the first, were set up (1628), and pews were constructed at a cost of £25 (1629).

The windows were mended with "white glass" (1632).

A new clock with chimes was placed in the tower: cost £16.13.4 (1633).

Date.	Priors and Curates.	Patrons.	Reigning Sovereigns.	Bishops of the Diocese.
	Curates or "Vicars":—	The Dean and Chapter of Norwich:—		Bishops of Norwich:—
1644	Nicholas Toll	John Hassall	Charles I. [Common-wealth]	Joseph Hall 1641
1662	Thomas Hoogan, M.A.	John Crofts	Charles II.	Edward Reynolds 1661
1669	†Mordaunt Webster	"	"	
1672	Richard Salter, M.A.	Herbert Astley	"	
1675	Robert Pepper	"	"	
1680	Thomas Fysh	"	James II.	Antony Sparrow 1676
1689	Thomas Littell, D.D.	Henry Fairfax	William and Mary	William Lloyd 1685
1700	John Jaggard, S.T.B. (d. 1702)	"	Anne	Thomas Moore 1691
			George I.	Charles Trimnel 1708
				Thomas Green 1721
				John Leng 1723
1731	§ Thomas Pyle, M.A.	Thomas Cole	George II.	William Baker 1727
				Robert Butts 1733
				Thomas Gooch 1738
				Samuel Lisle 1748
1755	Charles Bagge, D.D.	Thomas Bullock	"	Thomas Hayter 1749
		Philip Lloyd	George III.	Philip Yonge 1761
1791	Stephen Allen, D.D.	Joseph Turner	"	Lewis Bagot 1783
		"	"	George Horne 1790
1847	Robert Edwards Hankinson, M.A.	Hon. George Pellew	George IV. William IV. Victoria	Charles Manners Sutton 1792
	Curates of St. Margaret with St. Nicholas, and Rectors of North Lynn:—			Henry Bathurst 1805
1850	Charles Nourse Wodehouse, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich	"	"	Edward Stanley 1837
1860	Edward Francis Edwards Hankin- son, M.A., Hon. Canon of Nor- wich	"	"	Samuel Hinds 1849
1866	Philip John Wode- house, M.A.	The Dean and Chapter of Norwich:— Edward Mey- rick Goul- burn, D.D.	"	John Thomas Pelham 1857
1872	John Durst, M.A.	"	"	
1882	Benjamin Dale, M.A.	"	"	
1891	Edward George Adlington Win- ter, M.A., Hon. Canon of Nor- wich.	William Lefroy, D.D.	"	
1900	Robert Gordon Roe, M.A., Rural Dean.	"	"	John Sheepshanks 1893

† Also Vicar of All Saints' Church (1668-1689).

§ Also Vicar of All Saints' (1718-1754)

Parochial Events.

The town was besieged by Cromwell's forces under the command of the Earl of Manchester (1643).

The great bell was recast by Andrew Gurney; cost £16 17/2 (1645).

The bells were recast by Thomas Norwich; cost £29 (1654).

The King's arms were once more set up (1660).

John Halcott gave £10 to beautify the chapel (1663).

The spire was repaired and strengthened (1670).

John Jaggard succeeded John Haselwood as lecturer (1689).

Thomas Pyle, M.A., was appointed lecturer (1701).

Improved chimes, which played several tunes, were fixed (1724).

A violent storm happened; the spire, 170 feet high, was blown down (8th Sept. 1741). The chapel estate was let on lease for 99 years, the consideration money being used to repair the roof of the chapel, and to erect a low octagonal broach instead of a graceful spire (1741-2).

Sir Benjamin Keene (born at Lynn 1697) became ambassador to the Court of Spain. He died at Madrid, 16th December 1757; and was interred in St. Nicholas' chapel, Lynn.

The main roof was releaded at a cost of £566/4/6 (1783).

The sexton provided with slippers, and a great coat trimmed with gold lace £1/13/1, in which to attend divine service (1791).

The great west window was reglazed; cost £48/4/6 (1804).

The cross-gallery between the nave and chancel was erected (1806).

The spire was recaulked, £3/12/0, and a new clock provided, £104/4/0 (1832).

At the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act (1835) our Corporation discontinued paying the stipends of the clergy. The Rev. Edward Edwards, the last of the "lecturers," died (1846).

The rectory of North Lynn united to the parish of St. Margaret by Act of Parliament (1846). A list of the rectors, from 1305 to 1756, is given in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, vol. viii., p. 540.

The Corporation voted £100 towards the proposed alterations (May 1851).

Mr. Chancellor Evans delivered judgment in the Consistorial Court, Norwich, deciding that the owners of the pews in the galleries had no legal right to them; a faculty was therefore granted for removing the galleries (August 1851).

When the chapel was reseatd (1852) most of the beautifully carved 15th century woodwork was removed. Mr. Chas. Bennett's tender, £1,243, accepted.

The wooden broach was taken down, for fear it might fall, as did the lantern of St. James' workhouse (1854).

The St. Nicholas' Church of England Elementary Schools, Pilot Street, were erected (1869).

The old bells (tenor 15 cwt.) recast, and, with the small saunce bell of 1553 added, a tuneful octave in F (tenor 20 cwt.) was obtained. The new bells, with their fittings, were from the foundry of Messrs. J. W. Taylor & Son, of Loughborough (1870).

The foundations having been carefully examined (the ground had accumulated 6½ feet) and the tower restored (1863), a new lead-covered spire was erected; architect, Sir Gilbert G. Scott; builders, Messrs. Freeman and Son, Ely; John Thorley gave £500 towards the expenses (1871).

The Corporation purchased a piece of the chapel land adjoining the cattle market for £1,000 (1879).

The lead from the roof of the chapel was recast at a cost of £241/13/7 (1890).

A new organ (£437/10 3) provided; the necessary money being partly raised by selling £306/11/0 invested in 2½ per cent. Consols (1899).

A magnificent organ case designed by Mr. John O. Scott was presented by E. M. Beloe, Esq. (1900).

The beautiful font cover, designed by Mr. J. Olrid Scott as a replica of the one given by Bishop Harsnet (*circa* 1627), presented by E. M. Beloe, Esq. (1902).

The vestry door in the north aisle, the moulding of which was copied by Mr. Harry Brown from one in the Red Mount, was opened (1903).

THE PARISH OF ALLSAINTS,

(3.) ALLSAINTS', OR

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in pursuance of an Act (29th and 30th appropriate tithe commutation rent-charge arising

Date.	Vicars and Rectors.	Patrons.	Reigning Sovereigns.	Bishops of the Diocese.
	Vicars:—	Priors of Westacre (Clugniac Convent):—		Bishops of Ely:—
1302	Peter de Wendy	Henry de Acre	Edward I.	Robert of Oxford 1302
1307	Bartholomew de Runhale		Edward II.	John de Keeton 1310
1312	John de Godewick		"	John Hotham 1316
1321	Richard de Godewick	William de Wesenham	"	Simon de Montacute 1337
1346	Henry de Basset		Edward III.	Thomas Lisle 1344
1352	William Aunger	Gilbert de Quaplode	"	Simon Langham 1362
13—	John de Barlings	John de Stow	"	John Barnet 1366
1369	John de Acre	Jeffrey de Warham	"	Thomas de Arundel 1374
1393	Robert Flode de Aylsham	John de Acre	Richard II.	John Fordham 1388
1412	Thomas Ledlady de Shuldham	John de Watlington	Henry IV.	Philip Morgan 1426
1417	John Candler	John de Westacre	Henry V.	
1428	John Mudeford de Feltwell		Henry VI.	
1438	Hugo Acton de Norvico		"	Lewis de Luxemburgh 1438
1442	John Halle	John de West	"	
1444	*John Norris	John Fakenham	"	Thomas Bourchier 1443
1504	Richard Gotts	Richard (or Thomas) Clark	Edward IV. Edward V. Richard III Henry VII.	William Grey 1454 John Morton 1478 John Alcock 1486 Robert Redman 1501 James Stanley 1506 Nicholas West 1515 Thomas Goodrick 1534
1530	Thomas Alblaster, S.Th.B.	* * *	Henry VIII.	
1543	John Clerk	Thomas Legh, D.D.	"	
1556	Nicholas Myller, D.D.	The King and Queen	Edward VI. Philip and Mary	Thomas Thirlby 1554 Richard Cox (d. 1581) 1559
	* * * * *			* * * * *
15—	Henry Thompson	The Queen	Elizabeth	Martin Heton 1599
1601	William Gibbins, S.Th.B.	Bishops of Ely.	"	
1605	John Man	"	James I.	Lancelot Andrews 1609 Nicholas Felton 1619

* Buried in the church or churchyard.

OR ALLHALLOWS, SOUTH LYNN.

ALLHALLOWS', CHURCH.

Vic., c. 111, s. 5), conveyed to the Incumbent of the Vicarage the from lands in the parish (1st October 1868).

Parochial Events.

The present Church, probably erected in the 15th century, was built on the site of a 13th century edifice. In the south wall are traces of Norman workmanship.

In the will of Adam de Geyton money is left to the recluses of Lenne and Allsaints (1272).

The "parish of All Saints" mentioned in John Ode's will (1307).

The chamberlains of the burgh of Bishop's Lenne paid 14d. for Holy Bread for the Vicar of Allsaints (1344).

A terrible plague, "Black Death," visited Lynn (1349). Most of the clergy in this county perished. The Bishop collated 850 persons to benefices.

Margaret Frenghe, the wife of John Frenghe, "of good memory," left by her will xijd. "to the fabrick of the church of All Saints, of Lenn," also five silver marks to the Friars Carmelites of "Suth lenn" (1352).

In the accounts of the Trinity gild the sum of 20/- was paid towards the maintenance of the anchorite of South Lenne (1374).

Lord Henry le Spencer, bishop of the diocese, joined the Crusaders under Pope Urban VI. to fight against Pope Clement (1384).

A similar payment of 20/- to "the Anchorite of All Saints, South Lenne" (1386).

The mayor of Bishop's Lenne commanded by letters patent of Richard II. to fortify Bishop's Lenne and South Lenne against the King's enemies; also to raise a body of soldiers between the ages of 16 and 60 from the two places. He was moreover to levy a tax on the inhabitants for the execution of the commission (1386).

The Trinity gild of Bishop's Lenne paid 10/- to the recluse of Allsaints (1407).

Rev. John Norris built the vicarage house in what was subsequently known as Vicarage Lane (1477).

The patronage of the prior of Westacre probably ceased, when William Wingfield and eight of his brethren surrendered the priory to Henry VIII. in lieu of life pensions. The impropriated rectory of South Lynn assigned to Lady Mary, who afterwards ascended the throne.

The gild of Allsaints, South Lenne, founded by Sir George Pyerpounte, alderman of Bishop's Lenne (1498).

The Carmelites and other religious orders suppressed (1536).

The gild connected with this church suppressed (1546). A licence granted for connecting this parish with the Borough (1546).

The Commissioners made their return of the Church Goods (1553). Church stock £6.

Rood-loft and images taken down; the ground at the chancel end lowered; and the windows furnished with glass instead of shutters (1559).

The parsonage house leased to Nicholas Brooke (1591 to 1612).

Popish relics and mass-books burnt in Tuesday market (1561 and 1569).

The Feast of Reconciliation instituted; on the first Monday in every month the clergy, with the mayor, aldermen and common council, tried to effect a reconciliation between aggrieved parishioners (1588).

Owing to the poverty of the parish, the living was vacant (1656).

Thomas Valenger, town clerk, built South Lynn Almshouses (1605).

Whitefriars' steeple—the tower of the Carmelite monastery—fell (1630).

An order from Archbishop Laud for the ground in the chancel to be raised, and an altar or communion table to be placed there (1637).

The town besieged by Cromwell's army under the Earl of Manchester (1643).

Rev. John Horne published an account of the "penitent death" of Rose Warne, who was hanged for killing her child (1648).

Date.	Vicars and Rectors.	Patrons.	Reigning Sovereigns.	Bishops of the Diocese.
	Vicars :—	Bishops of Ely.		Bishops of Ely :—
1646	John Horne	„	Charles I. (Common-wealth)	John Buckeridge 1628 Francis White 1631 Matthew Wren 1638
1662	†Luke Skippon, D.D. S.Th.B.	„	Charles II.	
1663	Thomas Skynner	„	„	
1664	*Joshua Wilson	„	„	Benjamin Laney 1667
1668	Mordaunt Webster	„	„	Peter Gunning 1675 Francis Turner 1684
			James II.	Simon Patrick 1691
1689	John Marshall	„	William & Mary	
1689	*Henry Wastell	„	Anne	John More 1707
			George I.	William Fleetwood 1714
1718	*Thomas Pyle	„	„	Thomas Green 1723
			George II.	Robert Butts * 1733 Sir Thomas Gooch, Bart. 1748 Matthias Mawson 1754
1754	*Charles Phelpes	„	„	
1783	*Mark Burn	„	George III.	Edmund Keene (of Lynn) 1770
1811	*Thomas Berkeley Greaves	„	„	Hon. James York 1781 Thomas Dampier 1808
			George IV.	Bowyer Edward Sparke 1812
			William IV.	Joseph Allen, D.D. 1836
			Victoria	Thomas Turton, D.D. 1845
				Bishops of Norwich :—
1850	†Robert Seppings Beloe	Bishops of Norwich.	„	Samuel Hinds 1849

* Buried in the church or churchyard.

† Probably he officiated until John Horne's withdrawal, and was not a "vicar."

‡ Appointed rector of Holton, Suffolk, 1855, where he was buried in 1896.

Parochial Events.

- On the passing of the Act of Uniformity, the Rev. John Horne resigned (1662), and became therefore one of the "ejected ministers." He died 1686, aged 73 years, and was buried in St. Nicholas' chapel. Bequeathed £5 to the poor of South Lynn.
- Ordered that the Great Bell be rung daily "for three score pulls, and after ceasing, to toll the number of days of month," at 4 a.m. and 9 p.m. in summer, and at 5 a.m. and 8 p.m. in winter, "because the parish is at a distance from other parishes where clocks be to time" (1669).
- Two silver flagons (63 ozs. 12 dwts. and 62 ozs. 5 dwts.) and a silver patten (25 ozs.) were sent to the vicar by "Philocrates" from London, for the use of the Holy Table (1670).
- Lawsuit between the parish and the borough respecting the repair of the "Long Bridge," over the Nar (1674).
- Decided that the bounds be walked every other year on Rogation Monday (1675).
- Surveyors of highways first elected by the Vestry (1681).
- Ordered that the churchwardens, the overseers of the poor, and the constables for the year last past, shall give up their accounts on 2nd May 1684.
- At the County Sessions held in St. George's Hall, the parish fined £30 because the highways were in a bad state. A rate of 6d. in the £ brought in £32/18/7 (April 15th 1686).
- The parish instructed her officers to take no notice "of any order from King's Lynn for ye new Corporation Act" (April 18th 1704).
- Thomas Buckingham, for many years overseer, and the founder of the "Buckingham trust" (Society of Friends), left £14 to the poor of the parish (1704).
- The borough endeavouring to impose their poor children upon this parish, the vestry determined "to put a stop to their unneighbourly dealings," even if resorting to law were necessary (1712).
- A final settlement of the dispute between the borough and this parish respecting the repair of the "Long Bridge" (1714).
- A fire engine provided and kept in the church (1719).
- Nathaniel Kinderley requested to purchase a clock for the tower (1719). The terms, however, were so irksome, that £20 was paid Kinderley as a final discharge, and he was ordered to take it away (1725).
- A house belonging to "the master of the Sailor's Box," Friars Street, leased for 21 years as a workhouse for the parish, the rent being £12 a year (1749).
- The tower of Allsaints' church fell (1763). Resolved that the church be repaired; the gable and turret were rebuilt, but not the tower (1764). The five bells with old brasses, &c., sold for £174/3/1 (1765).
- Valenger's almshouses rebuilt, at a cost of £257 (1806).
- A faculty obtained for erecting a gallery, &c. (1841). At the Commutation of Tithes (1845), the rent charges were £190 and £180 respectively to the appropriator and the vicar.
- The vicarage house was in a ruinous state; the gable fell (1846); vacant till 1850, when the site (1,730 sq. yds.) was sold.
- Restoration of the church (1859-60). Cost, £1,417/10/6.
- John Sugars, who died in 1885, placed a stained glass window in the church (1861).
- The vestry and chancel restored by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and a new organ chamber erected (1867).
- The nave restored under the direction of Mr. Ewan Christian (1863).
- The Ecclesiastical Commissioners granted the appropriate tithe commutation rent-charge (1st Oct. 1868).
- The late Thomas Augustus Carter bequeathed £192/10/4, which was vested in the "Official Trustees for Charitable Funds" (1872).
- Five tenements, the "White House Cottages," erected by John Sugars, which were let to deserving people at 1/- per week (1881).

Date.	Vicars and Rectors.	Patrons.	Reigning Sovereigns.	Bishops of the Diocese.
	Rectors (1868):—	Dean and Chapter:—		Bishops of Norwich:—
1855	*William Leeper, M.A.	Hon. George Pellew (dean) and chapter	Victoria	Samuel Hinds 1849 John Thomas Pelham 1857
1895	Arthur Herbert Hayes	The Bishop of Norwich.†	„ Edward VII.	John Sheepshanks 1889

* Appointed rector of Belton, Suffolk, 1895, where he was buried in 1901

† The Bishop, and the Dean and Chapter alternately.



Parochial Events.

1883-1884

In substitution of the "White House Cottages," John Sugars provided a site and money for the erection of the present Almshouses, Goodwins Road (1883). By the same will he bequeathed £200 to assist in enlarging the parish church. Plans for that purpose were prepared by Messrs. Milne & Hall, London (1896).

The day school built in 1852. Enlarged by a bequest of £500 from Miss Margaret Blencowe (1899).

Stained glass window erected by parishioners and friends, and consecrated to the memory of the Rev. William Leeper (died 26th January 1901) and his wife Margaret (died 24th July 1896).

The foundation stone of St. Michael and All Angels' mission church laid by Lady ffolkes, the Mayor and Corporation attending (17th October 1900). The church was consecrated by the Lord Bishop of Norwich, in the presence of large numbers of clergy and laity (June 24th 1901). St. Michael's infant school was dedicated by the Lord Bishop of Thetford (September 23rd 1901). The total cost of church and school was £2,600. The site was given by Sir Wm. H. B. ffolkes, bart.





INDEXES.

INDEX I., GENERAL.

INDEX II., PERSONAL NAMES.

INDEX III., PLACE-NAMES.



INDEX I.

GENERAL.

* Denotes where the meaning or derivation of a word is discussed.

ABHORRERS, LOCAL, 428.

Act concerning — Purveyors, 102 — Worsted spinning, 258—the digging of turf, 390—seditious societies, 519—shipping, 539, 581—sea-borne coals, 541—recovery of rates, 545—burials in wool, 732—witches, 850—the gibbet, 853—the boiling of poisoners, 854—the whipping of rogues, etc., 857.

Act of — Amnesty, 403 — Supremacy, 412—Uniformity, 414, 639, 885—Security, 459.

Act, the — Municipal Corporations, 246, 572, 580, 875, 881—Navigation, 376—Conventicle, 438, 452, 453—Test, 441, 444—Penal, 441—Dissenters' chapels, 446—Habeas Corpus, 557—Bribery and Corruption, 559—Riot, 560—Reform, 572, 803—Bath and Wash-house, 615—Inclosures, 641—Free Libraries, 641—Prisons, 664, 753—Employers and Workmen's, 739—Preliminary Enquiry, 783—Sumptuary, 787 [See also Statutes].

Acting prohibited, 818.

Actions at law, *re*—An assessment, 60—the bishop's staith, 139—election of mayors, 156, 157, 236, 258—the fair, 302—casting a bell, 321—the Long Bridge, 421, 422, 885.

The Corporation against—the bishop, 60, 118—the Corporation of Cambridge, 258; Wisbech, 319; Bristol, 462; Ayre, 560; London, 574—Hulton, 456—Vincerson, 456.

Against the Lynn Corporation—Montalt, 83—the Bishop, 131, 135—the Crown, 462—Peacock, 535—Carr, 540—the burgesses, 561—Lawrence, 578—Mr. Hamon Le Strange, 791—Sir Nicholas Le Strange, 816.

Actors, visits of noted, [826-829].

Actresses, visits of noted, [829-830].

Acts, local, 226, 240, 246, 257, 258, 276, 288, 303, 335, 336, 337, 355, 356, 357, 376, 380, 427, 429, 450, 457, 466, 485, 486, 487, 488, 490, 506, 513, 536, 561, 566, 568, 590, 594, 607, 617, 618, 657, 658, 663, 664, 665, 666, 677, 678, 727, 732, 779, 782, 796, 875, 881.

Addresses, congratulatory—394, 428, 446, 454, 458, 459, 460, 467, 489, 557.

Admiralty—powers conferred, 239, 312—its area, 242, 318—court, 284, 285, 318, 575—powers sought, 296, 317—jurisdiction, 317, 318—Wisbech excluded from, 319—dues, 482—enquiries, 591, 605—seal, 710.

Advowson of—South Lynn, 508—North Lynn, 601, 618.

Affeerors, *199.

Ahoy!, *378.

Aid, a royal, 456.

Albert Oil-mill, the, 609.

Albert Street, 655.

Albion Hall, the, 416, 651, 653.

Albion Place, 658.

Alderman, 187, *204, *688.

Aldermen, Court of, 254.

Alexandra Dock, the, 4, 357, 608, 664.

Allegiance, the Oath of, 670.

Allen's Close, 655, 860.

Allen's Yard, 658.

Allsaints' (Allhallows) Church—in-ventory of goods, 272—advowson, 308—plate, 409, 410—"parish" clerk, 482—clock, 486, 885—vane, 490—epitaphs, 507—tower, 544, 859, 885—bells, 544, 839, 885—re-pairs, 544, 885—gild associations, 743—vicars and rectors [882, 884, 886], 211, 409, 410, 481, 482, 510, 639, 743, 852—other references, 156, 475, 743, 814. [See also Brasses, Burial-ground, and Organ.]

- Allsaints' Church Mission Room, 649.
 Allsaints', Gild of (South Lynn), 750, 864.
 Allsaints' Schools, 601, 887.
 Allsaints' Street, 20, 329, 556, 658, 663, 679, 709, 863.
 Almshouses [See also Bedehouses]—
 Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen (Gaywood Road), 119, 216, 247, 248, 249, 321, 325, 357, 367, 368, 584, 707, 710, 712, 847, 871—Valenger's, 329, 473, 711, 883, 885—
 Framingham's, 438, 439, 511, 601, 613, 642, 643, 723, 769, 858, 873—
 Smith's, 567, 572—Elsden's, 584—
 Backham's, 633—Sugars', 887.
 Almshouse Lane, 658.
 Alnage (wool tax), 727, 728.
 American trade, the, 604.
 American War, the, 514, 515.
 Anchorage, 71, 242, 318, 482, 483, 485, 707.
 Anchorites, 230, 250, 707, 709.
 Angel, *301.
 Angling, 191.
 Animals, extinct, 4.
 Ann(e)'s Fort, St. [764-766], 334, 355, 447, 580, 591, 656, 749, 780, 788.
 Ann(e)'s (Agnes') Gate, St., 185, 357, 759, 762.
 Anne, Gild of St., 741, 749.
 Anne's Street, St., 531, 610.
 Annuitants, borough, 256, 257, 312, 577.
 Anthony, Gild of St., 741, 749.
 Apprenticing of poor children, the, 289, 337, 450, 471, 639, 733.
 Arch on the Walks, the [See Gan-nock Gate].
 Archery, 190.
 Architecture, domestic, 266, 267, 268.
 Area of,—the borough, 452, 477, 576, 657—parishes, 29, 452—wards, 658.
 Armada, the [See Spanish Armada].
 Armoury, the, 638.
 Arms of—Lynn [30-35], 420, 430, 601, 614, 761, 804, 873.
 King or Kingdom, the, 35, 235, 393, 394, 429, 510, 594, 761, 802, 879, 881.
 State, the, 393, 394, 802.
 Families—Scales, 201—Ufford, 201—
 Lestrange, 373—Townshend, 395, 396—Turner, 433—Walpole, 465, 466—Fitz-Warren, 491—Hastings, 710—Howard, 745.
 Companies—Tobacco-pipe makers, 656—Merchant Tailors, 730—
 Tallow Chandlers, 731—Woolmen, 731.
 Aryan myth, version of an, 32.
 Ascension, Gild of, 113, 741.
 Assassination Plot, the, 454.
 Assault, military, 521, 522.
 Assay Office, 421.
 Assembly, the [See Corporation].
 Assembly Books [See Hall Books].
 Assembly Room, 577, 601.
 Assessments for—imperial purposes, 59, 60, 177—holy bread, 170—
 repaying loans, 198—repairing the church, 327, 328—war, 408—the poor, 551.
 Assistance given to—Boston, 348—
 Scarborough, 370, 371.
 Assize of—bread, 77, 242, 257—arms, 106—beer, 242, 257.
 Assize of Bread Rolls, 77.
 Assizes at—Norwich, 560—Thetford, 560.
 Association, the Eastern Counties, 349, 352, 845.
 Association, Reeve's, 519.
 Associations—armed, 514, 516, 517—
 loyal, 454, 519.
 Athenæum, the [634-638], *635, 640, 641, 651.
 Athenæum Chambers, the, 637.
 Audrey, Gild of St., 741, 750.
 Augmentation Court, the, 273.
 Austin (Augustinian) Convent, 33, 127, 165, 178, 217, 704, 712, 713, 714, 715, 793.
 Austin Street, 213, 461, 531, 656, *713.
 Avenue Road, 658.
 BACK LANES, THE, 655.
 Badges for beggars, 275, 389, 434.
 Baiting of animals, the, 161, 190, 430.
 Baize, the manufacture of, 289, 594, 735.
 Baker Lane, 531, 542, 756.
 Ball-play, 189, 848.
 Ballast, 318, 482, 483, 484, 485.
 Baltic trade, the, 540, 604.
 Bank Chambers, the, 440.
 Bank House, the, 541.
 Bank Lane, 267, 541.
 Bank Room (Athenæum), 637.
 Banks—Capital and Counties, 130—
 Gurneys', 266, 430—the Lynn, 556, 566—the Lynn Regis and Lincoln-shire, 566—the Lynn Regis and Norfolk, 566.
 Banqueting Room (Town Hall), 753.
 Banquets, Civic, 694.
 Baptists—persecuted, 438, 548—early, 453, 454—later [570-572], 647—
 chapels, 570, 571, 619, 651, 655, 707.

- Bar Flat Light, the, 486, 487.
 Barker's Fleet, 762.
 Barley, exportation of, 605.
 Baronetries created, 327.
 Barracks at Norman Cross, etc., 523.
 Barrier Bank, the, 767.
 Barrows, *10, 12.
 Baths, the Public, 124, 615.
 Baxter's Bridge, 731, 767.
 Baxter's Plain, 634, 861.
 Baxter's Row, 198, 312, *731, 755, 863, 864, 865.
 Beaconage, 318, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487.
 Beaconer, the, 575.
 Beacons, life-saving, 632.
 Beadles, 575, 579, 593.
 Beating the Bounds [See Perambulation].
 Be(a)lver's Bridge, 769, 863.
 Bed-coverlets, manufacture of, 728, 730.
 Bedehouses, 567, 633, 655, 748, 794.
 Bedesman, *275.
 Bede Rolls, the, 769.
 Bedford Level Corporation, the, 783.
 Bedstead provided, 75.
 Beer exported, 540, 542.
 Belfries [837-839].
 Bell founders, 322, 836.
 Bell foundries, local, 832, 833.
 Bellman's Groat, the, 484.
 Bells,—the casting of, 321, 322, 323, 344, 834, 835, 836—the tuning of, 432, 836—charges for use of, 435, 840, 841.
 Bell towers (campaniles), 167.
 Bel's Dogs, 24, 25.
 Benedictine Monks, 210, 698, 718.
 Benedictine Priory, 697, 869.
 Benefactions (other than Almshouses) made by—Bishop Lozinga, 70—Burnham, 133, 134—Burghard(e), 169, 170—Lonyson, 290—Titley, 290—Halcott, 439, 511—Buckingham, 444, 471—White, 462, 463—Crane, 477—Lord Stanley, 583, 640—Dacheux, 612—Blencowe, 644—Krinks, 875.
 Benefit of Clergy, the, 847, 855.
 Benevolence, the Order of [764-766].
 Bentinck Dock, the, 608, 609, 738.
 Bird-cage Walk, 656.
 Bishop *versus* the Mayor [128-132], [179-183].
 Bishop *versus* the Prior, 71.
 Bishops of Ely, the, 882, 884, 886.
 Bishops of Norwich, the, 868, 870, 872, 874, 876.
 Bishop's Staith, the, *71, 81, 139, 141.
 Blackboy Street, *656.
 Blackfriars (Dominican), the, 655, 701, 704, 706, 707, 708.
 Blackfriars, their benefactors, 707.
 Blackfriars' Hall, 548, 637, 653.
 Blackfriars' Road, 571, 643, 651, 655.
 Blackstowe, the, 662.
 Black Death, the, 104, 105, 111, 122, 660, 762, 869, 877.
 Black Goose Street, 416, 501, 556, 645, *656, 732, 865.
 Black Horse Street, 591, *656.
 Blockhouse, the, 357, 385, 386, 591, 764.
 Blubber House, the, 555, 788.
 Blubber Yard, the, 788.
 Boal (the Ball, Le Balle), the, *190, 580, 606, 732, 776, 777, 784, 847.
 Boal Mills, the, 190, 739.
 Boal Street, 20, 626.
 Bokenham's Place, 124, 236.
 Bombards, 114.
 Bombasins, the manufacture of, 728.
 Bonding system, the, 541, 604.
 Book Clubs, 639.
 Bordin Bridge, *216.
 Borough, *11.
 Borough accounts, 153, 665.
 Borough English, 119.
 Borough fund, 664, 666.
 Borough officials, 865, 866.
 Borough Rate, 666.
 Borough Steeplechase, the, 534, 583.
 Boroughs, corporate, 689.
 Boundaries—Pilgrimage Hill, 18—marble cross, 119—of enlarged burgh, 286—Parochial, 479, 658, 861—wall stones (South Lynn), 480—Wards, 658—Parliamentary, 658.
 Boyland Hall, 263.
 Brasses, sepulchral, 386, 387, 388, 807.
 Bread Riots, 524, 525.
 Bretash (bretach), *113, 357, 745, 747, 758, 759, 760.
 Brewers, number of, 566.
 Brewery Buildings, the, 658.
 Brewery, Everard's, 542.
 Bricks—the making of, 428, 699—importation of, 539.
 Brid(e)well, the, 338, 511, 753.
 Bridge Street, 20, 251, 556, 658, 663, 679, 709.
 Bridges, *11—tax to support, 44, 48—chapels at, 45—destroyed, 355, 421—building of, 577—repaired, 577.
 Briefs granted, 436, 437.
 Briggate (Brygate, Briggegate), *19, 77, 171, 198, 216, 656, 689, 694, 863.

- British and Foreign School Society, 642.
 British and Foreign Schools, 641.
 British School, the, 643, 644.
 Broad Street, 171, 311, 416, 438, 491, 549, 558, 570, 571, 596, 616, 647, 651, 653, 654, 732, 755, 766, 859, 861.
 Browne Scholarships, the, 503, 504.
 Brownists, persecution of the, 545, 546.
 Buckingham Terrace, 419, 471, 527, 569, 655.
 Building Society, the, 637.
 Bulkbreak, 482, 483, 485.
 Bulwer Row, 731.
 Bunchesham, 268, 863.
 Burel, manufacture of, 726.
 Burgess' Letter, a, 685.
 Burgesses-at-large, 343.
 Burgesses in Parliament [See Members of Parliament].
 Burgh (byrig), *11, 19, 688.
 Burgh-mote, the, 688.
 Burghard(e)'s Lane, 171, 755, 863.
 Burial Board, the, 617.
 Burial Grounds (grave-yards) — St. John's, 21, 601, 644—St. James', 293, 543, 544, 577, 592, 601, 616, 642—the Friends', 419—St. Margaret's, 492, 512, 517, 871, 875—St. Nicholas', 492, 544—the Jews', 527—the Baptists', 549—All-saints', 612, 616—the Roman Catholic, 618.
 Burial Mounds, 10, 12.
 Burkitt Street, *656.
 Burlingham Art Gallery, the, 638.
 Burlingham's Court, 637.
 Butchers Lane, *731.
 Butts, the public, 190, 191.
 Bye-laws, 168, 169—the harbour, 581, 582.
 CAMP OF PEACE, 12, 17, 23.
 Cannon, 114, 183, 764.
 Capitulation of the town, 358.
 Captives in Africa, 437.
 Carmelites, the [See Whitefriars].
 Carnegie Library, the, 641.
 Carron Company, Ltd., the, 609.
 Carrying trade deflected, 600.
 Carucate, *675.
 Castle hills, 22.
 Catherine's Gate, St. [See East Gates].
 Catherine (Katherine) Hermitage (and Chapel), the St., 251, 328, 649.
 Catherine's Wall, St., 351.
 Cattle Fair, the, 302, 416, 724.
 Cattle Market, the, 439, 491, 664, 665, 724, 735.
 Cauldron, victims of the, 855.
 Causeway, *11, 72.
 Cavalier Parliament, the, 411.
 Celt, *3.
 Cemetery, the, 616.
 Chadwick Street, 480, 658.
 Chamberlains, the town, 217, 236, 575.
 Chamberlain's Account, the, 19, 85, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 118, 131, 132, 134, 135, 138, 153, 156, 157, 158, 174, 190, 198, 203, 214, 283, 394, 477, 746, 758, 777, 814, 815, 818.
 Charnel Lights, the, 486, 487.
 Chapel Street, 288, 491, 610, 656, 713, 732, 865.
 Character of townsfolk, 470, 547, 562, 695.
 Charistia, Feast of, 85.
 Charities, 462, 463, 577, 579, 580, 642 [See also Benefactions].
 Charity Commissioners, 248, 288, 652, 817.
 Charity Trustees, 584.
 Charnel House, the, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 233, 854, 869, 871, 873, 875.
 Charnel Priests, 172, 227, 230, 866.
 Charter, the town's Great [47-50], 383, 412.
 Charters, Episcopal, 48, 58, 235.
 Charters, Royal—their nature, 40—confirmed by the bishop, 48—produced in evidence, 50, 155—cancelled, 58, 118, 285, 445—enrolled, 115, 273, 274—purchased, 116—surrendered, 383, 412—destroyed, 385, 445—Saxon, 673, 674.
 C. 1 (1205), [47-50], 46, 115, 383, 412, 741.
 C. 2 (1223), 58.
 C. 3 (1255), 58.
 C. 4 (1268), 58.
 C. 5 (1280), 78.
 C. 6 (1301), 78.
 C. 7 (1305), 78, 88.
 C. 8 (1313), 89.
 C. 9 (1335), 116.
 C. 10 (1377), 136.
 C. 11 (1432), 152.
 C. 12 (1416), 186.
 C. 13 (1474), 200.
 C. 14 (1484), 207.
 C. 15 (1524), 237, 243, 273, 383, 720.
 C. 16 (1537), 241, 243, 273, 303.
 C. 17 (1547), 265, 275, 303.
 C. 18 (1548), 265, 266, 274, 275.
 C. 19 (1555), 285, 383.
 C. 20 (1557), 285, 286, 303, 451.
 C. 21 (1559), 303.
 C. 22 (1604), 318, 319, 320.

Charters (*continued*)—

- C. 23 (1656-7), 382, 384.
 C. 24 (1665), 411, 412.
 C. 25 (1684), 443, 445.
 C. 26 (1688), 443, 445.
 Chase, the, 89, 90, 619.
 Chase Farm, the, 598.
 Checker (Chequer) Street, 252, *433, 439, 511, 656, 863 [See also King Street].
 Checker Street, Little, 433, 654.
 Checker Street, New, *433, 654.
 Checker (Lane) Ward, 203, 433, 492, 528, 657, 658, 857.
 Checking accounts, *434, 699.
 Cheese Fair, the, 724.
 Chequer, Le, 748, 863.
 Chequers, the [See Public Houses].
 Chevisance, *162.
 Chimes, 845, 846.
 Church ales, 288.
Church Booke (Allsaints), 482.
 Church clocks, 486, 487, 835, 885.
 Church Goods—St. Margaret's, 269, 270, 833—St. Nicholas', 271—St. James', 271, 272, 838—Allsaints', 272, 839.
 Church Lane, 644.
 Church Libraries [See Libraries].
 Church Property—St. Margaret's, 311, 312, 438, 817, 875—St. Nicholas', 287, 328, 329, 491, 511—Allsaints', 472, 473, 478, 678.
 Church rate, 289, 545, 579, 609, 610, 611.
 Church Street, 656.
 Churches, the Norfolk, 29, 30.
 Churchwardens' Accounts—
 St. Margaret's, 221, 222, 227, 231, 232, 256, 257, 285, 298, 299, 308, 311, 312, 323, 327, 328, 338, 357, 365, 371, 412, 415, 424, 436, 437, 448, 477, 492, 494, 496, 545, 610, 816, 833, 834, 835, 836, 840, 844, 845, 857.
 St. Nicholas', 203, 216, 223, 251, 298, 321, 322, 323, 328, 329, 338, 340, 341, 344, 411, 426, 438, 473, 477, 491, 812.
 Allsaints', 330, 389, 435, 437, 448, 452, 471, 476, 511, 676.
 Church of England Young Men's Association (subsequently Society), 637.
 Cholera, outbreak of, 660, 661.
 Choral Union, the, 636.
 Christianity in Norfolk [24-30].
 Circle of gold, 162, 163.
 Cistercian monks, 700.
 Civil War, the Great [353-370], 330, 331.
 Clergy, payment of the, 232, 578, 875, 881.
 Clerk of the parish, 481, 482.
 Clocking of bells, the, 841, 842.
 Close, the South, 759.
 Cloth tokeners, 727.

- Cloth weaving, 308, 428.
 Clough, *767, 793, 863.
 Clough Fleet, 51, 591.
 Clough (Fleet) Bridge, 577, 591, 655, 767.
 Clough Lane, 134, 636.
 Clough Lane, North, 548, 549, 647, 651, 665, 706, 768.
 Clough Lane, South, 312, 702, 768.
 Cluniac monks, 700.
 Coach Factory, Bath's, 572.
 Coach route to London, 596, 600.
 Coal—scarcity of, 347, 390, 453—carriage by land, 435—monopoly, 462.
Coal heavers, The, 535.
 Coal tax, 289, 368, 434, 451, 484.
 Coal trade, the, 541.
 Coast defences, 293, 294, 490, 514.
 Coasting trade destroyed, 603.
 Coburg Street, *655.
 Cock boat, *108.
 Cockle Dike, *479, 760.
 Cockleshell Walk, 479.
 Cocoa-nut matting, manufacture of, 739.
 Codfish, a literary, 346.
 Codlin(g), Lane, 312, 816, 817, 863.
 Coe's Place, 236.
 Coffins, stone, 248, 249, 655, 670.
 Coins, local, 52—small, 52—scarcity of silver, 183—scarcity of copper, 420.
 Cok Rowe, 124, 863.
 Coke Ovens, the, 472, 484.
 Coldhain Street, 52, 329, 410, *654, 738, 863.
 Collectioners, municipal, 388.
 College, a mediæval, *229.
 College Lane, 176.
 Colville Fleet, 129, 732, 755, 766, 859.
 Colwayne Fleet, 766.
 Commerce, decline in, 600, 602.
 Commercial rivalry, 376.
 Commissioners—Ecclesiastical, 473, 544, 584, 618—Ouse Bank, 473—Navigation (Haling), 511, 590, 591—Mooring, 582, 591, 609—local, 590—Eau Brink, 590, 591, 601, 780, 783—Paving, 590, 591, 657, 663, 756—Pilot, 591, 607—Poor Law, 616, 625—Turnpike, 680—Drainage, 780.
 Commissioners of—Array, 110, 354—Sewers, 319, 336, 601—Peace, 346—Enquiry, 463.
 Commissions—Royal, 109, 118, 281, 290, 411—Municipal Corporations [573-580], 58, 686, 846.
 Committee of Council on Education, 643.
 Common, the South Lynn, 471, 556, 676, 678, 679.
 Common (Town) Council [See Corporation].

- Common Crier, the, 575.
 Common Ditch (or Fleet), the, 856, 859.
 Common Land, 121.
 Common Rights, 259, 471, 675, 676, 677, 679.
 Common Staith, the, 71, 165, 252, 266, 268, 291, 344, 540, 558, 565, 580, 592, 604, 608, 614, 615, 681, 720, 747.
 Common Staith (Stayes) Lane, the, 430.
 Common Staith Yard, the, 321, 322, 456, 540, 820, 834.
 Commons Enclosures Act, 427, 677, 678.
 Commonwealth, the [375-392], 546, 819, 844.
 Communion vessels, Unitarian, 653.
 Company of Proprietors of the Norfolk Estuary, 782.
 Compensation—to individuals, 578—to protect the Harbour, 578.
 Composition between the Bishop and the Mayor, 88, 89, 151, 159, 190.
 Conception, Gild of the, 741, 750.
 Conflagrations, 104, 357, 427, 436, 437, 584, 609, 668, 752.
 Congregation, the [See Corporation].
 Congregationalists, the [See Independents].
 Conservancy Act, the King's Lynn, 485, 607, 618, 665.
 Conservancy Board, the, 606, 607.
 Conservative Club, the, 602.
 Conservative Liberal Candidate, the, 568.
 Conspiracy—Northumberland's, 150, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281—Titus Oates', 427.
 Constable, the Chief, 579.
 Constables (or captains) of wards, 166, 167, 168, 204, 252, 448, 479, 869.
 Constables (police), 479, 564, 579—special, 579.
 Constabularies [See Wards].
 Constitution of the Order of St. Dominic, 701.
 Contribution to the clergy, 253, 254.
 Conversazione and Society of Arts, the Lynn, 635, 636, 640.
 Convoing vessels, 333, 377, 378, 379.
 Copyholder, the, 675.
 Corn—prices of, 303, 306, 337—trade, 304, 306, 333, 334, 539, 540—meters, 380—distribution of, 578.
 Corn Exchange, the, 430, 565, 586, 601, 614, 615, 619.
 Corn Law, the, 585, 586, 587.
 Corn water mill, the town, 470, 642.
 Coronation celebrations, 450, 558, 844, 845.
 Coronation Square, 479, 611, 613, 645, 658, 863.
 Coroners—rolls, 40, 77, 168, 662, 767—how chosen, 168—their duties, 168, 576—their fees, 575—jury, 595.
 Corporal (oath), the, *63.
 Corporation, the—fined, 83—upper and lower sections, 187, 205—composition, 574, 687—representatives, 579.
 Corporation Act, the King's Lynn, 657, 658.
 Corporation carpenters' shop, the, 641, 642.
 Corporation estate, 576, 577, 578, 598, 601.
 Corporation rope-walk, the, 655.
 Corporation yard, the, 642, 858.
 Corpus Christi, Gild of [811-817], 181, 201, 268, 681, 731, 741, 748, 750, 816, 817.
 Correspondent, a local, 404.
 Costume—of the Corporation, 309—of monks and friars, 702, 706.
 Cotton, early use of, 176.
 Council, Town, the [See Corporation].
 Counties, the Seven Associated [See Association, Eastern Counties].
 County Council, the, 644, 680.
 County Court, the, 143, 576, 587, 595.
 County Court Road, the, 646.
 County Sessions, the, 448.
 Court bi-weekly, the, 116, 242.
 Court of Guardians, the, 594.
 Court of Oyer and Terminer, 85.
 Courts, local [575-577].
 Coverlet manufacture, the, 276.
 Cowgate (Lynn), 124, 266, 268, 681, 763, 863.
 Crare, *255.
 Cresswell Street, *656.
 Crest, the borough, 33.
 Cricket Field, the Old, 619.
 Crimes—punishable, 389, 390—ancient, 847, 848.
 Crisp's Yard, 419.
 Cromlechs, 28, 29.
 Crooked Lane, 20, 479, 654, 863.
 Cross, a wayside, 119, 216, 476, 755.
 Cross-crosslet, the, 31.
 Cross(ed) buns, 24, *25, 171.
 Cross Keys Bridge Company, the, 578.
 Crossways, 476, 860.
 Crow, the guiding, 786.
 Cucking stool, the, 859.
 Culverin, the, *334.
 Curates [See the various Churches].
 Curfew, the, 202, 662.
 Custody, of the borough, 91, 114.
 Custom House (Exchequer), the [431-434], 400, 430, 436, 446, 540, 591, 654, 656, 747, 821, 859, 863.
 Custom House, Bridge at the, 591.

- Custom House Officers, 233, 276.
 Custom Rolls, the, 120.
 Customs paid, the, 112, 232, 236, 242, 432, 604.
 Customs, the survival of—Roman, 18, 24, 39, 85, 119, 120, 505, 718, 731—Danish, 694.
 Cut Bridge, the, 34, 781.
 DAM, a, *52.
 Dam toll, the, 99.
 Damage to property, 364.
 Damgate, the, *19, 51, *52, 171, 172, 183, 198, 216, 217, 222, 250, 311, 656, 694, 720, 861, 864.
 Danegelt, the, 48.
 Day of Love, 85.
 Dead Hand, the, 745, 746.
 Dean, 248, *583.
 Deanery, the Lynn, 583, 611.
 Deanery of Lynn Marshland, the, 611.
 Deaths—from plague, 339—at the siege, 366.
 Debts Act, the, 536.
 Decennary, *199.
 Declaration of Indulgence, 445.
 Deeds, the custody of, 198.
 Deputations to—London, 98, 116, 135, 155, 156, 162, 181, 182, 198—the Orwell, 109—Oxford, 116—Norwich, 162—Bruges, 175—Scandinavia, 175—Cambridge, 351.
 Desertion, wholesale, 409.
 Deuce, the, *40.
 Deucehill (Ducehill, Dowshill), clough, -gate, -fleet, -bridge, etc., *40, 189, 357, 387, 762, 767.
 Diet at Antwerp, 235.
 Disfranchisement—partial, 343—threatened, 412.
 Dispensary, the, 552, 553, 661.
 Dissolution of—religious houses, 253, 695, 824, 871, 879—the gilds, 265, 592, 816, 818, 820, 879.
 District Fund, the, 665.
 District Rate, the, 591.
 Disturbances, 82, 121, 124, 125, 128, 131, 132, 150, 160, 161, 233, 306, 336, 337, 384, 386, 426, 524, 525, 560, 587, 707, 711.
 Dock Acts, the King's Lynn, 486, 607, 617.
 Dock Company, the King's Lynn, 607.
 Dock Railway Company, the King's Lynn, 607.
 Doctors, appointed by the town, 338.
 Dokke, the, 104.
 Dole-fish, 246.
 Dole-stones (duals, dewals), *476.
 Domesday (Book) Survey, the, 11, 14, 15, 26, 29, 42, 53, 218, 674, 675, 718.
 Dominicans, the [See Blackfriars].
 Dornick, the manufacture of, 276, *733.
 Double Bridge, the, 577.
 Dovecotes, 130, 184, 864.
 Dowers of married women, the, 497, 576.
 Dragon *versus* Conger, 33.
 Drainage of the Fenland, 1, 2, 13.
 Drainage of the Great Level [334-336]—Vermuyden's scheme, 335—Russell's undertaking, 335—the King's dissatisfaction, 336—prisoners employed, 379, 386.
 Drainage of the town, 662, 779.
 Drawbridges, 760, 764.
 Drinking Fountains, 592, 724.
 Drunkards punished, 202, 337, 338, 856, 873.
 Druidism, 25.
 Dry Dock, the, 738.
 Dualistic borough, a, 70.
 Ducking stool, the, 756, 847—occupants of, 858, 859.
 Duel at Cawston, the, 455.
 Dues, the town [482-486], 487, 577, 605—to the Duchy of Cornwall, 483, 485, 486.
 Dutch, war with the, 109, 376, 405—defeat at Lowestoft, 406—assisted by the French, 406—defeated off the Foreland, 407—thanksgiving, 407—temporary cessation, 407—vessels convoyed, 408—an army raised, 408—local officers, 408—hostilities renewed, 460.
 EAGER, the, *581, 776.
 Early dwellers in the Lin, 10, 13.
 Earthquakes, 299.
 Earthworks, ancient, 11, 12, 40, 52, 756, 759, 773, 774, 776.
 East Anglian Railways, 660.
 East Gate(s), the, 51, 113, 124, 185, 190, 216, 217, 235, 250, 251, 351, 357, 359, 373, 380, 491, 531, 557, 559, 562, 566, 570, 665, 694, 758, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 776, 802, 860, 861, 879.
 Eastern Sea Fisheries District, 791, 792.
 Eau Brink Acts, the, 536, 566, 568, 607, 617, 779.
 Eau Brink Estuary (or Cut) [778-781], 4, 536, 560, 566, 567, 568, 577, 578, 590, 607, 608, 617, 619.
 Ebenezer Chapel, the, 649, 651.
 Ecclesiastical Archaeological Society, the, 640.
 Ecclesiastical Court, the, 328.
 Echo Road, the, 598, 655.
 Edict of Nantes, 728.
 Edmund, Gild of St., 741, 750.
 Election of civic officers, 183, 185, 691, 693.

- Election oratory, 534.
 Election orgies, 532.
 Election riots, 357, 560, 587.
 Elections, mayoral—how conducted, 61, 154, 164, 183, 185, 310—precedence of the gild alderman, 205—hint from the Privy Council, 300, 689, 693.
 Elections, parliamentary—how conducted, 133, 188, 200, 243, 559—noted, 233, 397, 398, 455, 466, 532, 533, 535, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 567, 568, 585, 586, 587, 588—cost of, 532, 534.
 Electric Lighting, 660, 663, 665, 801.
 Elsdon's Park, 654.
 Emigrants from Lynn, 623.
 Encroachment near Whitefriars' Fleet, 678.
 Engine House, the, 642.
 English Glee and Madrigal Union, 636.
 Ert's Bridge, 91.
 Espionage encouraged, 389, 519.
 Estate, the town [See Corporation Estate].
 Estuary (or the Norfolk) Cut, the [781-784], 486, 487, 580, 601, 605, 617, 618, 619, 660, 668.
 Etiquette, commercial, 603.
 Events, minor—
 [1486-1506] 232, 233.
 [1510-1547] 258.
 [1563-1602] 312, 313.
 [1603-1621] 325, 326.
 [1626-1639] 346, 347.
 [1765-1819] 556, 557, 558.
 [1820-1830] 566, 567.
 [1837-1870] 618, 619.
 [1870-1901] 666, 667, 668.
 Events, parochial—
 St. Margaret's, 869, 871, 873, 875, 877.
 St. Nicholas', 877, 879, 881.
 Allsaints', 883, 885, 887.
 Everard Street, North, 612, 613, *656.
 Everard Street, South, *656.
 Exchange of lands—the Bishop, 45—Thoresby, 225.
 Exchequer (or Exchange), the [See Custom House].
 Excise duty increased, 566.
 Exclusive port, an, 603.
 Excommunication of burgesses, 60.
 Exhibition, Grant to the Great, 601.
 Expenditure of the Borough, 577, 578.
 Extension Walk, the, 658.
 Exton's Road, 479, 595, 654.
 Eyre's Brewery [See Lady Bridge Brewery].
 FABIAN AND SEBASTIAN, GILD OF SAINTS, 250, 741, 750, 820.
 Factions, two local, 689.
 Fairs [See also the Mart], 46, *717, 718—
 at Gaywood, 46, 419, 718—Norwich, 72, 73—the Lynn Cattle, 172, 724—and Hogget, 724—two granted by charter, 242, 720—disputes through fairs at—Stirbich, 258, 302—Boston, 302—Newcastle, 302, 303—confirmed by Act, 303.
 Falcon(e), 103, 109, 186, *334.
 Fanaticism, religious, 347.
 Farthings—struck illegally, 420, 421—Lynn, 420—Harrington, 420.
 Fealty to the Bishop, rendered, 67, 118, 164, 203, 690, 694.
 Feasts—Gild Hall, 174—St. Lucy, 204—St. Margaret, 718, 719—Corpus Christi, 814, 815—Nativity, 817, 818.
 Feasts, village, 717.
 Fee-farm rents, 273, 394.
 Fen-riots, 336, 337.
 Ferry, the, 124, 165, 268, 510, 540, *680, 681, 742.
 Ferry Street, 267, 268, 419, 430, 611, 613, 681.
 Festivities—civic, 558—rural, 535, 566, 694—gildic, 694, 753, 754.
 Feudal System, the, 41, 674.
Fiddler among the Imps. The, 212.
 Field of Cloth of Gold, the, 234.
 Finances, municipal, 134, 135, 153, 156.
 Fincham Street, *171, 863, 864.
 Finkel Row(e), *329, 864.
 Fish-hawking, parliamentary, 525.
 Fish market, the, 565.
 Fish, royal, 318, 319.
 Fisher Fleet, the, 357, 591, 664, 735, 762.
 Fisher (Fleet) Bridge, 591, 764.
 Fisher End, the, 372.
 Fisher Row, 864.
 Fishery, the Iceland, 213, 251, 255, 290, 291, 331, 377, 378, 426, 786, 787.
 Fishery, the Lynn, 296, 297, 575, 786, 789, 790, 791, 793.
 Flax, the scotching of, 739.
 Fleet, *21, 660, *766.
 Fleets, the, 766, 767.
 Flemings—disliked, 124, 729—rising against the, 124, 125—excluded, 308—influx of, 726, 828—invited, 734.
 Flint knapping, 3.
 Floods, 104, 257, 299, 316, 556, 774, 776, 875.
 Flotsam, *297.
 Flour merchant mauled, a, 525.
 Flour toll, 485.
 Polly Clock, the, 820.
 Folk-mote, the, 199, *683.
 Font granted, a, 344.
 Foods, scarcity of, 303, 305, 523, 578.

- Foreign vessels, the tonnage of, 482, 483.
- Forest, *89.
- Forest Bed, the, 2, 5, 6, 7.
- Forest Laws, 89, 90.
- Forestalling, 67, 88, 303, 305, 390.
- Fortifications—early [16-22], 756, 757—
repaired, 112, 114, 233, 234, 235, 334, 352, 353, 355, 362, 402, 489.
—an enclosure bought, 114.
grants towards the, 350, 362, 384—
the stone wall, 757—the Wall's
End, 757—wooden towers, 758—
clay walls, 759—Eastern walls,
763, 764.
- Forum Martis, *721.
- Forward Association, the King's Lynn,
637.
- Fourth Whelp engaged, the, 333.
- Frail, *177.
- France, the war with [1337-1339], 108,
109, 110, 121, 136, 137, 161, 163,
165—[1520-1557], 234, 235, 286—
[1793], 514, 516, 517, 526—[1815],
514, 525.
- Francis, the Gild of St., 741, 749.
- Franciscans, the [See Greyfriars].
- Frankpledge, view of, 117, 118, 179, 199,
242.
- Fraud—a literary, 390, 391—charges of,
against—Sir Edward Montagu,
424, 425—Sir Robert Walpole, 466,
467.
- Free Christian Church, the, 416, 653,
654.
- Free Churchmen, the, 808, 810.
- Free ships, the tonnage rate of, 483—
the coal rate, 484.
- Free town (burgh), a, 46, 50.
- Free traders (burghers), 50.
- Freedom—how obtained, 63, 114, 238,
552, 574, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 777
—fees paid, 574, 685—how for-
feited, 684, 685—the oath taken,
685.
- Freedstool, *12.
- Freemen, 292, 572, 691—as voters, 442
—political output of, 535, 722—
privileges of, 682, 683—last of the,
687.
- Freemen's Club, the, 562.
- Freemen's Friendly Society, the, 519.
- Freemen invasion anticipated, a, 589.
- French Revolution, effects of the [514-
518].
- Friars' Field, the, 479.
- Friars' Fleet, the, 104, 623, 658.
- Friars' (Fryers, Friers) Preachers, the,
163, 479, 552, 554, 738, 848.
- Friars Street, 52, 329, 473, 556, 594, 616,
654, 655, 663, 678, 679, 709, 865, 885.
- Friends, the, 416, 417, 418, 419, 471, 528,
544, 545, 570, 655, 873.
- Friends of Liberty, the, 518.
- Frosts, severe, 668.
- Fullers' drying ground, 847.
- Fullers' Row, 134, 312, 702, 708, 732.
- Fustian, manufacture of, 728.
- Fynne's Lane, 731, 864.
- GALLOWS, THE, 90, 319, 512, 858—victims
of, 511, 512, 553, 554, 555, 556, 851,
852, 853, 854—in Norfolk, 853.
- Gallows Bank, the, 760.
- Gallows Hill, the, 504, 760.
- Gallows, Pasture, the, 90, 319, 760, 853.
- Gan(n)ock, the, *17, 18, 21, 22, 45, 124,
208, 759, 768.
- Gannock Castle, 22.
- Gannock Gates, the, 504, 654, 658, 757,
759, 760, 762, 764.
- Gannock Hill, the, 209.
- Gaol, the, 243, 525, 555, 577, 592, 618,
664, 665, 753.
- Gaoler, the, 575.
- Gaol Delivery Rolls, the, 77, 168, 203,
847.
- Garrison, the, 362, 363, 370, 384, 385,
386.
- Gas (Light) Company, the, 567, 662, 679.
- Gas Works, the, 479, 592, 662, 678, 724,
875.
- Gate (a way), *19.
- Gatekeeper, the duties of the, 762.
- Gavel kind, 119.
- General Improvement Act, 566, 590,
618.
- General Post Office, 767.
- General warrants, 533.
- Gentlemen's Walk, the, *656.
- George, Gild of St., 151, 152, 200, 266,
741, 748, 756, 767, 811, 813, 814, 820,
869.
- George Yard, the, 748.
- George's Hall, St., 431, 433, 448, 479, 541,
578, 750, 756, 814, 816, 817, 818, 820,
821, 863.
- German Legion, the, 525.
- Gibbet, victims of the, 853, 854.
- Gibbets in Norfolk, 853.
- Gild Alderman, the, 205.
- Gild Books, the, 748, 749, 750.
- Gild Hall, the [See Trinity (Gild)
Hall].
- Gild Hall Court, the, 575, 576.
- Gild Halls, 811, 814, 815, 816, 817, 820.
- Gild lands, the, 265.
- Gild Rolls, the, 745, 748, 751, 815, 816.
- Gilds, the [739-756], *43, 113, 115, 134,
136, 264, 265, 592, 689, 811, 813.
- Giles and Julian, Gild of Saints, 741,
748, 811, 814, 832.
- Gladstone Road, 677, 865.

- Glass, the manufacture of, 735.
 Glass houses, 416, 653, 735.
 Goods—value of, 65—imported, 539—
 exported, 539—carriage of, 597,
 653.
 Goodwin's Road, *626, 633, 654.
 Government, primitive, 688.
 Governor appointed, 361.
 Grace Cup, the, *803.
 Grain rate, the, 483.
 Grammar (Free) School, the, 230, 498,
 578, 579, 595, 608, 618, 632, 639, 641,
 824, 854.
 Grammar (King Edward VII.) School,
 the, 248.
 Grammar School, masters, 866.
 Grammar schools, 229.
 Grand Jury, the, 576.
 Grassmarket, the, 123, *124, 130, 171,
 203, 216, 268, 602, 694, 755, 864.
 Grave of royalty, the, 449.
 Graving dock, the proposed, 738.
 Great Fire of London, the, 437.
 Great Level, the, 89, 500.
 Great Paul, the, 838.
 Greek Fire, 114.
 Greyfriars (Franciscans), the [700-706],
 97, 664, 749, 793, 817, 824.
 Greyfriars' Road, the, *656.
 Groats, Coal, 451, 605.
Ground Plat of King's Lyn, 735.
 Groundage, 242, 679.
 Guanoek Terrace, 17, 654.
 Guarantee Society, the, 505.
 Guardians—Corporation of, 450, 451,
 453—election of, 452—Court of,
 594—Board of, 595.
 Gunpowder, 114, 235.
 Gunpowder magazine, the, 764.
 Gunpowder Treason, 323, 844, 845.
 Guns, 183, 332, 333, 334, 385, 449, 764.
 HALF-MOON YARD, THE, 707.
 Hall (Assembly) Books, the, 37, 93, 107,
 108, 120, 131, 155, 156, 160, 171, 195,
 221, 234, 343, 352, 353, 366, 382, 389,
 431, 443, 444, 705, 752, 802, 804, 807,
 808, 814, 838, 850, 851.
 Hamper (hanaper), *50, 243.
 Hampton Court, 220, 357.
 Hansa, the [172-178], 106, *172, 196, 222.
 Harbour (Haven), the [775-784], 23, 290,
 487, 568, 575, 580, 770, 774, 848.
 Harbour Acts, the, 563.
 Harbour Trustees, the, 590.
 Hardwick Bridge, the, 479, 598, 864.
 Hardwick Road, the, 578.
 Harvest hindered, the, 355.
 Hawking, 102, 103, 315.
 Head gear of women, the, 309.
 Headboroughs, the, 199, 563, 564.
 Hearse, *815.
 Hearth (Chimney) tax, 426.
Heir of Linne, The, 706.
 Hemp, manufacture of, 290—culti-
 vated, 380, 426.
 Hen Walk, the, 655.
 Heraldic distinctions, 30.
 Hermits, 250, 877.
 Herons, 103.
 Herring, 683.
 Hewalde's (Hewolne's) Fleet and Lane,
 766, 864.
 High, *51.
 High Bridge, the, 45, 654, 664, 858.
 High Hills, the, *52, 598, 655, 656.
 High Street, *19, 51, 171, 172, 193, 203, 220,
 492, 527, 528, 550, 556, 563, 567, 578,
 598, 602, 610, 614, 615, 616, 620, 626,
 627, 639, 654, *656, 664, 665, 689,
 721, 732, 852, 863, 875.
 High Steward, the, 292, 413, 445, 575.
 Highgate, *19, *51, 52, 617, 646, 649, 658,
 665.
 Highgate (Gaywood) Board School,
 658, 665.
 Highway, *51.
 Highway rate, 448.
 Highways, surveyors of, 448—repaired,
 449—disgraceful state of the, 448,
 451, 479.
 Hill, the, *656.
 Hillington Square, 655.
 Hillington Terrace, 656.
 Historians, local [505-511].
 Hoasts, *303.
 Hoastmen, the Corporation of, 303.
 Hogman's (Hopman's or Hopeman's)
 Lane, Bridge, and Gate or Way,
 *91, 213, 217, 713.
 Hogwarden, the office of, 90, *91.
 Holy day (holiday), *718.
 Holy (bread) loaf, 170, 171, 871.
 Horn of St. Julian, the, 748, 814.
 Hospital, the West Norfolk and Lynn,
 553, 582, 654.
 Hospital Field, the, 90, 319, 658, 760.
 Hospital Gate, the, 861.
 Hostelries [See Public Houses].
 House accommodation, 659.
 House of Corpus Christi, the, 816, 817.
 Houses—burnt, 51, 56, 357—repaired,
 257.
 Hoy, *378.
 Hue-and-Cry, the, 166, 167, 189, 378, 848.
 Hull Trade, the, 604.
 Hulyun's Place, 236.
 Hundred Court, the, 164, 165.
 Hundred House, the, 167.
 Hundred Years' War, the, 109.
 Hunt, the West Norfolk, 669.
 Hunting, 315.

Hustings, the, *199, 560, 562.

Hustings Court, the, 118, 199.

Hustings Court Rolls, the, 199.

Hymsocken (hamsoken), *847.

ICE-AGE, THE, 2.

Iceland Fishery [See Fisheries, Iceland].

Iceni, the subjugation of the, 13.

Implements, prehistoric, 4, 5, 6.

Impressing, 110, 111, 137, 166, 325, 339, 375, 376, 405, 408, 514, 516, 522, 557.

Improvement of the town, Acts concerning the general, 536, 566, 590.

Income of the borough, 134, 477, 482, 577.

Incorporation of South Lynn, the, 285, 286, 674.

Indemnity from—the burgesses, 360
—the shipmasters, 361.

Indenture, an, *187.

Indentures of—Agreement, 118, 162
163, 171, 187, 230, 237—Loan, 807.

Independents, the, 402, 546, 647, 651, 653.

Indulgence granted, an, 748.

Inferiores, *86.

Infirmaries, new and old, 552, 595.

Ingrossing [See Forestalling].

Insanitary state of the town, 105, 330, 388.

Insignia, the Corporation [801-808], 183.

Institute Room, the, 637.

Invasions of the—Romans, 13, 23, 26,
27—Danes, 16, 38, 39, 695—Saxons,
24.

Ireland, war with, 379.

Irish soldiers, the billeting of, 346.

Iron Road, *722, 746, 864.

Itinerary to London, 156, 596.

JACOBITISM, 457, 518.

James' Assembly Room, the St., 595.

James' Chapel (or Church), the St.,
[See also James' Workhouse,
the, St.]—its erection, 43, 869—
bequests to, 226, 290—its plate
sold, 256, 286—inventory of goods
belonging thereto, 271—its sur-
render, 289, 320—its desecration,
291, 366, 594—mentioned, 46, 143,
184, 246, 253, 595, 601, 743, 769, 814,
861, 864, 871, 873, 877, 879.

James' End, St., 133, 312, 655, 663, 769.

James' Hall, the St., 595.

James' Hospital, the St. [See James'
Workhouse, the St.].

James' Hospital Booke, the Saint, 435,
474.

James' Park, St., 592.

James' Row, St., 577, 641, 642.

James' Street, St., 171, 312, 578, 615, 656,
702, 731, 732, 817, 824, 861, 865.

James' Workhouse (Hospital), the St.,
22, 298, 320, 435, 474, 504, 543, 551,
578, 579, 593, 594, 595, 618, 646, 654,
735, 861.

Javelin men, the [See Red Coats].

Jealousy, local, 429.

Jesuits, English, 346.

Jesus, Gild of, 225, 741, 750.

Jetsam, *297.

Jewry, the, 53, 72.

Jews—their advent, 54—persecution of,
54—passover of the, 235—modern,
529.

Jews' Burial Ground, the, 655.

Jews (Gewys) Lane, 54, 130, 864.

Jews Lane Ward, the, 54, 341, 527, 657,
658.

Jews' Synagogue, the, 549.

John the Baptist, Gild of St., 741, 749,
751.

John the Baptist, Hospital of, 217,
226, 247, 250, 311, 877.

John's Church, the St. [860-863], 21, 51,
601, 608, 617, 618—vicars, 863.

John's National School, the St., 601,
643.

John's Terrace, St., 655.

Jolly Tars of Lynn, The, 515.

Jousts, 190.

Jubilee, the year of (1809) celebrated,
351.

Jurats, *154, 187, 190, 204.

Juries, how selected, 576.

Justices of the Peace, appointed, 242.

KATHERINE'S GATE [See East Gate(s)].

Kettle Mills, 113, 250, 358, 630, 658, 663,
757, *794, 796, 801.

Kettlewell Ward, 203, 530, 657, 658.

Keyage (quayage), 177.

King John's Cup [805-808], 803.

King John's Sword [803-805], 178, 180,
181, 182, 201, 236, 238, 310, 393, 816.

King Street [See also Checker Street],
252, 431, 433, 439, 488, 511, 654,
656, 724, 748, 811, 819, *863.

King's Evil, cure of the, 423, 424.

King's Bench, the Court of, 50, 83, 101,
118, 131, 535, 560, 561.

King's peace maintained, the, 166.

King's Staith, the, *71, 81, 129, 130,
252, 431, 433, 523.

King's Staith Yard (or Square), the,
375, 432.

Knighthoods, the sale of, 327.

Knights of the Royal Oak, 399.

Knitting industry, the, 457, 732.

Kulamites, *570.

LABURNUM TERRACE, 658.

Lady of the Mount, Our, 215.

Lady of Walsingham, Our, 209.

Lady Bridge, the, 20, 45, 52, 253, 627, 663.

Lady Bridge Brewery, the, 419, 663, 768.

Ladys Hylle, the, 208.

Lake Dwellings, 7.

Lancastrian School, the, 641, 642, 655.

Land Tax, 579.

Landowners in the Lin, 41, 42.

Lansdowne Street, *655.

Lastage [See Lovecop].

Lath, a (in Kent), *199.

Lath(e) Street, *199, 654, 689, 864.

Lattice, the, *310.

Laudanum Lane, 655.

Law, the administration of, 74.

Lawful men, 60.

Lawrence, the Brotherhood of St., 51.

Lawrence, the Hospital, of St., 217, 250.

Lay Tax Rolls, the, 136.

Lazar Hill, the, 217, 250, 794.

Lazar Houses, 247, 249, 250.

Leaden Hall (Leadenhall), 231, 864.

Leather dealers, 683.

Lecterns, eagle, 35, 835.

Lecturers [See Nicholas' Chapel, St.].

Leeds Street, *731, 864.

Leet, 179, *199.

Leet Court, the, 117, 179, 188, 199, 237, 242, 286, 563, 576, 577, 688, 849, 859.

Leet Rolls, the, 199, 759, 769, 772, 790.

Legal advice sought, 99, 115, 198.

Lenna Rediviva, 775.

Leonard, Gild of St., 741, 751.

Lepers, 172, 249, 743.

Leprosy, 249, 660.

Les Custums de la Talboth de Lenn, 96.

Lessees of the Theatre, 830, 831.

Letters from—Sir Nich. Lestrangle, 264—John Percival, 350—Miles Corbet, 363—Lord Wm. Cecil, 381—Oliver Cromwell, 386, 391—John Stiles, 392—Treasurer Povy, 396, 397—"Philocrates," 409, 410—J. Pulteney, etc., 431—Charles Burney, 494—Benjamin Mackerell, 506.

Letters Close (mayoral), 148.

Letters Patent—municipal, 33, 66, 91, 114, 118, 135, 136, 137, 138, 150, 151, 159, 165, 174, 175, 178, 186, 200, 207, 232, 265, 266, 273, 275, 276, 285, 286, 303, 336, 411, 720, 729, 816, 820—nature of, 40—to the gilds, 87, 112, 178, 232, 321, 741, 748, 749, 750, 769—episcopal, 117—to the burghesses, 133, 235, 321, 513—mayoral,

Letters Patent (*continued*)—

148—hanseatic, 178—to actors, 813.

Letters Royal, 206, 207, 232, 233.

Letters of Marque, 333.

Levellers, the, 521.

Liberal Club Room, the, 637.

Liberty, the Sons of, 518, 519.

Libraries—St. Margaret's, 232, 394—monastic, 243—St. Nicholas', 473, 879—the Subscription, 634, 635, 637, 639, 641—our church [638-641], 873 [See also Stanley Library].

Licensed Houses, 579.

Licensed merchants, 68.

Ligan, *297.

Lighthouse at Hunstanton, 460.

Lighting, street, 451, 662.

Linen, manufacture of, 728, 733.

Lister (Listers') Gate or Street, 713, *732, 864.

Literature, the encouragement of, 308, 383, 487.

Littleport (Norfolk Street), 51, 713.

Littleport Bridge, 312, 864.

Littleport Fleet, 655.

Littleport Reservoir, 592, 664.

Littleport Street, 71, 762, 861, 864.

Liveries, the town, 258, 309, 802.

Loans, 111, 137, 152, 198, 327, 665.

Loke, the *40, 764.

Lollards, the, *142.

London Road, 312, 471, 549, 567, 576, 578, 591, 610, 612, 613, 645, 649, 655, 657, 658, 663, 664, 861.

London trade, the, 604.

Long Bridge, the, 355, 421, 422, 479, 555, 577, 664, 665, 678, 679, 769.

Long Parliament, the, 343, 344.

Lord of the Fens, the, 350.

Lord of Lynn, the 395.

Lotteries, State, 473, 474.

Lovecop, *49, 71, 99, 242, 273, 318, 483, 485, 486, 487, 683.

Lower Canada, 655.

Loyalty to Parliament, doubtful, 368.

Lynn Law, passed, the, 335, 336, 337.

MACADAMISED ROADS, 664.

Maces, civic, 180, 183, 393, 802.

Magazine, the Lynn, 534.

Mail armour, *107.

Mail robberies, 553, 554, 555, 556, 851.

Major-Generals' commissions with—drawn, 391.

Malignants, plentiful, 352.

Mall, the, *656.

Malting, 258, 276, 337, 540.

Man, early traces of, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Manchet, *257.

Mandates, royal, 117, 137, 213, 337, 471.

Manure Works, the, 865.

Manuscripts—Cooper, 213, 508, 509—
Cole, 247—Foljambe, 295, 296, 808
—Rye, 388—Popham, 392—Tan-
ner, 409, 508—Lestrange, 441—
Rawlinson, 442—Portland, 467—
Wharton, 488—Munford, 504, 564
—Gough, 508—Green, 508, 510—
C. G. (Charles Gibbon), 509, 510—
Aldrich, 523, 737—Rolfe, 564.

Margaret's, Church of St.—font, 35—
lectern, 35—erection, 43, 218, 219,
696, 869—repairs, 113, 132, 133,
357, 542, 587, 869—gild associa-
tions, 118, 200, 743—chancel, 169,
172, 875, 887—carving, 201, 394—
structural alterations, 219, 225—
clearstories, 220—transept (cross
aisle), 220, 869, 871—towers, 220,
221, 869, 871, 875—windows 220,
366, 623, 871, 873, 875—steeple
(spire), 221, 490, 871, 873—aisles,
south (nave), 222, 224, 873; north
(nave), 225, 871; south (chancel),
869, 871; middle, 873—chapter
house, 224, 697, 869—altars, 224,
815, 869—bequests, 226, 869—
crosses, 253, 755, 873, 875—inven-
tory of goods, 270, 833—state
seats, 310, 495, 816—bells [833-837],
321, 323, 840, 841, 845, 846, 869, 871,
873, 875—rebuilding, 490, 496, 871,
873—monuments, 519, 824—pews
(sittings), 542, 543, 816, 875—gal-
leries, 542, 543, 567, 587, 873, 875—
sources of income, 617, 618, 873,
875—(fire) engine house, 642,
875—steeple-boards, 842, 843,
844—bell-ringing [844-846], 402,
873—lantern, 869, 873—clock,
869, 871—chimes, 845, 846, 871—
vicars (curates) [868-876], 221, 409,
481, 499, 512, 584, 624, 816—rood
loft, 871—screen, 873—sun-dial,
873—moon-dial, 873—sexton's
house, 875—choir-stalls, 877—
reredos, 877—other references,
46, 149, 233, 246, 253, 256, 360, 402,
409, 415, 497, 501, 507, 512, 519,
542, 546, 567, 627, 633, 637, 814, 820,
844, 845, 854, 864, 865.

Side Chapels, 226.

The Holy Trinity [219-221], 37, 205,
226, 231, 657, 869, 877.

St. Stephen's, 222, 224, 226, 231, 869.

St. John's, 226, 231.

St. Leonard's, 232.

St. Peter's, 232.

St. Michael's, 232, 869.

Davy's, 232.

The Gesyn(g)le of St. Mary, 755, 814,
869.

Margaret's, Church of St. (*cont.*)—
[See also Brasses, Burial-grounds,
and Organs.]

Margaret's Church (Highgate), St.,
617.

Margaret, the Gild of St., 741, 749.

Margaret's Lane, St., 176, 865.

Margaret's Place, St., 824.

Margaret's National School, St., 643,
769.

Marine Parade, the, 591, 784.

Mariners' compass, the, 785.

Mark, or bank, the, 120.

Market—the Saturday, 32, 227, 576,
721, 751, 873—of St. Margaret
(Mercate), 46, 755, 755—the Tues-
day, 721 [See also *Shambles*].

Market cross, the, 559, 562, 564, 565,
722, 723, 724.

Market House, the, 430, 565, 572, 586,
614.

Market keeper, the, 763.

Market Street, 637, 638, 651.

Markets, the two, 227, 242, 419, 578,
720, 721.

Mart, the, 258, 302, 380, 384, 405, 417,
419, 456, 474, 488, 558, 572, 577, 682,
687, 717, 718, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724.

Mart Act, the, 303.

Mart Yard, the, 683.

Martyr of Antioch, the, 31, 32.

Mary Magdalen, Hospital of St. [See
Almshouses].

Mary's Chapel, St.—on the Hill, 207—
at St. Nicholas, 208, 760, 879—on
the Bridge, 253.

Mary's (Catholic) Church, St.—the first,
612—the second, 68, 612, 649.

Mary's (Catholic) School, St., 644.

Mary's Fleet, St., 767.

Master of the Rolls, 813.

Matrimonial adventures, 141.

Matrosses, *384.

Mawdelyn Causeway, 216.

May garlands, 39, 447.

May poles, 447, 724.

Mayday customs, 39, 189, 447.

"Mayflower," The, 808, 809, 810.

"Mayflowers," list of, 809.

Mayor—payment to the, 159, 575—in-
eligible for member, 326—ex-
pelled, 411—his duties, 693.

Mayoress—her triumphal entry, 445—a
questionable requisite, 563, 564.

Mayor's Chain, the, 802.

Mayor's Moon, the, 695.

Mayor's Parlour, the, 593.

Mayor's Seal [See *Seals*].

Mayor's Sword [See *King John's
Sword*].

Measurage, 71, 99, 277.

- Meat and Poultry Market, the, 614 [See also Shambles].
 Meeoke, *123.
 Medal struck, a commemorative, 636.
 Mediocres, *86.
 Meeting houses, 545, 570.
 Members of Parliament—their pay, 188, 343—declare their acts, 200, 233, 752—refuse to serve, 233—ducal nominees, 290, 292, 396—burgesses returned, 292—gratuitous service, 326, 396—mayors ineligible, 326—non-burgesses as members, 342, 343—taken prisoners, 356—royal pressure upon, 443—for the borough, 588, 589—for North-West Norfolk, 589—qualifications, 686.
 Members of the Town Council—appointed, 444—removed, 444—re-stored, 445.
 Mendicant Friars, the, 700, 701, 702.
 Mercantile—statistics, 605, 606—free-men, 724.
 Mercers' Row, 172, 216, 654, *732.
 Merchant Adventurers, the, 293.
 Merchant Guild, the [See Trinity, Guild of the Holy].
 Merchant Tailors' Company, 730.
 Meters—corrupt, 455—their pay, 455—strike, 524—their office, 517.
 Methodist New Connexion, the, 649, 664.
 Mett of coals, a, *386.
 Michael (St.) and All Angels, Church of, 617.
 Middle Ward, the, 658.
 Militia, the, 405, 408, 411, 456, 514, 516, 589.
 Mill, the town, 22, 72—the bishop's, 713.
 Mill Fleet, the (Mayor's) [768-769], 17, 20, 21, 45, 70, 71, 156, 312, 470, 480, 527, 577, 655, 657, 662, 664, 756, 762, 766, 767, *769, 817, 824, 863.
 Mill Fleet, the (Bishop's), 51, 71, 217, 250.
 Mill Fleet (the Mayor's) Act, 665.
 Mill Fleet Terrace (now Road), 480, 769.
 Mill Lane, *769, 864.
 Mill Hill, the, 504.
 Mill Meadow, the, 760.
 Millers' Entry, the, 39, 769.
 Millers' Court, the, 658.
 Ministers, list of Dissenting—Presbyterian, 416—at the Salem Chapel, 551—the Baptist, 572—Methodist New Connexion, 650—Unitarian, 653, 654.
 Ministers—petition, 345—stipends, 578.
 Minstrels, 138, 201, 236, 756.
 Mint at Lynn, the, 52.
 Miracle plays [811-813], 192, 201, 204, 756, 814, 818 [See also Mysteries].
 Miskening, *48.
 Mission Churches (or Halls), 617—All-saints, 617—St. Margaret's, 617—St. John's, 863.
 Monasteries, the [243-252], 202, 703.
 Money, the purchasing power of, 121, 134.
 Mooring of vessels, the, 581, 591, 607.
 Mooring dues (Moorage), 486, 487, 777.
 Mor Lane, 171, 864.
 Morowspeche, *753, 756.
 Mortality, great, 660, 661, 662.
 Mortuary, or Soul-present, 253, 472.
 Mounds, moated, 22.
 Mount (barrier) Bank, the, 759, 767.
 Mount Chapel, the, 232, 253, 254, 291 [See also Red Mount, the].
 Mount Fort(ress), the, 232, 764.
 Mount House, the, 209.
 Muckhills (muckells), 388, 865.
 Municipal Buildings, the, 592, 593, 601, 801.
 Municipal Corporations Act, the, 246, 618, 657.
 Municipal Reform Bill, 686.
 Murage, 61.
 Museum, the, 3, 629, 630, 636, 637, 638, 652.
 Music Hall, the, 635, 637.
 Musical Union, the, 636, 637.
 Mussel Fishery, the, 290, 790.
 Musters, 286, 313, 324, 325, 440, 441, 513, 514, 802, 808.
 Mysteries [811-813], 189 [See also Miracle Plays].
 Mysterious disappearances, 613, 614.
 Mystery (a trade), *80.
 NAME OF THE TOWN ALTERED, 15, 241.
 Nar Bridge, the [See Long Bridge].
 National schools, 641, 642, 643.
 National Society, the, 617, 642.
 Navigation, Acts concerning, 536.
 Navigation Commissioners [See Commissioners, Haling].
 Neck verse, the, 855.
 Nelson Monument, the, 577.
 Nelson Street [See also Lath Street], 20, 199, 220, 357, 388, 654, *655, 657, 689, 864.
 Neolithic man, 4, 6, 7, 751.
 New Conduit Street, *171, 419, 546, 547, 602, 633, 651, 657, 658, 664, 665, 755, 768, 796.
 New Conduit Ward, 171, 499.
 New River, the, 742.
 New Road, the [See London Road].
 Newburg, 45.

- Newland (Newlondo), 44, 45, 51, 71, 72, 114, 130, 139, 143, 189, 217, 250, 657, 747, 756, 757, 759.
- Newspaper, the first, 404.
- News Room, the (Athenæum), 635, 640.
- Nicholas' Chapel (or Church), of St.—erection, 45, 877—attempts to establish a parish, 148, 149, 877, 879—font, 150, 879, 881—presentation at, 165—sanctuary, 189, 848, 877—sacramental wine, 203—windows, 213, 366, 804, 879, 881—lecturers, 246, 501, 578, 633, 835, 881—plate, 256, 879—inventory of goods, 271, 879—chapel houses, 288—monuments, 310, 433, 881—bells, 321, 323, 879, 881—estate, 328, 329, 491, 544, 879, 881—altar-piece, 457—"parish" clerk, 481—steeple (spire), 490, 544, 881—repairs, 491, 544, 618, 879, 881—tower, 544, 618—structural alterations, 601, 881—the living, 617, 881—galleries, 618, 879, 881—seats (pews), 618, 879, 881—gild associations, 743, 813, 879—steeple-boards, 843, 844—chancel (choir, or east end), 877, 879—rebuilding, 877, 879—bequests, 877, 879, 881—rood-loft, 879—chimes, 879, 881—images, 879—clock, 879, 881—carving, 881—sexton's outfit, 881—other references, 46, 74, 246, 253, 504, 507, 627, 755, 860, 864, 873, 875.
- Chapels, 743.
- St. Mary (Our Lady), 208, 761, 879.
- St. Edmund, 877.
- St. Peter, 877.
- [See also Brasses, Burial-grounds, Hermits, Libraries, and Organs.]
- Nicholas (St.) National Schools, 643.
- Nicholas Street, St., 310, 416, 491, 645, 656, 732.
- Nick the Devil's Lane, *40, *769.
- Nickere Fleet, 766, *769.
- Nonconformity—its rise, 416—its development [644-654].
- Norfolk Estuary Acts, the, 617.
- Norfolk Estuary Bill, Enquiry concerning the, 605.
- Norfolk Estuary Company, the, 608, 782.
- Norfolk Street [See also Damgate, Grassmarket, and Littleport Street]. 51, 52, 171, 198, 266, 530, 550, 610, 624, 632, 655, 656, 720, 748, 861, 864.
- Norfolk tokens, 420.
- North Close, 113.
- North End, 549, 601, 646, 654.
- North End Ward, 491, 657, 658.
- North Sea Fishery [See Fishery, the Iceland].
- North Tower, the, 113.
- North Ward, the, 658.
- North-West Passage, the, 619.
- Northburg, 45.
- Northirne Street, *654, 864.
- Norwegians recompensed, 69.
- Nunneries, 178, 251, 286, 345, 713.
- OAK, THE REFORMATION—at Mousehold, 261—at Ryston, 261.
- Oak, the—Gaywood, 164, 203, 638, 694—Fitton, 165.
- Oath—taken by—a jurat (an alderman), 187—a common councilman, 188—the head-borough, 199—by laying on the hand, 257.
- Obituary notes, 633, 634.
- Observatory, the, 656.
- Oddfellows, the, 617.
- Odinism, 28, 38.
- Official Trustees for Charitable Funds, the, 583, 641.
- "Oldland," the, 71, 747.
- Old Tower, the, 703, 705, 712.
- Old Workhouse, the [See James' Workhouse, St.].
- Oil cake, the making of, 739.
- Oil house, the, 738.
- Oil mills, 738.
- Oporto trade, the, 604.
- Orange Farm, the, 522.
- Order of Restitution, the, 364.
- Organ builders, 493, 495, 633.
- Organists, 542, 866.
- Organs—faculties concerning, 493, 495, 496, 601.
- St. Margaret's [493-496], 433, 601, 871, 873, 875, 877.
- St. Nicholas', 496, 637, 879, 881.
- Wesleyan Methodists', 549.
- Allsaints', 637.
- St. John's, 862.
- Primitive Methodists', 646.
- Athenæum, 636, 637.
- Independents', 546.
- Our Lady, Gild of, 741, 749.
- Our Lady's Chapel [See Red Mount].
- Our Lady's Chapel (Ladybridge), 768—St. Nicholas, 761.
- Ouse outfall, the, 781.
- Overseer's Book, the, 478, 479.
- Oyster dredging, 3, 407, 577, 789.
- PAGE, 47, 71, 720.
- Pains and Penalties, 565.
- Painted glass removed, 365, 366.
- Pakker's Lane, 171, 864.
- Palace, the Bishop's—at Gaywood, 46, 55, 130, 877—at Lynn, 74, 877.

- Pannage, 80, 91.
 Paper, manufacture of, 739.
 Papists' estates, the return of, 488.
 Parabolic reflector, the inventor of the, 461.
 Paradise, an earthly, 571, *707, 724.
 Paradise Garden, 341, 543.
 Paradise, Little, 311.
 Paradise Ward, 312, 657, 658.
 Parish Registers—
 St. Margaret's, 298, 299, 300, 333, 339, 366, 373, 375, 401, 492, 512, 863.
 St. Nicholas', 298, 299, 321, 366, 376, 418, 438, 457, 492.
 Allsaints', 481.
 Parishes—in Freebridge, 218—in the diocese, 554—disagreement between, 450.
 Parliamentary—rate, 350, 351, 352, 364—vote, 683, 686.
 Parochial Acts, 617.
 Parsonage House (St. M.), 311.
 Parsonage Lane [See Vicarage Lane].
 Passage, 47, 48, 49, 71.
 Patent Rolls, 55.
 Patronage, municipal, 578.
 Patrons, neighbouring, 69, 178.
 Patrons of livings—St. Margaret's, 868, 870, 872, 874, 876—St. Nicholas', 876, 878, 880—Allsaints', 882, 884, 886.
 Paving Acts, the, 226, 590, 617, 657, 663, 664—loans, 665.
 Paving rate, 579, 591, 659, 666.
 Peace Gilds, 739, 740.
 Peace Celebration, the, 526, 527.
 Peacock Brass, the, 387, 807.
 Peasants' Revolt, the [259-264].
 Peat beds, 3.
 Pedigree, notes on the, of—Lestrange, 373—Townshend, 395, 396—Turner, 433—Walpole, 465, 466.
 Pelican crest, the, 33, 34, 35.
 Penal laws, 441.
 Penance, public, 857, 873.
 Penny Bank, 616, 637.
 Pensions, perpetual, 588.
 Perambulations, 18, 19, 116, 475, 476, 477, 678, 816—maritime, 477.
 Persecution—of the Baptists, 453—of the Friends, 502—by the Duke of Alva, 734.
Persecution, The Lynn, 454.
 Pest house, the, 338.
 Peter, Gild of St., 741, 751.
 Peter Pence, 584.
 Petition Election, an, 587.
 Petitions to—the Bishop, 139, 161, 250—the Pope, 148—the King, 150, 186, 213, 257, 335, 399, 400, 427, 774—the Privy Council, 332, 338,
- Petitions (*continued*)—
 735—the Parliament, 335, 347, 348, 363, 457, 462, 557, 588, 616, 733, 776, 780.
 Pews classified and sold, 542, 543.
 Pickage (picage), 47, 48, 71, 242, 720.
 Piedmontese Protestants assisted, 438.
 Pie-powdre, the Court of, *242, 723.
 Pilgrim Fathers, the, 808.
 Pillory, the, 721, 724, 856.
 Pilot Office, the, 664.
 Pilot Street, 40, 288, 491, 549.
 Pin money, the Mayoress', 577.
 Pinners (pounders), 676.
 Piracy, 284, 285, 331, 332, 339, 363.
 Piscenarius, the borough, 222.
 Plague, 33, 104, 111, 122, 136, 252, 258, 286, 298, 299, 330, 338, 339, 419, 594, 879.
 Plain, the South Lynn, 587.
 Plate, the town, 803.
 Playbills, 822, 823, 824.
 Pleasant Sunday Afternoon (*Association*), the, 637.
 Plot—to recapture the town, 371, 372, 373—to destroy the town and shipping, 524.
 Plumber, the town, 794.
 Police Band, the, 803.
 Police Force, the, 575, 579.
 Political intrigue, 467.
 Poll tax, the, 111, 121, 122, 135.
 Pontage, 47, 48, 49, 71, 720.
 Pontife Brothers, the, *44.
 Poor houses, the erection of, 289.
 Poor Law Amendment Act, the, 594.
 Poor Law statistics, 595.
 Poor man's box, the, 288.
 Poor rate, the, 289, 451, 452, 453, 479, 579, 659.
Poor Rate Book (St. M.), 478.
 Poor Relief, 288, 289, 320, 337, 338, 363, 389, 435, 457, 484, 566, 593, 594.
 Population, the, 136, 658, 659, 661, 861.
 Port (a market), *21.
Port of King's Lynn (Armes), 604.
 Portreeve (headborough), the, 688.
 Portage wine, 309.
 Portcullis, *195.
 Portage paid by freemen, 633.
 Porters—corrupt, 455—strike of the, 524.
 Portland Street, *655.
 Portraits, 465, 501, 530, 623—in the Town Hall, 753.
 Post(man), an early, 601.
 Post Office, 602, 637.
 Post Office Savings Bank, the, 616.
 Potentiores, *86.
 Pound Lane, 677, 865.
 Poundage, 242.

Pounds, 655, 860.
 Poverty, general, 113, 312, 337, 363, 484, 523, 524, 578, 871.
 Præpositus or Mayor, 58, 59.
 Prelocutors chosen, 184.
 Prerogative Court, the, 209, 224.
 Presbyterians, the, 402, 404, 414, 416, 454, 529, 546, 570, 653, 845.
 Presents, 164, 165, 201, 301.
 Press gang [See Impressings].
 Prices—corn, 337—bread, 524, 525—beef and pork, 563.
 Primitive Methodist Chapels, 143, 595, 644, 645, 646, 648, 649.
 Primitive Methodist Sabbath School, 595.
 Printing introduced, 528.
 Priory, the (Benedictine), 45, 46, 70, 149, 218, 223, 246, 696, 698, 718, 877, 879.
 Priory Lane, 20, *656, 698, 721, 855.
 Prisoners—brought to Lynn, 55—gaol diet of, 579.
 Prisoners of war—townsmen in Holland, 377—Dutch in England, 377, 378—French in Lynn, 522, 523, 526—English in France, 526.
 Prisons Act, the, 664.
 Privy Council, appeals to the, 155, 276, 294, 304, 317, 320, 338.
 Privy Seal Writs [See Writs].
 Procession of Maidens, 394.
 Proclamation of Lady Jane Grey, 278, 279.
 Proclamations, royal, 401, 519, 558, 669, 670.
 Proctours, 175.
 Prototype, our municipal, 48.
 Providence (Row) Street, 479, 480, 655, 658.
 Public Baths, the, 419, 601, 615.
 Public Houses (hostelries)—municipal, 531—number of, 579.
 Spread Eagle, the, 44, 113.
 Hob in the Well, 51 *531, 761.
 Empress, the, 56.
 Mitre, the, 56.
 Hanging Chains, the, 144, 247.
 Blue Lion, the, 144, 247.
 World's End, the, 190.
 Bell, the, 203.
 Beaconsfield, the Earl of, 203, 492.
 Bull, the, 203, 492.
 Swan, the, 203.
 Tailors' Arms, the, 225.
 Greenland Fishery, the, 251.
 St. John's Head (Ludgate), 282.
 Grampus, the, 288.
 Globe, the, 368, 430, 433, 557, 596, 618, 825.
 Swan, the (Downham), 374.
 Angel, the, 430, 432, 433, 565, 614, 723.

Public Houses (*continued*)—

Maid's Head, the, 430, 432, 723.
 Duke's Head, the, 432, 433, 542, 557, 559, 560, 562, 566, 569, 573, 587, 596, 721, 855.
 Golden Ball, the (South Lynn), 448, 452.
 Woodrow, the (Cawston), 455.
 Prince of Wales, the (Purfleet Street), 488.
 Chequers, the, *491.
 Lattice, the (North End), *491.
 Bird in Hand, the, 501, *530.
 Town Arms, the, 517, 592.
 Crown and Anchor, the, 519.
 Crown, the (South Lynn), 531, 544, 664.
 Crown, the (Church Street), 534, 559, 562, 596, 614.
 Fleece, the (South Lynn), 544, 677.
 Rummer, the, 557.
 Star, the, 557, 596.
 Three Tuns, the, 557.
 Ship, the (Gaywood), 557.
 White Hart, the, 592.
 Royal Standard, the, 595.
 Green Dragon, the, 596.
 Golden Ball, the (North Clough Lane), 655, 706.
 Honest Lawyer, the, 655.
 Princess Royal, the, 655.
 Woolpack, the, 656.
 Chequers, the (Brandon), 674.
 Eight Bells, the (S. Lynn), 677.
 Hawk, the (S. Lynn), 677.
 Lattice, the (S. Lynn), 677.
 Scotch Grey, the (S. Lynn), 677.
 Goat, the (S. Lynn), 677, 709.
 Three Pigeons, the, *731.
 Shore Boat, the (Islington), 776.
 Clough Fleet (Tavern), the, 763.
 Shakespeare, the, 819.
 Queen's Arms, the, 852.
 Boar's Head, the, 858.
 Pudding Lane, 540, 656, *722, 865.
 Pump-wood, imported, 796.
 Punishments, obsolete [846-847], 721.
 Purfleet (Purfleet), the [767-768], 17, 19, *21, 45, 51, 70, 110, 129, 171, 172, 190, 208, 216, 431, 571, 576, 619, 654, 656, 664, 681, 745, 746, 747, 755, 756, 758, 762, 766, 767, 768, 859, 860, 864, 865.
 Purfleet Bridge, the, 604.
 Purfleet Quay, the, 540, 582.
 Purfleet Street, 488, 492, 594, 642.
 Purveyors, unjust, 100, 102.
 QUAKERS, THE [See Friends].
 Quarter Sessions, the, 417, 421, 425, 426, 473, 479, 511, 521, 541, 553, 568, 575, 821, 857, 875.

Queen Street, 56, 225, 246, 541, 654, 656,
662, 689, 755, 756, 865.

RACES—boat, 619—horse, 619.

Railroad Company, the Great Northern, 596, 598.

Railway Acts, the, 617.

Railway Company—the East Anglian,
596, 599—London and Essex, 596
—Eastern Counties, 596, 599—
Northern and North-Eastern,
596, 597—Lynn and Ely, 597, 598,
601, 658—Great Eastern, Midland,
and Great Northern, 593, 608—
Great Eastern, 599.

Railway notes, 600.

Railway Road, 649.

Railway stations—South Lynn, 483.

Railways constructed, 596, 597, 598,
604, 658.

Ranters, the, 646.

Rateable value of property, 665.

Rates, per assessment, 665, 666.

Ravenshaw's Yard, 491.

Rebellion—Simmel's, 214—Warbeck's,
214, 215—Northumberland's [277-
281].

Rechabites' Hall, the, 611, 644.

Reckonings, how kept, 62, 434.

Reclamation of Land, 44, 757, 782.

Recluses, 250.

Reconciliation, Feast of, 85.

Reconstitution of the borough, 366.

Recorder's Court, the, 575.

Records, early—parchment, 77—paper,
77, 119.

Rectors of—North Lynn, 875, 881—All-
saints, 886.

Recusants, 307, 488, 510.

Red Coats, the, 722.

Red Cow Street, *656.

Red Mount, the [207-213], 17, *19, 215,
232, 291, 504, 750, 758, 764, 871, 881.

Red Register, the, 77, 119, 730.

Reform (Bill) Act, the, 567, 572, 586.

Reformers, the, 573.

Refugees, Irish, 436.

Regicides, the fate of the, 401.

Regimental depôt, the, 517, 518.

Regulars, the, *244.

Relics, 38, 76, 345, 871, 879.

Religion, change in the national, 283
—a Lynn "martyr," 283, 284.

Religious houses in Norfolk, 695.

Report of the Municipal Commis-
sioners [573-580], 58.

Requests, the Court of, 576.

Reservoir, the, 655.

Residence of—Folkard, 171, 755—
Coney, 220, 432—the Thoresbys,
223—Callyer, 430—Dr. Burney,
491, 492—Mrs. S. Allen, 497.

Restoration, celebration of the, 393.

Retrospective glance, a [654-657].

Rifle Corps, the, 619.

Ringings, bell [841-845], 835, 840.

Rising Sun Yard, the, 707.

Risings suppressed, 384, 385.

Roads, ancient, 20, 27, 28.

Rocket apparatus, the, 638.

Roman Invasion, the [See Invasion].

Rope-makers, the Corporation, 758.

Rope-walks, 570, 758.

Roses, the Wars of the, 167, 168, 193,
194, 195, 196, 197.

Rotten Row, 172.

Royal Fishing Company, the, 426.

Royal Lancastrian Institution, the,
642.

Rural Dean, the, 584.

Ryflote, 766.

SABBATH SCHOOLS, 546, 548, 549, 572, 588,
646, 647.

Sackfriers, Priory of the, 246, 704.

Sacring bell, the, *271.

Sailor's Box, the, 552.

Sailors' strike, the, 524, 525.

Saker, *334.

Salaries of—town officials, 575.

Salem Chapel, the, 549, 550, 551, 572,
653.

Salt-fish mongers, the, 786.

Salt-works (Salinæ), 216, 313, 325, 675,
736.

Saltpetre, the manufacture of, 380.

Sancta Casa, 63.

Sanctuary, 848.

Sanctus bell, the, *271.

Sands of Lenne, the, 184, 189, 422, 848.

Sanitation, 388, 660.

Sarcenet, *271.

Saturday Market, the [See Market].

Savings Bank, the, 615, 616.

Sax-horn Band, the, 618.

Scale's Mill (fleet), 78, 769.

School (Schole) Lane, 227, 865.

School, the writing, 227, 873.

Schools, charity, 642.

Schools, Elementary Government [642-
644], 601, 875, 881.

Scotland, war with [1327-1334], 106, 107,
136, 137, 138—[1542], 258—[1650], 379.

Scratch, Old, 40.

Screen (scrinium, screnium), the, *99,
198, 233, 693.

Sea-walls, 286, 303, 335.

Seals—their use, 33.

Austin Convent, 32, 710.

Corporation, 32, 34, 421, 801.

Carmelite Convent, 32, 710.

Mayoral, 32, 119, 801.

Probate, 33.

Conventual, 33.

Seals (*continued*)—

Benedictine Priory, 33.
 Gild of St. George, 34, 748.
 Episcopal, 48.
 Episcopal (probate), 119.
 Papal, 149.
 Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, 248.
 Dean of Lenne, 248.
 Hoastmen (Newcastle), 303.
 Guardians of the Poor, 453.
 Admiralty (France), 673.
 Admiralty (England), 710.
 Admiralty (Lenne), 710.
 Merchants' Gild, 747.
 Fitz-Walter, 861.
Search Boke for Lyn, etc. (MS.), 389.
 Seatonian Poet, a, 624, 625.
 Secessions from the—Presbyterians.
 454—Wesleyans, 549 — Baptists,
 550, 571, 572, 651—Independents,
 651.
 Secular Canons, College of, 246, 247.
 Seculars, the, *244.
 Sedgeford Lane (Ward), *44, 499, 523,
 628, 657, 658, 865.
 Seditious societies, 518, 519, 521.
 See (Diocese), the, 43.
 Select Trustees, the, 590, 607, 730, 784.
 Self-government sought, 115.
 Sequestration money, 348.
 Sergeants-at-Mace, 170, 575, 579.
 Service, free and base, 674, 675.
 Seven Sisters, the, 504, 505, 658.
 Sewerage scheme, the, 20, 22, 660, 665,
 709.
 Sewers Acts, the, 335, 337, 376.
 Sewers, Court of, 317, 319.
 Sewers, Session of, 335, 336.
 Shambles, the (Meat Market), 169, 226,
 227, 231, 854, 875.
 Shavelings, *104.
 Shears (also shires), *687.
 Sheep-shearing at Holkham, 557.
 Sheriff (shire-reeve), *688.
 Shinks (swinks), 323, *448.
 Ship-building, 632, 736, 737.
 Ship-money, 331, 340, 341, 342.
 Shipman's Gild, the, 741, 751, 815.
 Shipmaster's deputation, the, 333.
 Shipping, lines of, 609.
 Shipping, Council of, 109.
 Ships, 61, 75, 78, 79, 91, 106, 107, 110,
 111, 112, 138, 152, 189, 286, 293, 294,
 295, 332, 342, 343, 344, 380, 551, 809,
 810.
 Shipwrecks, 556, 566, 567.
 Short Parliament, the, 342.
 Shuck, Old, 40.
 Siege of Lynn, the [353-368], 391, 844,
 845, 873, 881.
 Silk-lace, manufacture of, 733.
 Silting, the process of, 6, 9, 16, 781.

Sir Lewis Street, *656.
 Skinner's (Skynners) Row, 171, 312, *731,
 735, 755, 816, 817, 865.
 Skyveys, Scabins, *743.
 Small-pox, outbreak of the, 492, 660,
 661.
 Smuggling, 304, 426.
 Snaphanes, *369.
 Sociables, comfortable, 596, 600.
 Social condition, the, 85, 86, 87, 122,
 128, 153, 160, 161, 197, 198, 237, 381,
 382, 474.
 Society for the Propagation of the
 Gospel, 400, 415.
 Soken, *167.
 Soul peals, 840.
 Soup Dépôt, the, 824.
 South Gate(s), the, 52, 104, 156, 167, 185,
 195, 208, 217, 235, 250, 380, 410, 418,
 449, 489, 490, 531, 566, 569, 570,
 591, 598, 618, 645, 654, 655, 663,
 664, 665, 738, 758, 760, 761, 762,
 764, 769, 802, 853, 879.
 South Lane, 709, 865.
South Lyn A^o 1676 (MS.), 473.
 South Lynn Allsaints Ward [See
 Southgate Ward].
 South Street, 578.
 South Ward, 572, 658.
 Southgate Street, 470, 654, 663, 679.
 Southgate Ward, 451, 478, 657, 658.
 Sovereigns, the reigning, 868, 870, 872,
 874, 876, 878, 880, 882, 884, 886.
 Spanish Armada, the [292-296], 510, 764,
 808, 809, 810, 844.
 Spinner Lane, 416.
 Spinning School, 735.
 Sponsalia, 505.
 Spread Eagle Estate, the, 44, 251.
 Springalds (springalls), 107, 113.
Squire Papers, The, 390, 391.
 Stage plays suppressed, 819.
 Stakage, 482, 483, 484, 485, 777.
 Stake, victims of the, 283, 284, 850,
 851, 852, 855.
 Stallage, 47, 48, 49, 242, 380, 720.
 Stanley Education Fund, the, 640.
 Stanley Library, the, 635, 637, 640, 641,
 642, 666.
 Stanley Street, *655.
 Stanley Trust, the, 583.
 Staple, the, 115, 276, 727.
 Star Chamber, the, 223, 300, 301, 329,
 533.
 Starch, the making of, 733.
 Statut de la Monoie, 53.
 Statute de Talligo, 66.
 Statute of [See also Acts]—
 Winchester, 106, 167, 337.
 Oxford, 116.
 Warranty, 117.
 Talligo de Concedendo, 66.

Statutes (*continued*)—

- Acton Burnell, 133.
- Mortmain, 134.
- Edward I., 168.
- Edward II., 185.
- Henry VII., 253.
- Henry VIII., 245, 285.
- Northampton, 337.
- Associated Counties, 349.
- Indemnity, 399.
- James II., 440, 724.
- George III., 519.
- Steam Ship Co., the East Coast, 609.
- Steam Ship Co., the Lynn and Ham-
burgh, 609.
- Steelyard (stillyard), 175, *176, 178, 223.
- Steeple-boards, 842, 843, 844.
- Steeplechase, the Borough, 534, 588.
- Stepney Chapel, the [See Baptists].
- Steward, the Lord High, 469.
- Steward's Hall (Court), the, 130, 182,
237.
- Stockfish mongers, the, 786.
- Stockfish Row, 786, 865.
- Stocking-knitting, 457.
- Stocks, the, 721, 724, 856.
- Stone age, the, 2, 3, 10.
- Stone Bridge [See High Bridge].
- Stone Hall, the, 753.
- Stone House, the (White), 72, 74, 75,
82, 130, 182.
- Stone wall, the, 795.
- Stonegate, *19, 20, 52, 171, 817.
- Stonegate Street, 419, 504, 864.
- Stonegate Ward, 420, 478, 499, 528, 572,
657, 658.
- Storms, violent, 299, 300, 395, 423, 424,
459, 460, 490, 542, 566, 875, 877, 879,
881.
- Strangers, 49, 124, 172, 179, 238, 428, 429.
- Street, *19.
- Street names, obsolete [863-865], 731.
- Streets, the sweeping of, 592.
- Strong Room, the, 801, 803.
- Submarine forest, the, 7.
- Submerged tenth, the, 287.
- Subsidies, 121, 137, 348, 728, 832.
- Subsidy Rolls, the, 63, 274.
- Summary of Imports, etc., 609.
- Sunday trading, 202.
- Sunolf's Fleet, 769.
- Surfleece, 766.
- Surnames, 120, 268, 429, 696, 728, 729.
- Surrey Street, 54, 130, 731, 864.
- Survey of—the town, 246, 288, 477, 491,
736, 853—the highways, 500—the
coast, 514.
- Swagg's Mill (Fleet) [See Scale's Mill].
- Swans, perquisite of, 681.
- Swearers fined, 856.
- Sweating sickness, the, 252, 258, 660.
- Sword-bearer, the, 180, 181, 575, 579.
- Sword, the Mayor's [See King John's
Sword].
- TABERNACLE (CHAPEL), THE, 649, 650.
- Tailors' craft, the, 730, 731, 750.
- Tailor's Gild, the, 741, 750.
- Tallage Rolls, the, 62, 63, 832.
- Tallages, 59, 62, 66, 111, 121, 141, 179,
186, 197, 258.
- Tallow Chandlers' Company, the, 731.
- Tally (tallage), *62, 88.
- Tar Office, the, 643, 769.
- Taxation, 526, 529.
- Technical School, the, 636, 644.
- Telegrams, cost of, 602.
- Telegraph, the electric, 602.
- Telegraphic Office, the, 601, 637.
- Telephone, the Trunk, 602.
- Temperance Hall and Hotel, the, 617.
- Temperance Society, the, 617.
- Temples—Roman, 24—Druidic, 28.
- Tennis, 190.
- Tenths and Fifteenths, 258, 308.
- Tenture Pasture, the, 130, 184, *860, 865.
- Terminalia, 18.
- Terrace Walk, 654.
- Terriers, the [See Church Property].
- Theatre—the Old [819-822], 556, 562, 575
—Royal [824-831], 578.
- Theological Book Club, 640.
- Thomas of Canterbury, Gild of St.,
741, 751.
- Thoresby's College [225-226], 246, 247,
444, 871.
- Three Crown Street, *656.
- Three Pigeon Street, *656, 731, 755, 865.
- Tides, remarkable, 566, 567, 668, 875.
- Tiles, *291.
- Timber—sale, 223—trade, 347.
- Tithes, refusal to pay, 544.
- Tokens, traders', 420, 513, 530—Nor-
folk, 420—cloth, 727.
- Tolbooth, the [79-85], 72, 98, 99, 130, 132,
133, 179, 190, 232, 237, 242, 310,
485.
- Toll-bar, the South Lynn, 680.
- Toll-house at the Common Staith, 540.
- Tolls, 47, 236, 242, 380, 482, 483, 485,
487, 578, 680.
- Tom o' Bedlams, 275.
- Tonnage, 232, 242, 482, 483, 582.
- Tournament, the, 96, 190.
- Tow-lines, the making of, 732.
- Tower Field, the, 641, 643, 824.
- Tower House, the, 643, 817.
- Tower Lane, 312, 817.
- Tower Place, 21, 817, 824.
- Tower, the Old, 765, 824.
- Tower Street, 198, 312, 527, 547, 629, 656,
731, 755, 861, 863, 864.
- Town Clerk, the, 575.
- Town Corn (water) Mill, the, 312, 769.

- Town dues, collector of, 575.
 Town Estate, the [See Corporation Estate].
 Town Hall, the [See Trinity (Gild) Hall].
 Trade [537-542], 50, 51, 59, 60, 84, 121, 132, 142, 173, 175, 176, 177, 179, 233, 253, 255, 276, 286, 338, 405, 487, 597, 602, 604, 770.
 Trade Gilds, the, 740.
 Trade names, 728, 729.
 Trade Unions, the, 739.
 Trades, miscellaneous, 725.
 Tradesmen, fraudulent, 257, 274.
 Traditions, 14, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 204, 212, 504.
 Transport Co., Lynn and Cambridge, 609.
 Transportation, penal, 858.
 Travelling, mode of, 76, 548, 596.
 Treasure trove, 168.
 Trinity Church, the, 650.
 Trinity, Gild of the Holy, 37, 87, 112, 113, 115, 133, 134, 135, 139, 154, 160, 177, 178, 183, 198, 205, 216, 222, 231, 232, 253, 266, 311, 387, 572, 592, 674, 681, 689, 811, 813, 814, 820, 869, 871, 877, 879.
 Trinity, Gild of the Holy (South Lynn), 750, 814.
 Trinity (Gild) Hall, the [741-748], 47, 111, 113, 116, 119, 154, 155, 160, 170, 181, 184, 188, 190, 195, 200, 205, 225, 233, 238, 241, 453, 532, 553, 559, 567, 586, 587, 592, 594, 598, 608, 618, 622, 636, 643, 751, 752, 753, 756, 787, 811, 819, 859.
 Trinity (Gild) Hall Ward, 657, 658.
 Trinity Gild Rolls, the, 814.
 Trinity House Certificates, 332.
 Tripartient borough, a, 657.
 Trivia, festival to, 24.
 Tronage, 71, 99, 242, 272.
 Tuesday Market (place) [The Hill] [429-432], 38, 298, 356, 359, 385, 429, 447, 492, 516, 527, 531, 558, 564, 565, 567, 587, 610, 614, 656, 739, 746, 784, 852, 856, 864, 865, 871.
 Tumbrel, 859.
 Turnpike Acts, the, 536, 568, 680.
 Twine, the spinning of, 593.
 Typhoid, outbreak of, 634.
- UNITION, THE KING'S LYNN, 594.
 Union Chapel—Market Street, 572, 638, 651—Saddlebow Road, 652, 680.
 Union Lane, 864.
 Union Street, 20, 488, 610, 630, 638, 655.
 Union Workhouse, the, 244, 594, 595.
 Unfree ships—tonnage rate, 482, 483—coal rate, 484.
 Unitarian Chapel [See Salem Chapel].
- Unitarian (Free Christian) Church, 653.
 Unitarians, the, 550.
 United Methodist Free Church, 650.
 Up-river, tolls, 485.
 Upholder, an, *488.
- VAGABONDS, UNDESIRABLE, 232, 242, 252.
 Vagrancy deterred, 275, 347.
 Valinger's Road, 623, 654, 864.
 Value of—goods, 65—wages, 121, 134—money, 742.
 Vaults, bonding, 540, 541, 578.
 Vicarage Lane, 480, 655, 658.
 Vicarage, the South Lynn, 420, 478, 479, 480, 481.
 Vicar's House, St. John's, 863.
 Vicars [See various Churches].
 Victoria County, the, 782.
 Victual Brothers, the, 737.
 Victuallers, 185, 566.
 Victualling, the Navy, 405.
 Vigilance Committee, 579, 856.
 Virgin Troop, the, 354.
 Visitation [See Plague].
 Visitors—royal, 55, 56, 67, 73, 75, 78, 89, 94, 96, 132, 139, 141, 165, 177, 173, 180, 193, 196, 201, 215, 217, 569, 570, 668, 669, 712, 713, 714—important, 82, 94, 100, 106, 107, 109, 110, 140, 165, 174, 175, 192, 201, 203, 204, 236, 309, 350, 417, 418, 422, 423, 458, 562, 567, 711, 714.
 Volunteer movement, the, 514, 516, 517, 521, 589, 619, 670.
 Voters, tampering with, 442, 443, 587.
 Voyages, early, 785.
- WAGES, PARLIAMENTARY, mayoral, 159, 575—188, 343.
 Waits, the, 802, 803.
 Walker's Lights, 461.
 Walks, the, 17, 21, 312, 479, 504, 542, 618, 619, 641, 656, 663, 760.
 Walks Gate, the, 658.
 Walks Rivulet, the, 20, 582, 658.
 Walpoliana [464-469].
 Ward aldermen, 204.
 Warders appointed, 337.
 Wards (constabularies)—the old, 62, 167, 204, 451—the present, 658.
 Warehouses, built, 539.
 Warrants for—carrying guns, 332—taking pirates, 809.
 Wash Reclamation Act, the, 617, 782.
 Wassail bowl, the, 803.
 Water bailiff, 575, 790.
 Water Lane, 540.
 Water Mill (corn), 642.
 Water Supply, the, 310, 634, 660, 793, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801.

- Water Works—Kettle Mills, 664—
Grimston, 665.
Waterworks Acts, 566, 617, 665.
Water Works Committee, 797.
Water Works, master of the, 575.
Wax, for lighting, 118, 131, 170, 227,
255, 815.
Weavers' Advocate, the, 457.
Weavers' petition, the, 457.
Webster(s) Row, 171, 311, 438, *732, 755,
861, 865.
Well boring, 3.
Wellesley Street, *655.
Wellington Street, *655.
Welwick House, 637, 638.
Wesley Almshouses, 567.
Wesleyan Associations, the [646-651].
Wesleyan Chapels, the, 527, 548, 549.
Wesleyan Methodists, the, 547, 644,
651.
Wesleyan Methodist Association, 549.
Wesleyan New Connexion, 549.
Wesleyan Reform Association, 549,
646, 649, 651.
Wesleyan Schools, 549.
Wesleyans, the, 570, 644, 646.
Whale Fishery, the, 787, 788.
Wharfage, 242, 313, 482, 577, 683, 707,
777.
Wharves, the town, 578.
Whincop Street, 655.
Whipping rogues, 337, 721, 724, 857.
Whitefriars' (Carmelite) Monastery,
the, 32, 98, 130, 156, 201, 230, 250,
704, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 817, 853.
Whitefriars' Fleet, 479, 678, 709, 766,
767.
Whitefriars' Lane, 665.
Wick Bay Act, the, 665, 666.
Wick Bay disaster, the, 606, 607, 665,
666.
William, Gild of St., 741, 749.
Wills—reference to, 44, 119, 224, 225,
226, 230, 247, 250, 471—probate of,
119, 832.
Windsor Road, 479, 648.
Wine trade, the, 69, 75, 309, 540, 604.
Wise Woman, the, 851.
Witchcraft, 848, 849, 850, 851.
Woad (wad), 177.
Wood Street, 578.
Wooden Bridge (viaduct), 658.
Wool, burials in, 418.
Wool Hall, the, 732.
Wool (Woollen) Street or Market, *731,
755, 865.
Woollen manufacture, the, 115, 124,
232, 258, 426, 457, 725, 726, 728,
733, 734.
Woolpack Street, 288, *731.
Workhouse, the [See Union Work-
house].
Workhouse Acts, the, 457, 466, 566.
Workhouse, the Old [See James' Work-
house, St.].
Workhouse, the South Lynn, 552, 594,
616, 655.
Working-men's Club and Institute,
571.
World's End, the [See Boal].
Worsted, manufacture of, 320, 428,
*732, 735.
Writs, Privy Seal, 79, 92, 103, 106, 107,
117, 182, 296, 300, 307, 412, 460.
Wycliffism, 142, 180.
Wyn(d)gate, the, 654, *656, 662, 689,
*756, 865.
Wyngate, the Little, 756.

YARN, THE SPINNING OF, 594, 873.
Young Men's Christian Association,
616.
Young Scholar, Gild of the, 741, 749.

ZION CHAPEL, THE, 571.

INDEX II.

PERSONAL NAMES.

For reigning sovereigns, bishops of the dioceses of Norwich and Ely, patrons of livings, priors and curates (rectors or vicars) see tabulated matter :—

St. Margaret's Church, pages 868-877.

St. Nicholas' Chapel, pages 876-881.

Allsaints' Church, pages 882-887.

† Denotes an authority consulted, and in some cases quoted.

- ABBOT, JAMES, 476.
 Abbott, Mr. W. J. L., 5, 6.
 Accon, Roger de, 107.
 Acelyne, 276.
 †Ackland, Joseph, 537, 538.
 Acre, Muriel de, 268.
 Acre, Thomas de, 268.
 Ackworth, Edward, 333.
 †Adam, Ben, 23, 249, 712, 754, 775.
 Adams, Dr., 507.
 Adams, John, 834.
 Adams, Richard, 442.
 Adams and Son, 641.
 Addington, Christopher, 339.
 Adelicia, Queen, 80.
 Æthelred II., 52.
 Æthelstan, 52, 53.
 Agger, W(illiam), 843.
 †Agricola, Julius, 13, 14.
 †Aikin, John Wingate, 49, 58, 247, 509, 551, 563, 574, 575, 633, 817.
 Ailmar (Aiglemar), 41.
 Ainger, John, 211.
 Albert, John, 331.
 Albert, Prince Consort, 485.
 Albert Victor. H.R.H. Prince, 666, 667, 669, 806.
 Albertson, John, 443.
 Albyn, Mr. A. St., 828.
 Alcock, John, Bishop, 879.
 Alderford, John, 157.
 Aldham, Robert, H., 877.
 Aldham, Mrs. R. H., 877.
 †Aldrich, Francis, 523, 737.
 Aldridge, Ira, 827.
 Aldryche, Thomas, 261.
 Alesandre, John, 728.
 Aleshalle, Edmund, 133.
 Alexander, George, 822.
 Alexandra, H.M. Queen, 608, 666, 667.
 Aleyn (Allanus), Friar, 710, 712.
 Alfred the Great, 43, 199.
 Algar, John, 180.
 Allen, Alderman, 574.
 Allen, Alfred Payne, 653.
 Allen, Rev. John, 546.
 Allen, John Maxey, 560.
 Allen, Maxey, 515, 542.
 Allen, Patty, 499.
 Allen, Robert, 413.
 Allen, Rev. Dr. Stephen, 71, 499, 627, 875.
 Allen, Stephen, 497, 509, 679.
 Allen, Mrs. Stephen, 497.
 Allen, Thomas, 3, 130, 509, 531, 736.
 Alleynesson, Richard, 127.
 Allington, Lord, 354.
 Allinson, Mr. Henry Calthrop, 504.
 Almond, Rev. Edmund, 345.
 Alnewick, William, Bishop, 163.
 Alnwick, William, Bishop, 879.
 Alston, Henry, 866.
 Alva, Duke of, 429, 734.
 Alvis, Rev. Edward John, 738.
 Alwyn, Bishop, 41.
 Amfles, Robert, 238.
 Ampleys, Richard, 723.
 Anderson, Cyprian, 444, 445, 450, 456.
 Anderson, Mr. George Howard, 665.
 Anderson, J., 828.
 Andrew, St., 210.
 Andrew, Bishop, 772.
 Andrews, Mr. Thomas Henry, 620.
 Andrews, William, 594.
 Andrews and Middleton, 535.
 Angell, Mr., 582.
 Anger, Godwin, 680.
 Anger (Aunger), William, 211.
 Anger, William, 680.
 Anguish, Major Jo., 406, 408, 469.

- †Angus, Dr. Joseph, 654.
 Anne, Queen [458-474], 424, 569, 802.
 Anne of Bohemia, 128.
 Anoryetin, Andrew, 276.
 Anselm, St., 583, 712.
 Anstruther, Robert, 696.
 Anthony, St., 246.
 Apeel, Daye, 280.
 Appleby, Rev. —, 653.
 Aquinas, 712.
 Aram, Eugene, 498, 854.
 †Arber, Professor Edward, 808, 809.
 Arch, Joseph, 588, 589.
 Archdale, George, 531.
 Archer, Thomas George, 783, 866.
 Archer, Thomas Goodwyn, 783, 866.
 Archer, Matt., 545.
 Archibald, Lord, 440.
 Arfastus, 70.
 Arlington, Lord, 425.
 †Armes, William (*père*), 547, 582, 587, 598, 604, 655, 686, 721, 735, 737, 783.
 Armes, William L., 633.
 Armes and Son, 737, 739.
 Arminger, William, 321.
 Armitage, Mr. —, 866.
 †Armstrong, Col. John, 51, 487, 778.
 Arne, Dr. Thos. A., 535.
 Arnold, John, 377.
 Arnold, Matthew, 538.
 Arreck, 153.
 Arthur, Prince, 56.
 Arundel, Earl of, 718.
 Arundel, William, Earl of, 772.
 †Ascham, Roger, 67.
 Ash, Rev. Dr., 529, 570.
 Ashburnham, John, 374.
 Ashe, Humfrey, 338.
 Ashe (Ash), Rev. Simeon, 360, 361, 362.
 Ashfield, Robert, 306.
 Ashford, Andrew, 405.
 Ashley, Sir Francis, 341.
 Ashley, Thomas, 481.
 Ashly, Elizabeth, 473.
 Ashton, Jarvice, 385.
 Ashwell, Robert, 305.
 Asseburne (Assheburn), John, 198, 233.
 †Asser, 38.
 Astell, Captain, 635.
 Astley (Ashley), Sir Jacob, 400, 405.
 Astley, Sir Jacob, 474.
 Athanasius, 153.
 Atheling, Margaret, 803.
 Athene, Goddess, 25.
 Athowe, Thomas, 327.
 Atkin, John, 842.
 Atkin, Mr., 772.
 Atkins, John, 251.
 Atkins, John, 295.
 Atkins, John, 873.
 Atkins, William, 251.
 Atkons, Thomas, 816.
 Atmere, John, 674.
 Atmore, Mr. Edward A., 638.
 Atmore, Mes., 842.
 Attewater, John, 63.
 Atwood, Nathaniel, 412.
 †Aubrey, John, 108.
 †Augustine (Austin), St., 40, 146, 210, 702, 712, 713, 717.
 Augustus, Duke of Sussex, 567.
 Auger, Edward, 211.
 Auger, John, 211.
 Austen, Mrs., 402.
 Awborne, Robert, 413.
 Ayermin, Bishop, 115.
 Ayre, Mr. Chas. Harris, 836, 837, 843.
 Ayre, William, 312, 560, 562.
 Ayre, Mr., 737.
 BABINGLEY, IDA OF, 745.
 Babblingly, John of, 745.
 Babynton, John, 157.
 Backham, Caroline (*mère*), 634.
 Backham, Oscar, 633.
 Backler, Osbert, 413.
 Backster, John, 866.
 Bacon, Commander, 386.
 Bacon, Edmund, 490.
 Bacon, Edward, 469.
 †Bacon, Sir Francis, 180, 314.
 Bacon, F. R., 843.
 Bacon, John, 327.
 Bacon, Sir Nicholas, 313, 414.
 Bacon, Robert, 346, 354.
 Bacon, Robert, 785.
 †Bacon, Sir Roger, 26, 114, 123, 124, 127, 142.
 Badly, Thomas, 148.
 Bagenal, Mr. Philip H., 595.
 Bagge, Rev. Charles, 221, 449, 500.
 Bagge, John, 477.
 Bagge, Richard, 598, 633, 860.
 Bagge, Mr. Thomas Edward, 669, 860, 865.
 Bagge, William, 542, 562, 565, 567, 858.
 Bagge, William and Thomas, 567, 738.
 Bagges, the, 574.
 †Bailey, Nathan, 142, 384.
 Bailey (*née* Rastrick), Mrs., 509.
 Bailly, Roger, 135.
 Bainard, Ralf, 42.
 Baines, Henry [629-630], 45.
 Baines, John (*père*), 627, 628, 787.
 Baines (John), Thomas [627-629], 638, 787.
 Baines, Mary, 627.
 Baines, Sarah (*née* Massingham), 629.
 Baker, 537.

- Baker, Edward, 258.
 Baker, Gregory, 300.
 Baker, Henry, 272.
 Baker, John, 272.
 Baker, Thomas, 296, 327.
 Balder, John, 729.
 Balders, John, 161.
 Baldock, Henry, 443, 445.
 Baldwin, Bishop, 43.
 Baldwin, Miss A., 328.
 †Bale, 244, 706, 712, 715.
 Baliol, John, 79.
 Ball, John, 122.
 Ball, Simon, 122.
 Ball, Thomas, junr., 842.
 †Ballard, George, 528.
 Baly, Dr. William, 632.
 Bampton, John, 175.
 Barber, Edward, 408.
 Barber, Gabriel, 473.
 Barbour, John, 729.
 Barbour, Nicholas, 729.
 Barbour, Robert, 191.
 Barbour, William, 818.
 Barclay, Tritton, Bevan and Co., 557.
 Bardell, William, 634, 644, 800.
 Bardolf, Lady, 818.
 Bardolf, Lady Avicia, 151.
 Bardolf, Lord, 708.
 Bardolf, Lord John, 710.
 Bardolf, Lord Thomas, 150.
 Bardolph, Lord William, 707, 709.
 Barendale, Josiah, 584.
 Baret, William, 155.
 Barker, Sir Edward, 351.
 Barker, John, 293.
 Barker, John, 333.
 Barker, Dr. Robert, 639.
 Barker, William, 763.
 Barkstead, Colonel, 403.
 Barlow, Gabriel (*père*), 866.
 Barlow, Gabriel, 866.
 Barlow, Jane, 866.
 Barlow, John, 866.
 Barnes, Rev. J. B. M., 664.
 Barnes, Owen, 368, 411.
 Barney, Robert, 269, 272.
 Barnham, William, 442.
 Barret, John, 326.
 Barrett, John, 341.
 Barrett, John, 712.
 Barrington, Dr. Frederick Albert, 461.
 Barrington, Thomas, 161.
 Barron, Samuel, 338, 421, 422.
 Bartholomew, 173.
 Bartolozzi, Francesco, 496, 826.
 Basire, J., 508.
 Bassar (Basset), Henry de, 21.
 Basset, Alan, 49.
 Bassett, John, 302, 365.
 Bassett, William, 118.
 Bassett, Dr. William, 412.
 Bastard, Francis, 307, 311.
 Bastard, Henry, 311, 321.
 Bataylle, Henry, 96.
 Bateman, William, Bishop, 117, 119, 250.
 †Bateson, Peter, 487.
 Batten, Sir William, 460.
 Battersea, Lord, 637.
 Battie, Richard, 321.
 Battie, Thomas, 321.
 Baunne, William, 109.
 Bauseye, John de, 680.
 Bauseye, Thomas de, 65.
 Bawsey, Edmund, 205.
 †Baxter, Rev. Richard, 414.
 Baxter, John, 313.
 Baxter, Richard, 161.
 Baxter, Walter, 729.
 Bayes, W. and F. P., 854.
 Bayley, Holroyd and Best, 561.
 Baylye, Henry, 126.
 Beals, Mr., 472.
 Beany, 344.
 †Beatniffe, Richard, 23, 164, 504.
 Beatrice, Mde. [See Binda, Beatrice].
 Beaufort, Henry, 146.
 Beaufort, Lady Margaret de, 192, 815.
 Beaufort, Thomas, 192, 213.
 Beaumont, Hubert, 589.
 Beaumont, Dr. Robert, 303.
 Beaumont, Lord Thomas, 787.
 †Beaumont and Fletcher, 128.
 Beaupré, Dorothy, 310.
 Beaupré, Edmund, 281, 310.
 Beaupré, George, 280.
 Beaupré, Sir Thomas, 227.
 Beauvais, James, 232.
 Beauvais, Stephen, 232.
 Beckham, Thomas, 161.
 Becroft, Alexander, 227.
 †Bede, 28, 38, 42, 785.
 Bedford, Duke of, 642.
 Bedingfeld, Daniel, 445.
 Bedingfeld, Edmund, 250.
 Bedingfeld, Sir Henry, 262, 273, 279, 280, 282, 307, 325, 368.
 Bedingfeld, Sir Henry, 400, 441, 472.
 Bedingfeld, Col. Thomas, 400.
 Beechey, Sir William, 753.
 Beeson, William, 573.
 Beeton, Joseph, 553, 554, 555, 556, 851.
 Begnall, 723.
 Beha, Lorenz, 618.
 Bek, Anthony, Bishop, 117.
 Bek (Beque), John, 429.
 Belase, Stephen of, 706.
 Belfaur, Captain, 566.
 Bell, Catherine [See Gurney].
 Bell, Edward, M.A., 866.
 Bell, Henry, 413, 422, 431, 457, 472, 564, 738.

- Bell, Henry, Junr., 413, 444, 738.
 †Bell, Henry, 222.
 Bell, Henry, 516.
 Bell, John, 613.
 Bell, John, 842.
 Bell, Robert, 738.
 Bell, Sir Robert, 292, 302, 310, 311.
 Bell, Thomas, 843, 844.
 Bell, Mr., 506.
 Bellairs, Lieut. Carlyon, M.P., 458, 589.
 Belle, Lady Alice, 250.
 Bellerby, John, 341.
 Belleyeter, Henry (Belleyettere, etc.), 139.
 Belleyetere, Edmund, 144, 158, 159, 729, 748, 832.
 Belleyeter(e), Thomas (*père*), 95, 832, 833.
 Belleyetere, Thomas, 833.
 Bellford, David, 385.
 †Bellham, Rev. W. G., 645, 646.
 †Beloe, Mr. Edmund Milligen (*père*), 5, 21, 27, 49, 51, 80, 84, 89, 97, 144, 208, 209, 221, 224, 247, 282, 344, 345, 431, 490, 496, 508, 509, 555, 706, 707, 745, 762, 840, 881.
 †Beloe, Mr. Edmund Milligen, 387.
 Beloe, William, 633.
 Belvaco (Beauvais), Bartholomew de, 232, 869.
 Belvaco (Beauvais), James de, 232, 768, 794.
 Belvaco, Richeman, 232, 869.
 Belyetter, Margaret, 833.
 Belyetter, Thomas, 833.
 Benedict, St., 209, 699, 700, 702.
 Benet (Sherehog), St., 144.
 Beneyt, Richard, 676.
 Beningfilde, John, 258.
 Bennet (Charles) and Son, 861.
 Bennet, Lord Henry, 404.
 Bennett, 822.
 Bennett, 618.
 Bennett, Charles, 595, 881.
 Bennett, John, 471.
 Bennett, William, 438.
 Bennett and Rolin, 643, 649.
 Bentinck, Lord Geo. Wm. Cavendish, 562, 567, 568, 585, 586, 753, 860.
 Bentinck, Lord Wm. H. Cavendish, 522, 558, 561, 562, 588, 589, 781, 783.
 Bentinck, Lord Wm. J. A. C. J. Cavendish, 608.
 Beny, Robert, 794.
 Beny, Thomas, 794.
 Berdeney, William, 217.
 Beresford, Lord Charles, 666.
 Bernhard, William, 130.
 Berkeley, Lord John, 402.
 Bernadore, Giovanni [See Francis, St.].
 Bernard, St., 714.
 Berners, John, 345.
 Berners, Juliana, 191.
 Berners, William, 337.
 Bernes, 344.
 Berney, John de, 64.
 Berry, Ant., 842.
 Berte, Nicholas, 258.
 Bertie, Francis, 736.
 Bertie, Lord Montague, 407.
 Berton, Robert de, 676.
 Berwyk, John, 750.
 †Besant, Sir Walter, 14, 144, 731.
 Best, Justice, 560.
 Beston, John de, 714.
 Betele, Hugh de, 109.
 Beton, William, 493, 866.
 Betruch, John, 728.
 Betts, Robert, 440.
 Beverley, Henry, 402.
 Beverley, William, 825.
 Bevington, Rev. A. C., 650.
 Bewchard, Robert, 271.
 Bewley, William, 460.
 Bewshere, Richard, 234, 238.
 Bewshere, Robert, 243.
 Beys, Philip, 728.
 Bidwell, Mr., 496.
 Billing, James, 545.
 Bilneye, John, 155, 729.
 Binda, Beatrice ("Mdlle. Beatrice"), 823, 830.
 Binge, Joseph, 610.
 Birchall, Mrs., 822.
 Bird, James, 826.
 Bird, John, 681.
 Bird, John, 856.
 Birkbeck, Jane [*née* Gurney]
 Birkes, John, 854.
 †Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine, 588.
 Bishe, Mr., 505.
 Bisi, Bishop, 43.
 Bittering, Juliana de, 388.
 Bittering, William de, 101, 118, 213, 877.
 Bittering, William (de), 388, 714.
 †Bladeslade, Thomas, 487, 772, 778.
 Bladwell, William, 408.
 Blake, Admiral, 376, 385.
 Blake and Cherrill, 610.
 Blakene, William de, 106.
 Blanche, John, 204.
 Bland, Charles, 547.
 Bland, Wylem, 840.
 Blane, William, 421.
 Blanket, Thomas, 726.
 Blaxland, Rev. G. Cuthbert, 808.
 Blencowe, Rev. E. E., 584.
 Blencowe, John Prescott, 562.
 Blencowe, Miss Ellen, 548, 877.
 Blencowe, Miss Margaret, 644, 877, 887.
 Blencowes, the, 574.

- Blesbye (Beleasbery, etc.), Henry
 (Herry), 272, 286.
 Blome, John, 161.
 Blome, William, 859.
 †Blomefield, Rev. Francis (with Parkin,
 Rev. Charles), 36, 47, 48, 49,
 52, 55, 58, 72, 73, 104, 113, 211,
 224, 226, 247, 266, 298, 357, 358,
 362, 384, 397, 497, 505, 506, 507,
 508, 529, 583, 676, 699, 706, 714,
 745, 749, 757, 785, 806, 817, 839,
 881.
 Bloomfield, Robert, 826.
 Bloye, Robert, 557.
 Blundeville, Thomas, Bishop, 60, 141.
 Blyth, William, 444.
 Boaden, Rev. Edward, 650.
 Boadicea, Queen, 13, 25, 278.
 Bocher, Henry, 762.
 Bocking, Captain, 567.
 Bodham, Edmund, 842.
 Bodham, Edward, 404, 406, 409, 413,
 444.
 Bodham, Edward, Capt., 404.
 Bodham, John, 842.
 Bodley, Mr. George Frederick, 877.
 Bohun, Mary, 141.
 Bokenham, 236.
 Bokleplayer, John, 124, 125.
 Bolekesham, Thomas, 171.
 Bolewere, William le, 307.
 Boleyn, Anne, Queen, 215, 255, 287.
 Boleyn, Sir William, 215.
 Bolton, Johannes de, 69.
 Bolton, Thomas, 144.
 Bolton and Watts, 795.
 Bona of Savoy, 194.
 Bonde, 304.
 Bone, Andrew, 616.
 Bone, Andrew W., 646.
 Bonne, George, 341.
 Bonner, Bishop, 818.
 Booth, Mr. Frederick Handel, 589.
 Bootman, Charles, 649.
 Bordin, 216.
 Borehorn, Thomas, 62.
 Borewell, Nicholas, 762.
 †Borlase, William Copeland, 859.
 Borrow, George (*père*), 513.
 Borrow, George, 618.
 Boston, Thomas, 295.
 Boston, Thomas, 356.
 Botekesham, Robert, 158, 159.
 Botekesham, Thomas de, 149.
 Botele, Henry de, 137.
 Botesham, Thomas, 741, 742.
 Botham, John, 844.
 Botiler, John le, 746.
 Botiler, Sir Ralph le, 676, 746.
 Botiller, John, 165.
 Botterell, William, 369.
 Bottesham, William de, 146.
 Botthe, John, 729.
 Bottomley, Mr., 618, 736.
 Bouchier, Henry, 201, 217.
 Bouchier, Humphrey, 195, 196, 201,
 204.
 Bouresyard, Geoffrey de, 96.
 Bourke, Hon. Robert [Lord Conne-
 mara], 587, 588, 589, 608.
 Bourne, Hugh, 644, 645.
 Bourne (William), Sturges, 568.
 Bourne, Vincent, 399.
 †Boutell, Rev. Charles, 387, 710.
 Bovell, John, 271.
 Bower, Richard, 404.
 Bowers, William, 477.
 Bowet, Henry, 142.
 Bowker, Alexander, 562, 780.
 Bowker, James, 633, 637, 780.
 Bowker and Bowker, 780.
 Bowles, 822.
 Bowles, Mr. Thomas Gibson, 588.
 Bowning, George, 556.
 Bowry, Thomas, 379.
 Bowsey (Bossey), Thomas, 270.
 Bowyer, John the, 124.
 Bowyer, Sir William, 315.
 Boyce, Rev. Walter, 866.
 Boyland, Sir Richard de, 268.
 Brabant, Duchess of, 75, 76.
 Brabant, Duke of, 75.
 Bradfield, John, 444.
 Bradford, Rowland, 777.
 †Bradford, William, 808, 809, 810.
 †Bradley, Mr. Henry, 15, 18, 21, 99.
 Bradley, Dr., 385.
 Bradshaw, John, 401.
 Brady, Captain, 355.
 Braganza, Catherine of, Queen, 393.
 Braham, Hamilton, 827.
 Brandon, John, 135, 748.
 Brandon, Charles, Duke, 256, 711.
 Brandon, Mary, Duchess, 256, 277.
 Bransby, Rev. John, 595, 866.
 Braose, William, 56.
 Braunche, Letitia, 387.
 Braunche, Margaret, 387.
 Braunche, Robert, 387, 807.
 Bray, John, 633.
 Braybrooke, Robert de, 145, 146.
 †Braybrooke, Lord Richard, 710.
 Breccles, Sir Benedict, 676.
 Brecham, Richard de, 247.
 Brekheved, Walter, 108.
 Brend, John, 322.
 Brent, Sir Nathaniel, 346.
 Brentham, Nicholas de, 746, 747.
 Brethitt, Adam, 683, 684.
 Breton, William de, 709.
 Brett, Mr., 566.
 Brettingham, Bartholomew, 490, 873.
 †Brewer, Dr. E. Cobham, 234, 702.
 Brice, Richard, 238.

- Bridges, Mr. George Matthew, 595.
 Bridgman, Giles, 413, 420, 428, 444.
 Bridgman, Mr. H., 877.
 Bridgman, Samuel, 444.
 Bridham, Hugh, 143.
 Brigg, Thomas, 158.
 Briggs, John, 315.
 Briggs, Thomas, 416.
 Brigham, Rev. Charles, 613.
 Bright, Widow, 329.
 Bright, Rev. C., 652.
 Bright, John, 315, 316.
 Brightyowe, Robert, 729.
 Brindley, Mr., 570, 737.
 Brinton, William de, 85, 116.
 Briscoe, Mr. John James, 589.
 Briscoe, Rev. P. J., 572.
 Bristole, Roger de, 116.
 Bristow, George, 865.
 Bristow and Copley, 668.
 †Britton, John, 35, 209.
 Brock, Thomas, 824.
 Brodbank, Christopher (Cristofer),
 120, 238.
 Brodie, Sir Benjamin, 587.
 Broken Back, John, 250.
 Bromholm, John de, 82.
 Bromley, Edward, 400.
 Brooke, Augustus, 402.
 Brooke, Gus, Vaughan, 827.
 Brooke, Nicholas, 833.
 Brooke, W., 843.
 Broome, Roger, 280.
 Brougham, Lord Henry, 568, 851.
 Broughton, Lieut. W. R., 500.
 Brown, Anthony, 280.
 Brown, Douglas, 608, 865.
 Brown, Mrs. Hannah, 618.
 Brown, Mr. Harry, 863, 881.
 Brown, Dr. Harry C., 8.
 Brown, John, B.A., 416.
 †Brown, John, D.D., 809.
 †Brown, Rev. John, 416.
 Brown, John, 729.
 Brown, Roger, 729.
 Brown, Samuel, 542.
 Brown, Thomas, 410.
 Brown, Mr. Thomas, 800.
 Brown, Major-General, 368.
 Brown, William, 329.
 Brown, William, 616.
 Brown, Mr. William H., 641.
 Brown, Mr., 548.
 Brown and Anderson, 542, 875.
 Brown and Bennett, 616,
 Browne, Anthony, 346.
 Browne, Anthony, 545.
 Browne, Sir Anthony, 346.
 Browne, Bridget, 346.
 Browne, George, 341.
 Browne, Lucy, 346.
 Browne, Robert, 545.
 Browne, Stephain, 390.
 †Browne, Sir Thomas, 455, 790.
 Browne, Sir Valentine, 304.
 Brown(e), William, 555.
 Browne, Sir William [502-504], 534.
 Bruce, Sir George, 325.
 Bruce, Rev. James E., 653, 654.
 Bruce, Hon. R., 668.
 Bruce, Robert, 79, 91.
 Brunham, John (de), 133, 134, 137, 149,
 747, 748.
 Brunham, Robert (de), 134, 151, 159.
 Brunlees, Sir James, 608.
 †Brunne, Robert of, 17, 18.
 Brunton, John, 825, 830.
 Brunton, Louisa [See Craven].
 Bryant, T(homas), 843.
 Brygg, Thomas atte, 144.
 Bryggs, Widow, 312.
 Bryncklowys, 190.
 †Buck (Samuel), 419, 758, 762.
 Buckham, Walter, 261.
 Buckhurst, Lord, 325, 681.
 Buckingham, Martha, 471.
 Buckingham, Henry, 470.
 Buckingham, Humphrey, 471.
 Buckingham, Thomas [470-477], 885.
 Buckingham, Thomas, 444.
 Buckle, John, 573.
 Bucworth, John, 155.
 Bullen, Beulah, 547.
 Bullen, F., 556.
 Bullen, Thomas, 687.
 Bullock, Henry, 329.
 Bullock, William, 329.
 Bullock, William, 329, 408.
 Bumpsteade, Herbert de, 676.
 Bunkall, Mr. John Thomas, 652, 865.
 Bunting, 290, 291.
 Bunting and Gervis, 790.
 †Bunyan, John, 242.
 Bunyan, John, 488.
 Burbage, John, 198.
 Burbage, William, 208.
 Burch, John, 615, 667.
 Burch, Thomas, 553.
 Burch, Mrs. John, 667.
 Burcham, Charles, 569, 573.
 Burcham, Robert, 649.
 Burd, John, 238.
 †Burgess, Bishop, 24, 25.
 Burgeys, Thomas, 126.
 Burgh, Nicholas de, 64.
 Burgh, Robert, 227, 228.
 Burgh, Sir Robert, 230, 866.
 Burgh, Thomas (de), 64, 152.
 Burgh, Thomas, 175, 222.
 Burghard (Burchard, Burgharde),
 Alice, 171.
 Burghard, Jeffrey, 171.
 Burghard, John, 169, 171, 172, 227.

- Burghard, Margaret, 171.
 Burgis, Frances, 528.
 Burleigh, Lord [See Cecil, Sir William].
 Burlingham, Alfred (*fil.*), 638.
 Burlingham, Daniel C., 268, 616, 639.
 †Burke, J. Bernard, 433, 465.
 Burke, Edmund, 413.
 Burkitt, Emma Rodwell, 837, 875, 877.
 Burkitt, William, 606, 656, 836, 837, 843, 875, 877.
 Burmond, Robert, 847.
 †Burnet Gilbert, Bishop, 85, 147, 282, 283.
 †Burnet, W. P., 52, 251, 569, 656, 846.
 †Burney, Dr. Charles (*père*), 491, 492, 494, 496, 497, 498, 500, 501, 625, 866, 873.
 Burney, Charles (a), 492.
 Burney, Charles (b), 492.
 Burney, Charles (c), 492.
 Burney, Charles (d), 492, 499.
 Burney, Chas. R., 492.
 Burney, Charlotte Anne, 499.
 Burney, Elizabeth, 497.
 Burney, Esther (*née* Sleepe), 492, 496.
 †Burney ("Fanny"), Frances [497-498], 470.
 Burney, Henry Edward, 492.
 †Burney, James, Admiral, 492, 498, 500.
 Burney, Sarah Harriet, 499.
 Burney, Susannah Elizabeth, 492.
 Burneys, the [491-497].
 Burnham, William de, 72, 73.
 Burrel, Robert, 130.
 Burrige, Mr., 418.
 Burritt, Elihu, 618.
 Burton, George (or John), 221.
 Burton, John, 157.
 Burton, Major William, 378.
 Bury, Anthony, 437.
 Busby, Peter, 444.
 Bush (Busche), Thomas, 429.
 Buship, 231.
 Butelier, John le, 97.
 †Butler, Samuel, 204, 851.
 Butler, Mrs. Fanny (*née* Kemble), 829.
 Butler, Lord Frederick, 829.
 Butler, James, 482.
 Butler, Lord James, 423.
 Butler, Lord James, 469.
 Butler, John, 327.
 Butler, William, 325.
 Buttele, Roger de, 96, 116.
 Butter, William, 325.
 Buttes, Sir William, 308.
 Buxton, Hannah (*née* Gurney), 623.
 Buxton, John, 341.
 Buxton, Sir Thos. Fowell, 587, 588, 623.
 Byfield, 495.
 Byrd, Rev. John, 707.
 Byri, Andrew de, 103.
 Byron, Lord, 80, 441.
 †Byron, Lord Richard, 407.
 Bywesthalfthewater, William, 120.
 CADE, JACK, 126, 763.
 Cadwell, Robert, 380.
 Cæsar, Julius, 10, 13, 14, 26, 27.
 Caine, William, 333.
 †Calamy, Rev. Edmund, 414.
 Calcott, Dr., 495.
 Calthorpe, J. A., 408.
 Calthrop, Mary, 375.
 Calthrop, Philip, 360.
 Calthrop, Robert, 375.
 Calthrop, William, 699.
 Calvin, John, 550.
 Calybut (Calybotte), John, 269, 272.
 †Cambrensis, Geraldus, 15.
 †Camden, William (with Gough, Richard), 15, 23, 35, 58, 311, 325, 358, 387, 508, 804.
 Camden, Lord, 533.
 Campyon, Richard, 728.
 Cana, John, 594.
 Cancur, Nicholas le, 706.
 Candeler, Adam, 729.
 Candeler, John, 729.
 Candler, Mr., 591.
 Candler and Whitby, 598.
 Canning, Sir Stratford, 563, 585, 588.
 Cant, Connistant, 426.
 Canute, King, 53, 673.
 Capellanus, Petrus, 247, 249.
 †Capgrave, John, 122, 127, 141, 153, 178, 710, 713, 714, 715, 716, 848.
 Caractacus, 25.
 Carew, Lord George, 334.
 Carew, Symond, 327.
 Carey, Lord Henry, 294.
 Carleton, 308.
 Carleton, Sir W. de, 64.
 Carlton, Walter, 143.
 Carlton, William, 144.
 †Carlyle, Thomas, 356.
 Carmichael, Mary, 504.
 Carnegie, Mr. Andrew, 641.
 Carnell, Mr. John Laurie, 652.
 Caroline of Anspach: Queen, 429.
 Caroline of Brunswick: Queen, 558.
 Carpenter, Mr. Frederick John, 865.
 Carr, 540.
 Carrant, Robert, 728.
 Carre, Richard, 284.
 Carrow, Mr., 816.
 †Carter, John, 761.
 Carter, Thomas, 476.
 Carter, Thos. Augustus, 573, 598, 885.
 †Carthew, George A., 433.
 Cartwright, 618.
 Cartwright, Major, 373.
 Cartwright, Peter, 327.

- Carver, Edward, 733.
 Carver, Josiah, 633.
 Cary, John, 533.
 Cary, Richard de, 116.
 Case, Edward, 417.
 Case, Philip, 439, 511, 513, 557.
 Case, Thomas, 555.
 Case, William, 516.
 †Case, W., Junr., 763.
 Castell, William, 238.
 Castle, John, 408.
 Castleton, William, 246.
 Caston, Rev. Edmund, 338.
 Castro, Walter de, 795.
 Cathcart, Miss Fanny, 827.
 Catherine of Arragon, Queen, 240, 256, 277.
 Catherine, Empress (Russia), 465.
 Catherine, St., 257, 706.
 Catleugh, Mr. Richard, 619, 624.
 Catlin, Daniel, 471, 545.
 Catlin, John, 268.
 Catmore, Rev. —, 572.
 Catour, Roger, 96.
 Cattley, Geoffrey, 752.
 Cauntoff, Robert, 683.
 Caus, William, 202, 203.
 Cavendish, Andrew, 132.
 Cavendish, John de, 106.
 Cavendish, Lord William, 351, 360.
 Cecil, Brownlow, 569.
 Cecil, Sir Thomas, 336.
 Cecil, Sir William (Lord Burleigh), 264, 292, 305, 313.
 Cecil, Sir William, 344, 380, 381.
 Cecil, Lord William, 684.
 Cellini, Benvenuto, 387.
 Certinge, Edward de, 101.
 Chabas, Mon. F., 626.
 Chacchevach, John, 123.
 Chace, Widow, 329.
 Chadd, George, 554, 555.
 †Chadwick, John Nurse, 478, 480, 510, 610, 750.
 Chadwick, Thomas, 492.
 Chamberlain, Sir Robert, 197.
 Chambers, Robert, 619.
 Champeneys, William, 157.
 Champney, Cuthbert, 341.
 Chandler, John, 815.
 Chandler, William, 560.
 Chantrell, John, 728.
 Chapel, Robert de, 106.
 Chaplain, William, 853.
 Chapman, William, 836.
 Charles I. [330-375], 383, 411, 424, 669, 753, 763, 764, 806, 809, 845.
 Charles II. [393-439], 292, 356, 379, 453, 457, 492, 493.
 Charles V. (France), 105.
 Charles V. (Spain), 277.
 Charles VI. (France), 165.
 Charles the Bold, 175.
 Charlotte, Queen, 497, 765.
 Charlton, Rev., 645.
 †Charnock, Thomas, 735.
 Chase, 506.
 †Chatham, Lord, 846.
 †Chaucer, Geoffrey, 85, 114, 144, 162, 693, 706, 754, 785.
 Checker, Mr., 433.
 Cheese, Thomas, 322.
 Chennery (Shenery), Henry, 413, 456.
 Cherburgh, Stephen, 723.
 Cheshunte, Sir Walter de, 103.
 Chesterton, Rev. Thomas, 454, 572.
 Cheyne, William, 157.
 Chicheley, Henry, 162, 163.
 Chick, Thomas, 490.
 Chinnery, Robert, 130.
 †Chitty, Joseph, 168.
 Cholmondley, Sir Chas. Horatio, 860.
 Cholmondley, Sir Hugh, 370.
 Chosele, Nicholas de, 127.
 Christian, 350.
 Christian III. (Denmark), 276.
 Christian, Mr. Ewan, 835.
 Chrysostom, St., 25.
 Church, Edmond, 234.
 Church, Peter, 763.
 Churchill, Charles, 475.
 Churchill, Lord John, 459.
 Churchill, Lord Randolph, 666.
 Churchman, John G., 636.
 Churchyard, Thomas, 301.
 †Cibber, Colley, 531.
 Cipriani, Giambattista, 496.
 †Cirencester, Richard de, 39.
 Clabourne (Claybourne), Thomas, 283, 327, 356.
 Clack, Darius, 634.
 Clampe, Richard, 368, 381.
 Clarence, J., 830.
 Clarek, Matthew, 310, 326, 421.
 Clarck, Richard (*père*), 310, 313, 850.
 Clarence, H.R.H. Duke of [See Albert Victor].
 †Clarendon, Lord, 373.
 Clarendon, Lord, 404.
 Clark, Edward, 681.
 Clark, Daniel, 854.
 Clark, Hannah, 756, 859.
 Clark, Sir James, 632.
 Clark, Mr., 873.
 Clark, Richard, 295.
 Clark, William, 329.
 Clarke, Abraham, 333.
 Clarke, George J., 866.
 Clarke(e), Henry, 272.
 Clarke, Martin, 327.
 Clarke, Mr., 381.
 Clarke, Robert, 367.
 †Clarke, Mr. W. G., 4, 5, 7.
 Claxton, William de, 117.

- Clay, Sir William, 611.
 Clays, Frauncis, 258.
 Clays, William, 250.
 Clement, Pope, 863, 877, 883.
 Clench, Robert, 360, 361, 367.
 Clere, Sir Edward, 294.
 Clere, Sir John, 286.
 Clerk, Adam, 99.
 Clerk, John, 729.
 Clerk, Thomas the, 85.
 Clerke, Captain, 498.
 Clerke, John, 749.
 Cliff, Rev. Richard Athol, 546.
 Clifton, William, 541, 604.
 Clinton, General, 515.
 Clinton, Lord Theophilus, 414.
 Clowes, William, 644, 645.
 Cobb, Geoffrey, 223.
 Cobbe, Colonel William, 368.
 †Cobbett, William, 562, 563.
 Cobham, 315.
 Cock, Captain, 425.
 Cocke, John, 280.
 Cockerell, Richard, 239.
 Cod, Thomas, 261.
 Codling, Alan, 680.
 Codling, John, 681.
 Coe, 551.
 †Coke, Sir Edward, 148, 168, 241, 285, 745.
 Coke, John, 397.
 Coke, Master, 355.
 Coke, Mr., Senr., 442.
 Coke (Cook), Robert, 396, 398, 399.
 Coke, Sir Thomas, 474, 490.
 Coke, Thomas William, 557.
 Coke, Lord Thomas William, 784.
 Coke, William, Esq., 557.
 Coke, William, 302.
 Cokesford, Agnes de, 714.
 Cokesford, John de, 98.
 Cokesford, Robert de, 703, 714.
 Cokus, Andrew, 64.
 †Cole, 247.
 Cole, Rev. George J., 654.
 Cole, James, 139.
 Cole, Mr., 572.
 Coleman, John, 823.
 Coleman, Secretary, 427.
 †Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 788.
 Coleridge, Lord, 791.
 Colkirke, John, 130.
 Collins, Henry B., 866.
 Collinson, Bartholomew, 421.
 Collison, Archer, 312.
 Collyer, Mr., 430.
 Collyers, Thomas, 476.
 Collyngwood, Thomas, 856.
 Colman, Capt. Robert, 377.
 Colshill, Thomas, 293, 810.
 Colyn, Thomas, 123.
 Comber, Geoffrey, 261.
 Comber, Richard, 818.
 †Comines (Cominges), Comte de, 195.
 Coney, Walter [220-222], 195, 205, 216, 219, 228, 387, 432, 871.
 Connould, Rev. John, 453.
 Consolif, John, 251.
 Constable, Richard, 729.
 Constantyn, Mary, 748.
 Constantyn, Thomas, 748.
 Conway, Secretary, 331, 342.
 Conyngeston, John, 157.
 Conyngsby (Conysby), William, 234, 732.
 Coe, Christopher, 684.
 Cook, A., 513.
 Cook, Hugh, 729.
 Cook, J., 592.
 Cook, Captain, 787.
 Cook, Capt. James, 498, 500, 620.
 Cook, J. Thomas, 616.
 Cook, William, 155.
 Cooke, John, 804, 805.
 Cooke, Robert, 313.
 Combes, John de, 110.
 Coombes, Wm. Johnstoun, 634.
 Cooper, 386.
 Cooper, Carlos, 634, 665.
 Cooper, Com-Lieut., 765.
 Cooper, Elizabeth, 284.
 †Cooper, Elizabeth, 315.
 Cooper, John, 203.
 †Cooper, Joseph, 213, 508, 509.
 Cooper, Joseph, 635.
 Cooper, Robert, 619.
 Cooper, William, 544, 587.
 Copledike, Sir John, 479.
 Copnote, John, 152.
 Corbet, Sir John, 373.
 Corbet, Miles, 343, 352, 363, 367, 374, 401, 402, 403, 505.
 Corbet, Richard, 403.
 Corbett, Sir Richard, 274.
 Corbridge, 506.
 Cornish, Henry, 123.
 Cornwallis (Cornwalleys), Sir Charles, 290, 325.
 Cornwallis, Sir Thomas, 278.
 Costantyn, John, 680.
 Costloe and Sons, 549.
 Cotillor, Isabella de, 107.
 Cotillor, Walter de, 107.
 †Cotman, John Sell, 386, 387.
 †Cotton, Rev. H., 528.
 Couleher, Rev. Martin, 632, 866.
 †Coulton, Mr. John James, 15, 491, 570, 659, 794.
 Country, Capt. Jeremiah, 378.
 Couper, John, 110.
 Courtenay, Edward, 217.
 Courtenay, Richard, Bishop, 161, 164.
 Couteshale (Couteshal), John de, 95, 130, 250, 714.

- Couteshale, William de, 736.
 Coutessale, Thomas de, 119, 747.
 Coventry, John, 124.
 Coventry, Sir Thomas, 342.
 Coverstoune, William, 344.
 Coward, Edward, 628.
 Coward, John, 387.
 Cowell, 423.
 Cowell and Rapier, 836.
 Cowper, Barbara, 330.
 Cowper, George, 330.
 Cowper, Richard, 284.
 Cowper, Hon. Spencer, 669, 860.
 †Cowper, William, 722, 770.
 Cox, Mary Ann (*née* Hankinson), 624.
 Cox, Rev. R., 624.
 Cox, Richard, Bishop, 304.
 Cox, William, 573.
 Cozens, Catherine, 617.
 Cozens, George, 649.
 Crabbe, George, 826.
 †Craig, W. H., 507.
 Crandley, Capt. Richard, 361.
 Crane, John, 477, 687.
 Crane, Thomas, 842.
 Crane, Thomas, 848.
 Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop, 278, 281, 712, 850.
 Craucumbe, Godfrey de, 61.
 Craven, Lady Louisa (*née* Brunton), 830.
 Crawford, 552.
 Crawford, Mr. and Mrs., 547, 549.
 Crawley, C., 477.
 Crawley, Charles, 573.
 Creak, Matthew, 649.
 Creche, Xpofer, 271.
 Cremer, George, 441, 445.
 Cresswell, Francis (Joseph), 633, 656, 668, 860, 863.
 Cresswell, Mrs. Rachel, 633.
 Cresswell, Capt. Samuel Gurney [619-623].
 Cresswells, the, 668.
 Crickett, Rev. J., 548.
 †Cripps, Wilfred Joseph, 306, 807.
 Crisp, 620.
 Crisp, Jane, 419.
 Crispe, Henry, 468, 471.
 Crofts, Sir Henry, 394.
 Crofts, John, 394.
 Crome, Christopher, 843.
 Crome, Robert, 843.
 Cromwell, Lord de [See Bouchier Humphrey].
 Cromwell, Secretary, 244.
 Cromwell, Elizabeth, 401.
 Cromwell, Frances, 356.
 Cromwell, Henry, 356.
 Cromwell, Jane, 356, 401.
 Cromwell, Margaret, 401.
 Cromwell, Oliver [375-392], 35, 330, 349, 351, 353, 354, 355, 356, 358, 368, 369, 386, 391, 393, 394, 401, 402, 403, 802, 841, 873, 883.
 Cromwell, Sir Oliver, 425.
 Cromwell, Richard, 375, 392.
 Cropley, William, 408.
 †Crosgrave, Henry, 695.
 Cross, John, 694.
 Cross, Tom, 600.
 Cross, W. G., 843.
 Crosse, John, 157.
 Crosse, John, 729.
 Crowe, Mrs. Catherine, 396.
 Cruso, Robinson [487-488], 635.
 Cruso, Robinson, Junr., 636.
 Cruso and Maberley, 614, 635, 649.
 Crygtoste, John, 280.
 Culham, James, 388.
 Culham, James, 556.
 Cullum, Sir John, 387.
 Culy, David, 570.
 Cumanus, 849.
 †Cunningham, Timothy, 173.
 Curatte, John, 233.
 Curlew, John, 191.
 Curraunce, Robert, 208, 209.
 Currey, Simon, 573.
 Currie, Rev. F. L., 635.
 Curson, John, 198.
 Curson, Thomas, 135, 137.
 Curson, Walter, 175, 188.
 Curston, W., 843.
 Curtice, William, 408.
 †Curties, Henry (with Feasey, Philibert), 209.
 Curtis, 137.
 Curtis, Com. Thomas, 633.
 Curtis, John, 306.
 †Curtis, J. C., 137, 412.
 Curtis, Sir William, 231.
 Curtis, William, 521.
 Curtis, William, 780.
 Curtius, 212.
 Cushing, William, 312.
 Cutpurse, Moll, 315.
 Cuttance, Sir Roger, 425.
 †Cutting, Rev. W. Aubrey, 90.
 DACHEUX, Rev. Pierre Louis, 611, 612, 613, 644.
 Daketon, Roger, 107.
 D'Albini, Cecily, 80.
 D'Albini, Hugh, 80, 190.
 D'Albini, William, 56, 80, 93.
 Dalby, Rev. William Ballard, 505.
 Dale, Rev. Benjamin, 837.
 D'Alençon, Herbert, 61.
 Dallans, the, 493, 873.
 Dallans, Ralph, 494, 495.
 Dalton, Rev. John, 612, 613.
 Dandy, Richard, 729.

- Daniel, Brother, 735.
 Danyell, William, 284.
 Darbie, John, 836.
 D'Arblay, Comte P., 497.
 †D'Arblay [See Burney, Frances].
 D'Arc, Joan, 556.
 Darnley, Lord, 314, 315.
 †Dashwood, Rev. George H., 63, 66.
 Dashwood, John Richard, 515.
 Daubeney, Lord, 217.
 Davenport, Miss Lizzie, 826, 829.
 Davenport, Mrs. Mary Anne (*née* Harvey), 829, 830.
 Davenport, Mr. T. D., 830.
 Davey, Mr., 578.
 Davey, William, 573.
 Daville, Rev. John, 866.
 Davis, Edward, 289.
 Davis (Dawes), John, 339.
 Davis, John, 705.
 Davy, Captain, 355.
 Davy, James, 232.
 Davy, James, 232.
 Davy, John, 444, 445.
 Davy, Richard, 412.
 Davy, Robert, 325.
 Davy, William, 232.
 Daw, Mr. William Edward, 769.
 Dawber, Matthew, 573.
 Dawson, E., 531.
 Dawson, Francis, 341.
 Dawson, John, 676.
 Day, George Game, 783.
 Day, Thomas, 514, 530.
 Day, G. and Son, 836, 877.
 Daye, Thomas, 271.
 Deacon, Mack and Co., 597.
 Debenham, Sir Gilbert, 197.
 Decianus, Catus, 13, 27.
 Dee, Dr. John, 785.
 Dees, Nicholas de, 176.
 †Defoe, Daniel, 467, 487, 488.
 Deighton, 206.
 Delamore, 505.
 Delany, Mrs., 531.
 Den, Roger, 65.
 Denman, Thomas, 368.
 Dennis, Benjamin, 442.
 Dennison, Ambrose, 376.
 Denton, Messrs., 574.
 Denver, John, 155.
 Dereham, Mr., 360, 361.
 Dereham, Sir Thomas, 337, 426.
 Derham, Mr., 258.
 Derlyngton, John of, 143.
 Desborough (Desbrow), Jane, 356, 402.
 Desborough, John, 356, 378, 381, 383, 402.
 Despencer, Henry le [see Spencer, Henry de].
 Dethicke, John, 281.
 Devereux, Lord Robert, 402.
 Devorax, John, 338.
 De Witt, Admiral, 407.
 Dewplack, Henry, 728.
 Dexter, Mr. Walter Southern, 548.
 Diana, Goddess, 24, 25.
 Dickens, Charles, 829.
 Dickison, 476.
 Diffe, John, 143.
 Dillingham, James, 860.
 Dillon, Charles, 823.
 Disney, John, 385.
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 568, 586.
 Distins, the, 618.
 Dix, Christopher, 347.
 Dix, Thomas, 323.
 Dixon, Colonel, 566.
 Dixon, James, 543.
 Dixon, John, 781.
 Dixon, Mr., 586.
 Dixon, Robert, 824.
 Dixon, Rev. Sydenham L., 863.
 Dobbin (Dobbs), Jeffrey, 339.
 Dobbs, David, 385.
 Dobson, William, 836.
 Docking, Richard de, 65.
 Docking, William de, 127.
 †Dodsley, 432.
 Dokkyng, Johannes de, 133.
 Dolman, Miss, 648.
 Dominic, St., 701, 702.
 Dominick, John, 414.
 Donahue, Peter, 853.
 Donewyz, Peter de, 110.
 Donne, Dr. John, 493.
 Donne, Thomas, 733.
 Doughtie, Anthony, 306.
 Doughty, William, 342, 343, 408.
 Douglas, Archibald, 305.
 Dove, Johannes, 390.
 Dow, Lorenzo, 644.
 Dowdy, John, 661.
 Downeing, Samuel, 391.
 Downes, Ralph (Raffe), 276, 290, 302.
 Downey, Thomas, 368.
 Downing, Ambassador, 403.
 Dowsing, William, 247.
 Dowyng, John, 391.
 Doyley, Sir William, 426.
 Drakard, John, 574.
 Drake, Sir Francis, Admiral, 295.
 Draper, John, 729.
 Draper, John (*père*), 321, 322, 323, 834, 835, 879.
 Draper, John, 835.
 Draper, Thomas, 344, 835.
 †Drayton, Michael, 1, 15, 581.
 Drayton, Peter, 225.
 Drayton, Thomas de, 108.
 Drew, Geoffrey, 106, 116, 848.
 Drewe, Thomas, 111, 171, 714.
 Drewe, William, 714.
 Driver, Charles H., 781.

- Drury, Sir William, 278, 279.
†Dryden, John, 155.
Dryver, John, 322.
†Ducange (Du Cange), Charles
Dufresne, 21, 122, 725.
Dudley, Ambrose, 281.
Dudley, Sir Andrew, 281.
Dudley, Lord Guildford [277-281].
Dudley, Henry, 281.
Dudley, Lord John, (*père*), 261, 262,
263, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281.
Dudley, John, 281.
Dudley, Robert, 269, 276, 278, 279, 280,
281, 292, 308, 413.
Dudley, W., 431.
†Dugdale, Sir William, 6, 15, 105, 151,
316, 335, 387, 505, 771, 772.
Dumoshell, Peter, 285.
Dun, Richard, 133.
Duncan, King of Scotland, 424.
Dunn, Mr. Edwin, 865.
Dunning, Michael, 283, 284.
Dunton, Walter, 130.
Durrant, Edwin E., 598, 633.
Durrant, Rev. Timothy, 570, 572.
Durst, Rev. John, 875.
Dussant, Richard, 728.
Dye, Robert, 617, 739.
†Dyer, Thiselton, 149, 357.
Dynsdale (Dyngdayall), John, 271.
- EADMUND, LORD, 39.
Eads, Archbishop, 19.
Eagle and Turton, 780.
Eagleton, Mr. Louis Fountaine, 617.
Eastmen, 391.
Eastmure, 822.
Eaton, Edmond, 231.
Eborard, Bishop, 44, 70, 869.
Ecci, Bishop, 43.
†Eccleston, Thomas of, 702, 706.
Eckett, Rev. Robert, 647.
Edberry (Edbury, Edbere, etc.),
James, 321, 322, 323.
Eden, George, 282.
Eden, Thomas, 282.
Edgar, King, 52, 688.
Edmund, Adam de St., 680.
Edmund, King and Saint, 27, 28, 36, 39.
Edmund, P., 614.
Edward I. [69-79], 62, 66, 88, 89, 97, 99,
168, 173, 174, 246, 420, 662, 703,
714, 718, 736, 769, 771.
Edward II. [79-92], 185, 200, 758.
Edward II. (Saxon), 803.
Edward III. [92-121], 45, 47, 53, 77,
190, 200, 223, 318, 335, 447, 537,
705, 714, 726, 727, 739, 759, 760,
761, 762, 768, 785, 790, 804, 807.
Edward IV. [192-206], 173, 175, 191,
207, 212, 235, 249, 291, 358, 669,
731, 748, 775, 820.
- Edward V. [206-207], 197.
†Edward VI. [259-277], 99, 171, 278, 286,
387, 422, 673, 719, 752, 753, 756,
807.
Edward VII., H.M. [669-670], 99, 485,
600, 608, 666, 667, 668, 875.
Edward, the Black Prince, 97, 98, 100,
121, 133.
Edward, the Confessor, 40, 42, 43, 46,
50, 165, 218, 424, 673, 688, 718, 794.
Edward, Duke of Kent, 584.
Edwards, Anne [See Hankinson].
Edwards, Carter, 828.
Edwards, Edward, 562.
Edwards, Rev., Edward, 207, 209, 226,
578, 633, 757, 758, 817, 881.
Edwards, Francis, 624.
Edwards, Henry, 636.
Edwards, W. C., 753.
Eeles, Rev. Charles, 613.
Eldridge, 387.
Eleanor, Queen, 488.
Elfric, 789.
Elfrida, 80.
Elgood, Thomas, 449.
Elizabeth, Queen [237-313], 275, 277,
281, 282, 317, 328, 375, 387, 432,
449, 510, 564, 569, 712, 719, 736,
752, 768, 789, 809, 810, 818, 844,
856.
Ellacombe, Rev. H. T., 842.
Ellenborough, Lord, 587.
†Eller, Rev. George, 224, 230, 232.
Elliot, Mr. Clifford, 452.
Ellis, 668.
Ellis, Edward, 391.
†Ellis, Sir Henry, 218.
Ellis, John, 391.
Ellis, Joseph, 391.
Elliston, Robert Wm., 830.
Elmes, Esmond, 327.
Elmyngton, John de, 149.
Elsden, Edmund (Congham), 562, 584.
Elsden, Edmund (Lynn), 542.
Elsden, Edward Rolfe, 543.
Elsden, Henry, 562, 584.
Elsden, Mabella, 584.
Elsden, Mrs., 860.
Elsden, Robert, 777.
Elsworthy, Miss, 828.
Elvered, Sir John, 704, 707.
Ely, Richard de, 434.
Emanuel, Lewis, 528.
Emanuel and Simmons, 528.
Emerton, Ralph, 418.
Emmenegrave, Thomas d', 61.
Emmett (Emott), Rev. Richard, 323,
329, 344.
Encmethe, Thomas, 161.
English, John, 562.
†Erasmus, Desiderius, 67, 700.
Eric IX. (Denmark), 173.

- Eric XIII. (Norway), 175, 178.
 Erl, William, 95, 135, 138, 180.
 Ernesby, John, 205.
 Ernest, Count Mansfeld, 325.
 Esselby, William of, 701.
 Est Winch, William de, 65.
 Eston, Sir Adam de, 148, 149.
 Eston, Nicholas, 866.
 Ethelbert, King, 39.
 †Ethelwerd, Fabius, 38.
 Etheridge, Messrs. E. and B., 824.
 Eugène, Empress, 669.
 Eugène, Prince, 459.
 †Eusebius, of Casarea, 25.
 Evans, Chancellor, 881.
 Evans, Rev. David J., 572.
 †Evans, Rev. John, 453, 528, 530, 550.
 †Evans, Sir John, 4, 6.
 Evans, Rev. Hugh, 529.
 Evans, Sir Hugh, 142.
 †Evelyn, John, 222, 393, 439.
 Everard, Edmund, 542.
 Everard, Edward, 524, 531, 554, 555, 654.
 Everard, Edward, junr., 516, 521, 560, 656.
 Everard, James, 460.
 Everard, Rebecca, 460.
 Everard, Scarlet, 562.
 Everard, William, 573, 860.
 Everard and Sons, 574.
 Everards, the, 604.
 Exton, John, 654.
 Eyre (Sir), John, 245, 320, 817.
 †FADEN, 853.
 Fairfax (ffairefaxe), Sir Thomas, 341, 369, 371, 845.
 Fakenham, Richard de, 106.
 Fanchild (Faychild), Roger, 96.
 Fanne, John, 302.
 Farambye, Humphrey, 684.
 Farely, George, 306.
 Farrant, George, 866.
 Farrar, Hugh, 384.
 Farrow, John, 817.
 Farthing, Everard, Junr., 553.
 Fastolf, Hugh de, 112.
 Faucit, Miss Helen, 830.
 Fawcett, Mr. E. A. S., 667.
 Fawkes, Guido, 323.
 Fawkes, Thomas, 144.
 Fayers, Mr. Robert W., 668.
 Fayers, Mr., 576.
 Feagle, Baron, 522.
 Fearme, John, 312.
 Feasey, Dom. Philibert (also Curties, Mr. Henry), 209.
 Featherstonhaugh, Mr., 738.
 Felix, St., 26, 27, 38.
 Fellowes, Mr. Edward, 619.
 Felow, 284.
 Feltham (Folsham), Thomas de, 702, 708.
 Felton, Sir Hamon, 709.
 Felwell, Thomas, 161.
 Fenn, William, 284.
 Fenn, William, 293.
 Fenn, William, 327, 385.
 Fenne, Philip de, 745.
 Fenwick (Fentwick), Mr., 414.
 Ferdinand II. (Bohemia), 324.
 Fermer, Thomas, 261.
 Fermor, William, 272.
 Fermour, Sir William, 269, 276, 283.
 Fernie, Rev. John, 863.
 Ferrariis, (Hermer(us) de, 42, 216.
 Ferrou, Henry, 413, 422, 507.
 Ferrou, Robert, 750.
 Few, Robert, 413.
 folkes, Sir Martin Browne, 535, 558.
 folkes, Mary (*née* Browne), 503.
 folkes, William, 503.
 folkes, William, 503, 532, 534.
 folkes, Sir Wm. Hovell Browne, 312, 561, 588, 589, 617, 638, 887.
 folkes, Lady, 887.
 folkes, Sir Wm. John Martin Browne, 504, 558, 559, 560, 561, 565, 569, 597, 598, 686, 783, 784.
 fornesete, John, 253, 869.
 Fiddaman, James, 619.
 Field, Hen., 496.
 Field, Robert, 842.
 Fielding, Lord, 361.
 Fielding, William, 475.
 Fiennes, Nathaniel, 361.
 Fiennes, Lord William, 361.
 Fife, Henry, 566.
 Fiffe, John, 378.
 Finch, Daniel, 474.
 Finch, Rev. Thomas, 549, 550, 551, 572.
 Fincham, Adam de, 115.
 Fincham, John, 426.
 Fincham, Robert, 311.
 Fish, Ambrose, 866.
 Fisher, Miss Clara, 829.
 Fisher, David (1), 519, 826.
 Fisher, David (2), 519, 826, 830.
 Fisher, David (3), 519.
 Fisher, George, 519.
 Fison and Sons, 81.
 Fitz-Alan (Arundel), Thomas, 132, 143, 146, 150, 159.
 Fitz-Alan, William, 201.
 Fitz-Gerald, 822.
 Fitz-Hugh, Lord, 194.
 Fitz-John, 80.
 Fitz-Parson, Alexander, 246.
 Fitz-Roy, Lord James, 423, 440.
 Fitz-Roy, Lady Mary, 283.
 Fitz-Walter, Humphrey, 861.
 Fitz-Walter, 214, 861.

- Fitz-Warren, 491.
 Fitz-William, Adam, 60.
 Flatt, Brother, 648.
 Fleetwood, Lieut.-gen., 379.
 Flegg, Roger de, 246.
 Fletcher, Robert, 126.
 Fletcher, Thomas, 408.
 Fletcher, William, 191.
 Flete, John, 193.
 Floke, 786.
 Flotelyn, Willielmus van, 172.
 Floyd (or Lloyd), Dorothy, 851.
 Flowerdew, Baron, 311.
 Flowerdew, Edward, 308.
 †Foljambe, Hon. F. J. Saville, 295, 296, 808.
 Folkard, Master, 171, 755.
 Folkes [See ffolkes].
 Folsham [See Feltham].
 †Fontibus, Galfridus de, 35.
 Foote, Samuel, 503.
 †Forby, Rev. Robert, 21, 476.
 Fordham, Laurence de, 95.
 Forest, 206.
 Forney, Cornelius, 384.
 Forster, 525.
 Foster, Edmund, 223.
 Foster, John, 715.
 Foster, Joseph, 345.
 Foster, Miss Mary, 733.
 Fountaine, Mr. B. P., 535.
 Founteyne, John, 321.
 Fourbe, Andrew, 161.
 Fourbour, Andrew, 729.
 Fourbour, Robert, 729.
 Fowell, John, 712.
 Fowler, Mary A., 634.
 Fowlmer, Sir Robert, 139.
 †Fox, George, 416, 417, 418.
 Fox, James, 520.
 Fox, Richard, Bishop, 215.
 Fox, Robert, 851.
 Fox, Rev. Thomas, 613.
 †Foxe, John, 128, 129, 143, 146, 147, 226, 282, 283, 284, 304.
 Framingham (fframingham), Henry, 438, 439, 444, 601.
 Framingham, William, 438.
 Francis, Clement, 499.
 Francis, St., 700, 701, 702.
 Frank, John, 729.
 Frank, Richard, 188.
 Franke, John, 157.
 Frank(e), Philip, 163, 752.
 †Frankland, Prof. Percy Faraday, 798, 799.
 Franklin, Sir John, 619, 620.
 Fransham, Thomas de, 95, 106.
 Fraunceys, Godfrey de, 64.
 Freake, Bishop, 307.
 Frederick, Elector, 324, 326.
 Free, Robert, 108.
 Freeman, George, 648.
 Freeman, R., 738.
 Freeman, Robert, 542.
 Freeman and Son, 881.
 Frenghe, John, 704, 869, 883.
 Frenghe, Margaret, 119, 226, 247, 250, 704, 709, 714, 732, 869, 877, 883.
 Friend, Sir John, 442.
 Friseby, William, 143.
 Fritton, Alice [See Howard, Lady Alice].
 Fritton (Freyton), Lord John of, 745.
 Fritton, Sir Edward, 745.
 †Froissart, Sir John, 52, 80, 93, 94, 95, 110, 123.
 Frost, Mr. Charles, 687.
 Frost, James, 843, 844.
 Fry, Elizabeth (*née* Gurney), 517, 623, 633.
 Fuce, Joseph, 417.
 Fulcher, John, 633.
 Fuldene, Ralph de, 65.
 Fulke, Dr. William, 308.
 Fullam, Mrs., 822.
 Fuller, Robert, 413.
 †Fuller, Thomas, 29, 110, 247, 699, 712, 715, 785.
 †Furnivall, Dr. Frederick James, 812, 821.
 Fyncham, John, 198.
 Fyncham, M., 208.
 Fynne, Richard, 230.
 Fysh, Robert, 477.
 GABE, MICHAEL, 346.
 Gabley, Mother, 850, 851.
 Gadgrave, Geoffrey, 714.
 Gafferson, Mary, 853.
 Gage, Michael, 623.
 Gale, George, 528.
 Gale, Sarah, 618.
 Gale, William, 715.
 Gallard, Joseph, 347.
 Galyon (Galeon), Roger, 152, 154, 155, 160, 184, 205.
 Gamball, Mr., 385.
 Gamble, Mr., 542.
 Gamoecke, William, 305.
 †Gardiner, Richard, 283, 287, 327, 499, 515, 533, 534.
 Garland, Lieut. William, 783.
 Garland and Flexman, 81.
 Garrat, John, 528.
 Garratt, William, 528.
 Garratt, Silvanus, 528.
 Garratt, Widow, 528.
 †Garrick, David, 446, 822.
 Garrow, Justice, 560.
 Gascoigne (Sir), William, 157.
 †Gasquet, Rev. Francis Aidan, 251.
 Gate, Sir John, 281.
 Gate, Sir Thomas, 262.

- Gatefield, Rev. Richard, 280.
 Gauden, Mr., 405.
 †Gaule, John, 848.
 Gaunt, John of, 213.
 Gawdy, Framlingham, 374.
 Gawdy, Thomas, 285, 281, 302.
 Gawsell, Robert, 232.
 Gay, John, 488.
 Gaysle, William, 750.
 Gedge, Rev. Sydney, 627.
 Gedney, Thomas, 706.
 Gentleman, Tobyas, 810.
 Geoffrey, Master, Dean, 524.
 George I. [474-489].
 George II. [489-513], 464, 873.
 George III. [513-558], 567, 642, 753, 765, 779, 855.
 George IV. [558-584], 396, 779.
 George, Bishop, 820.
 George, Duke of Clarence, 820.
 George, Duke of York, 426.
 George, Prince of Denmark, 458.
 George, St., 32.
 Gerard, Adam, 178.
 German (Jarmey), Thomas, 851.
 Gernemutha, Henry de, 62.
 Gerves, Robert, 236, 290, 291, 304.
 Gerves, William, 243.
 Gervys, 553.
 Getour, William, 112.
 Getyus, John, 232.
 Geyton, Adam de, 44, 226, 704, 714, 869, 883.
 Geyton, Ralph, 200.
 Geywode, Alan of, 189, 848.
 Geywode, Peter of, 189, 848.
 †Gibbard, Mr. William, 645.
 Gibbon, 497.
 †Gibbon, Edward, 846.
 †Gibbon (Gibbins Guybon), Charles [509-511].
 Gibbon, John, 510.
 Gibbon, Robert, 510.
 Gibbon, William, 307, 510, 511.
 Gibbs, George, 545.
 Gibson, Edmund, Bishop, 804.
 Gibson, John, 257.
 Gibson, Mrs, 329.
 Gibson, Thomas, 327.
 Gigge, John, 64.
 Gilbert, 818.
 Gilbert, Sir John, 313.
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 307.
 †Gildas, 25, 28, 38.
 Giles, T. W., 842.
 Gill, Charles, 826, 828, 831.
 Gill, Mrs. Charles (née Vining), 827.
 †Gillingwater, E., 212, 256.
 Cimbort, Richard, 408.
 Ginevra, 481.
 Girlston, Henry, 385.
 Gisborough, William, 253, 853.
 Gisby, Rev. Barnard, 654.
 Giscard, Uriah, 668.
 Gladstone, William Ewart, 611.
 Gleane, Sir Peter, 408.
 Glendower, 150.
 Gloucester, John of, 832.
 †Gloucester, Robert de, 113.
 Goad, Christopher, 417.
 Goeche, John, 729.
 Goddard, 506.
 Goddard, Amos, 338.
 Goddard, Ezekiel, 457.
 †Goddard, Guybon, 361, 389, 505, 507, 508.
 Goddard, Thomas, 471.
 Goddard and Massey, 664.
 Godered(e), William, 178, 769.
 Godesbirth, John, 189, 848.
 Godfrey, 425.
 Godfrey, Dan, 608.
 Godfrey, Henricus, 172.
 Godfrey, Thomas, 443.
 Godolphin, Lord, 466.
 Godynge (Guddine), Johannes, 63, 321, 832, 833.
 Goff, Rev. William le, 613.
 †Goldsmith, Dr. Oliver, 326, 498.
 Goldsmorth, Lionell, 341.
 Good, William, 360.
 Goodall, A. H., 650.
 Goodman, Captain, 354.
 Gooddyne, Henry, 328.
 Goodinge, Richard, 321, 328.
 Goodrich, Thomas, Bishop, 278.
 Goodwin, Charles, 578, 610, 626, 655, 860.
 Goodwin, Chas. Wycliffe, 626, 673.
 Goodwin, Daniel, 424.
 Goodwin, Fanny, 627.
 Goodwin, Francis, 527, 627, 657.
 Goodwin, Mr. Gordon, 508.
 Goodwin, Harvey, 543, 628.
 Goodwin, Harvey: Bishop, 627, 641.
 Goodwin, Dr. John, 627.
 Goodwin, Partridge and Williams, 610.
 Goodwins, the, 626.
 Goodwyn, 474, 511.
 Goodwyn, Daniel, 391.
 Goodwyn, John, 653.
 Goodwyn, Robert, 391.
 Goodwyn, Thomas, 391.
 †Googe, Barnabe, 815.
 Goore, Mr., 738.
 Gore, Edmund, 280.
 Gore, J., 679.
 Gorges, Lord Edward, 336.
 Gose, Hancell, 853.
 Gose, Mary, 853.
 Goskar, 587.
 Goskar, Thomas, 492.
 Gosset (Gawsell), Gregory, 360.

- Gotobed, Robert, 120.
 Gott, John, 728.
 †Gough, Richard [See Camden, William].
 †Goulburn, Edward Meyrick. Dean, 696.
 Gouldsmith, 328.
 Gournay, 92.
 Gousele, William de, 681.
 †Gower, John, 696.
 Graham, Sir James, 568, 569.
 Granger, Elizabeth Field, 827.
 Grangia, Thomas de, 680.
 Grante, Sir Thomas, 227, 228, 230.
 Grantham, John de, 250, 709, 869, 877.
 Grantham, Thomas, 453, 571.
 Graunt, Christopher, 300, 307.
 Grave, Katherine, 327.
 Grave, Thomas, 308.
 Graver, Thomas, 276.
 Gray, Thomas, D.D., 227, 228.
 Graye, Christopher, 833.
 Graye, John, 280.
 Graye, Miles, 833.
 Greaves, Rev. Cyril Abdy, 654.
 Greaves, Rev. J. William, 481.
 Greaves, Rev. Thomas Berkeley, 481, 676.
 Grebye, William, 233.
 Green, 495.
 Green, Mr. Abraham, 681.
 †Green, Mrs. Alice, 72, 83, 87, 88, 89, 154, 176, 180, 537, 681, 683, 694, 728, 734, 742.
 Green, Charles, 508.
 Green, Charles, 567.
 Green, Gyles, 329.
 Green, Henry, 687.
 Green, John, 508, 509, 510.
 †Green, John Richard, 740.
 †Green, Mary Anne Everett, 392.
 Green, Robert, 557.
 Green, Thomas, 492.
 Green, Thomas, 687.
 Green, Thomas atte, 110.
 "Green, Verdant," 123.
 Green, Robertson and Whitfield, 556, 821.
 Greenacre, James, 618.
 Greene, Giles, 364.
 Greene, James, 444.
 †Greene, John, 398, 450, 467.
 Greene, Joshua, 347, 365, 375, 381, 389, 415.
 Greene, Josiah, 573.
 Greene, Robert, 389.
 Greene, Thomas, 365, 389, 422.
 †Greenwell, Canon, 7.
 Greeves, D., 843.
 Gregory, Augustus, 623.
 Gregory, Pope, 28, 210, 717.
 Gregory XI., Pope, 877.
 Gregory, Robert, 195.
 Gregson, Mr., 597.
 †Grenside, Rev. Christopher, 9.
 Greville, Chas. C. F., 568.
 Grey, Catherine, Queen, 315.
 Grey, Edmund de, 408.
 Grey, Lord Henry, 278.
 Grey, Lady Jane [277-279], 67, 281, 282.
 Grey, Hon. John Augustus de, 865.
 Grey, John de, Bishop, 45, 46, 47, 48, 72, 81, 117, 713, 741, 742, 768, 807, 877.
 Grey, Sir John, 193.
 Grey, Sir Robert de, 354.
 Grey, Thomas, 152.
 Grey, Thomas de (Baron), 865.
 Greynes, Jo., 408.
 Griffin, Rev. John, 549.
 Grimaldi, Joseph, 826.
 †Grimm, the Brothers, 769.
 Grindell (Gryndall), John, 233, 234, 238, 871.
 Grinnell, Thomas, 332.
 Grisenthwaite, John, 857.
 Grissell, H. and M. D., Messrs., 591.
 Grissell and Peto, 604.
 Grissell and Co., 784.
 Groome, 344.
 †Grosseteste, Robert, 142, 701.
 Groute, John, 40.
 Groute, Thomas, 762.
 Grove, Edward, 378.
 Grove, Captain Edward, 405.
 †Grove, Sir George, 494.
 Growte, John, 728.
 Grymesby, Edmund de, 118.
 Grymoche, Roger, 728.
 Guibone, Thomas, 327.
 Guilford, Lord Keeper, 397.
 Gun, William, 190.
 Gunning, F., 658.
 Gunton, Simon de, 132.
 Gunton(e), Henry de, 95, 109.
 Gunville, Sir Edmund de, 109.
 Gunville, Thomas, 357.
 Gurlin, Thomas, 326, 342, 345, 350, 351, 352, 354, 355, 357, 367.
 Gurlin, William, 819.
 Gurnell, Gregory, 752.
 Gurney, Andrew, 835, 881.
 Gurney, Catherine (*née* Bell), 623.
 †Gurney, Daniel, 77, 132, 582, 587, 623, 860.
 Gurney, Elizabeth (*née* Gurney), 623.
 Gurney, Elizabeth [See Fry].
 Gurney, Hannah [See Buxton].
 Gurney, Harriet Jemima (*née* Hay), 623.
 Gurney, Jane (*née* Birkbeck), 623.
 Gurney, John, 418.
 Gurney, John, 457.
 Gurney, John (*père*), 517, 623.

- Gurney, John (1st), 623.
 Gurney, John (2nd), 623.
 Gurney, John Henry, M.P., 587, 588, 615, 638.
 Gurney, Joseph John, 623.
 Gurney, Louisa [See Hoare].
 Gurney, Priscilla, 517.
 Gurney, Rachel, 623.
 Gurney, Mr. Somerville A., 667, 807, 865.
 Gurneys, Messrs., 81, 266.
 Gurneys, Birkbeck, Barclay, Buxton and Cresswell, 430.
 Guthlac, St., 40.
 Guybon, Gregory, 510.
 Guybon, Humphrey, 306, 510.
 Guybon, Stephen, 250, 510.
 Guybon (Gybbon), Thomas, 233, 234, 243, 274.
 Gybbon, Anthony, 280.
 Gybson, George, 311.
 Gyrlyngton, Nicholas, 280.
 Gyssing, Thomas (de), 123, 128.
 Guzman, Dominic de [See Dominic, St.].
- HACKER, 304.**
 Hadfield, 557.
 Haggard, Mr. H. Rider, 55, 854.
 Hagger, Corporal, 372, 373.
 †Hailes, Lord, (David Dalrymple), 94.
 Hainsworth, Mr., 777.
 †Hakluyt, Richard, 289, 705, 785, 786.
 Halcott (Helcate, Helcoat, etc.), John 438, 439, 511, 873, 881.
 Halcott, Matthew, 438.
 Hale, Sir Matthew, 422.
 Halifax, Lord, 369.
 Hall, Alexander, 684.
 Hall, John, 270.
 Hall, John, 444.
 Hall, Richard, 227, 866.
 Hall, Robert, 145.
 Hall, William, 268.
 Hall, Captain William, 405, 419.
 Hall, "Will-will-be-so," 268.
 †Hallam, Arthur Henry, 133, 213, 427.
 Hallatt, Rev. George, 649, 650.
 Hallyate, William, 155, 157, 161.
 Halsall, Edward, 427.
 Hambleton, Thomas, 339.
 Hamilton, Lord C. John, 588, 589.
 Hamilton, Capt. Frederick T., 638.
 Hamilton, H., 631.
 Hamilton, Dr. Robert, 542.
 Hamilton, Rev. Robert, 546, 647, 649.
 Hamlet, Mr. W. H., 797, 798, 799.
 Hamond, Anthony, 516.
 Hamond, Michael, 851.
 Hamond, Richard, 456.
 Hancock, Robert, 684.
 Hankinson, Anne (*née* Edwards), 624.
 Hankinson, Catherine (*née* Hoare), 624.
 Hankinson, Rev. Edward Francis Edwards, 624, 863.
 Hankinson, Mary A. [See Cox].
 Hankinson, Rev. Robt. Edwards, 583, 584, 624, 643.
 Hankinson, Thomas, 623.
 Hankinson, Rev. Thomas, 624.
 †Hankinson, Rev. Thos. Edwards [624-625], 661, 753.
 Hankinsons, the [623-624].
 Harboard, William, 455.
 Harbrowne, William, 736.
 Harcourt, —, 151.
 Hardell, Thomas, 161.
 Hardicanute, King, 673.
 Harding, Charles H., 657.
 Hardinge, Sir Henry, 568.
 Hardwick, Captain, 556.
 Hardwick, Rev., 646.
 Hardy, Thomas, 522.
 Hardy, William, 182.
 Hare (Mr.), Henry, 431, 432.
 Hare, John, 631.
 Hare, Sir John, 337, 343.
 Hare, Sir Ralph, 374, 400, 405, 407, 408.
 Hare, Sir Thomas, 224.
 †Hare, Sir Thomas, 224, 623.
 Hare, Sir Thomas, 441.
 Harker, William, 477.
 Harley, Lord Robert, 466, 467.
 Harling, Sir Robert, 203.
 Harmer, Nicholas, 761.
 Harmer, Robert, 377.
 Harmer, Thomas, 761.
 Harold, King, 41, 674.
 Harpley, Lee, 426.
 Harrington, Lord, 420.
 Harris, 495.
 Harris, Rev. George, 551.
 Harris, John, 408.
 Harris, Richard, 866.
 Harris, Rev. Robert, 551.
 Harrison, 595.
 Harrison, Sir John, 448.
 †Harrison, William, 302.
 Harrison, Robert, 284.
 Harrison, Mr., 780.
 †Harrod, Henry, 17, 18, 19, 49, 77, 94, 95, 108, 110, 113, 120, 132, 152, 162, 163, 176, 197, 209, 221, 227, 231, 232, 251, 528, 692, 706, 745, 748, 750, 752, 794, 805, 807, 808, 814.
 Harryson, John, 284.
 Harsick, John de, 79.
 Harsnet, Samuel, Bishop, 150, 344, 879, 881.
 Hart, Daniel, 591.
 †Hart, Rev. Richard, 122, 208, 227.
 Hart, Robert, 361.
 Hart, Mr., 472.

- Hartop (Hartup), Thomas, 481.
 †Hartshorne, Rev. Charles Henry, 502.
 †Harvard, Rev. W., 548.
 Harwood, George, 583.
 Harwood, John, 516.
 Hase, Sibert, 728.
 Haselwood, Rev. John, 881.
 Haslewood, Joseph, 417.
 Hastings, the, 710.
 Hastings, Sir Hugh de, 190.
 Hastings, John, 79.
 Hastings, Lord, 195.
 Hatfield, William, 413.
 Haunsard, William, 108.
 Havercamp, Godfrey, 325.
 Haverhill, William de, 61.
 Havers, Captain, 354.
 Hawkshaw, Sir John, 619.
 Hawley, Captain, 376, 407.
 Hawley, Captain, 777.
 Hawley, Seth, 422.
 Haws, William, 555.
 Hay, Harriet Jemima [See Gurney].
 Haycock, Giles, 527.
 Haydon, Sir John, 313.
 Hayes, James, 550.
 Hayes, Thomas W., 668.
 Hayes, Mr. W. T., 668.
 Haylock, Giles, 654.
 Harvey, Frank, 828, 830.
 Healey, Mrs., 822.
 Heard, John, 492.
 †Hearne, Thomas (with Langtoft, Peter), 17, 18.
 Hebburn (Hepbourne), Dr. George, 639.
 Hedley, I., 530, 531.
 Helena, St., 749.
 Helendaale, Peter, 495, 866.
 Hemington, J., 477.
 Hemington, John, 825.
 Hemond, 379.
 Henderson, John, 858.
 Henrietta Maria, Queen, 330, 347.
 Henry I., 59, 80, 673, 718.
 Henry II., 48, 59, 210, 235.
 Henry III. [57-69], 30, 51, 72, 73, 76, 210, 673, 742, 743, 768, 772, 804.
 Henry IV. [138-153], 50, 137, 159, 178, 190, 197, 199, 200, 310, 401, 696, 714, 748, 753, 767, 805, 820.
 Henry IV. (France), 330.
 Henry V. [153-165], 44, 50, 141, 175, 178, 186, 310, 328, 714, 805, 818.
 Henry VI. [166-192], 152, 194, 197, 233, 234, 301, 657, 712, 714, 716, 772, 773, 786.
 Henry VII. [214-233], 105, 120, 214, 215, 218, 255, 314, 315, 424, 714.
 Henry VIII. [234-259], 15, 113, 257, 258, 264, 273, 274, 277, 283, 285, 286, 287, 296, 302, 324, 346, 372, 383, 711, 720, 732, 758, 761, 786, 804, 838, 854, 883.
 Henson (Hinson), Rev. Robert, 357.
 Herbert, Lord Henry, 313.
 Hereford, William de, 164.
 Herfast, Bishop, 43.
 Herlewyn, Matthew, 171.
 Hermit, John, 250.
 Hermit, Thomas, 250.
 Hernsen, John, 376.
 Heron, John, 425.
 Herrison, Thomas, 172.
 Hertanger, Robert, 761.
 Hertford, Rev. U. Vernon, 654.
 Hervey, William, 312.
 Hevingham, Anthony, 354.
 Hewlett, Bartholomew, 417.
 Hewrynglonde, John, 253.
 Hexham, Mr., 772.
 Heydon, Sir Christopher, 269, 272, 281, 283, 306, 308.
 Heydon, Sir William, 294, 307.
 Heydon, William, 261.
 Heylyn, Peter, 388.
 Heyrick, Sir William, 342.
 †Heywood, Mr. (John), 821.
 †Hickes, George, 673.
 †Higden, Ranulph, 218.
 Hilde, John, 847.
 Hildon, George, 679.
 Hill, Char(les), 842.
 Hill, Martin, 320.
 Hill, Mary, 130.
 Hill, Rowland, 602.
 Hill, Samuel, 515.
 Hill, Thomas, 498.
 Hill, Widow, 840.
 Hillam, John Ashton, 549, 646, 649.
 Hindes, Mr., 823, 830.
 Hinds, Samuel, Bishop, 616.
 Hingeston, Francis Charles [See Capgrave, John].
 Hispania, John, 123.
 Hitcham, Sir Robert, 328.
 Hitchcock, William, 567, 866.
 Hoadly, Bishop, 501, 502.
 Hoare, Catherine (*née* Hankinson), 624.
 Hoare, Louisa (*née* Gurney), 623, 624.
 Hoare, Samuel, junior, 623.
 Hoare, Samuel, senior, 624.
 Hobart, Sir Henry, 302, 455, 771.
 Hobart, Col. James, 361, 370, 845.
 Hobart, Lord John, 490.
 Hobart, Sir John, 330, 399.
 Hobart, Sir Miles, 347, 352, 355, 408.
 †Hobbes, Thomas, 460.
 Hodgson, 245.
 Hodgson, J. W., 617.
 Hodsman, Rev. Maurice, 650.
 Hoe, 537.
 Hogan, Thomas, 290.
 Hogge, George, 221, 535, 541, 562, 568, 614.

- Hogges, the, 430, 574.
 Holdich, G. M., 636.
 Holdich, Robert, 281.
 Holditch, Adam, 511.
 Holditch, Charles, 511, 512, 528, 851.
 Holditch, George, 571, 634, 800.
 Holditch, George, 632.
 Holditch, Hamnett, 632.
 Holforth, Chrystopher, 280.
 †Holinshed, Raphael, 245, 257.
 Holl, Augustine, 342.
 Holland, Count, 75.
 Holland, Countess, 75, 76.
 Holland, G., 843.
 Holland, H., 843.
 Holland, Lord John, 710.
 Holland, Thomas, 408.
 Holley, Benjamin, 386, 406, 407, 409, 412, 413, 422, 444.
 Holley, William, 413, 444.
 Hollis, Jervise, 361.
 Hollyday, Thomas, 553.
 Holmes, Mr., 496.
 Holmeston, William, 131.
 Holt, Lord C. J., 456.
 Holt, Rev., 646.
 Holt, Henry de, 65.
 Holt, Neale and Co., 598.
 Home, Rev. John, 829.
 Homer, 448.
 †Hone, William, 447, 789, 822.
 Honig, C. and I., 509.
 Honorius, Archbishop, 38.
 Hoo, William de, 106.
 Hood, Robin, 725.
 Hood, Thomas, 854.
 Hood, William, 327.
 Hoogan, Rev. Thomas, 345.
 Hooke, Edmund, 413, 444, 457.
 Hooper, Mr. E., 831.
 †Hooper, Mr. James, 743.
 Hoor, Richard de, 280.
 Hope, Rev. H(enry), 650.
 †Hopkins, Edward John, 494.
 Hopkins, 554, 555.
 Hopkins, Matthew, 849, 850, 851.
 Hopkins, Richard, 553.
 Hopman (Hopeman), 213.
 Hopman, Richard, 88, 91.
 Hoppner, John, 753.
 Hopton, John, Bishop, 283.
 Horncastle, John, 545.
 Horncastle, Samuel, 545.
 Horne, Rev. John, 345, 414, 416, 639, 852, 866, 883, 885.
 Horsfall, Rev., 556.
 Horsley, Bishop, 618.
 Horsley, Matthew, 388.
 Horsnell, John, 381.
 Horwode, William, 233.
 Hosier, Capt. John, 385.
 Hoste, Captain, 559.
 Hoste, James, 455, 456, 462, 528.
 Hotspur, 150.
 Houghton, 247.
 Houghton, Rev. Charles, 652.
 Houghton, Edmund, 282.
 Houghton, John, 489.
 Houghton, Robert, 273, 293.
 Housegoe, Elizabeth, 850.
 Houton, Alice, 714.
 Houton, Richard (de), 102, 128, 130, 135, 137, 714.
 Hovell, Fr., 408.
 Hovell, Sir William, 405, 407, 408.
 Hovell, Sir Richard, 324, 342, 360, 361.
 Howard, Lady Alice (Alicia), 745.
 Howard, Lord Charles, 295, 311, 317, 320.
 Howard, Lord Henry, 413, 423, 441, 458.
 Howard, Lord Henry, 301.
 Howard, Lord Henry, 324.
 Howard, Lord Henry, 396.
 Howard, Sir John, 110.
 Howard, Lord John, 201, 202.
 Howard, Sir Robert, 704.
 Howard, Lord Thomas, 255.
 Howard, Lord Thomas, 278.
 Howard, Lord Thomas, 290, 292, 303.
 Howard, Lord Thomas, 324, 325.
 Howard, Sir William, 745, 747.
 Howard, Mr. J. Bannister, 831.
 Howard, Mistress, 856.
 Howard (woman), 721.
 Howards, the, 745.
 Howe, Lord Richard, 557.
 Howes, Thomas, 232.
 Howes and Cushing, 619.
 Howlett (B.), 762.
 Howlett, William, 368.
 Howlett, William, 511.
 Howson, John, 339.
 Hubba, 39.
 Hubbard, William, 612.
 Hubberde, Henry, 281.
 Hubert, St., 209.
 Huddart, Captain, 779.
 Huddleston, Mr., 278.
 Hudson, Edmund, 343, 351, 360, 390.
 Hudson, Rev. Michael, 374.
 Hudson, Mr., 586.
 Huggins, Robert, 634.
 Huggins, Thomas, 368, 452.
 Huggins, Sir Thomas, 355, 421, 422.
 Hugh, St., 749.
 Hughes, Owen, 398.
 Hull, Rev. E. L., 652.
 Hullyard (Hulyard, Hullyer, etc.), Robert, 293, 295, 300, 312.
 Hullys, Robart, 295.
 Hulton, 574.
 Hulton, Leonard, 456.

- †Hume, David, 193, 195, 196, 197, 209, 439.
 Hunderpound, W., 879.
 Hunt, John, 353.
 Hunt, Richard, 545.
 Hunt, Thomas, 161.
 Hunt, Thomas, 346.
 †Hunter, Rev. Joseph, 809.
 Huntingdon, 283.
 Hurleston, Captain, 425.
 Hurry, Joshua, 843.
 Hurry, Thomas, 843, 844.
 Hussey, 264.
 Hurst, Rev. John, 611, 613.
 †Hutchinson, Mr., 461.
 Hutchynson, John, 329.
 Huxley, Professor Thomas H., 474.
 Hyde, Anne, Queen, 458.
 Hyde, Lord Clarendon, 458.
 Hyde, Lord Henry, 449.
 Hyll, John, 271.
 Hyngham, George, 225, 233, 253.
 Hynes, Judas, 527.
- IBBERSON, MR. CHARLES, 527.
 Ibberson, Charles (*père*), 633.
 †Inderwick, F. A., 90.
 Inglebred, Goodman, 390.
 Inglefield, Captain, 622.
 Inglis, Dr., 470.
 †Ingulph, Abbot, 38, 39, 193, 194, 195, 210.
 Ingwar, 39.
 Ingworth, Richard of, 701.
 Innocent III., Pope, 318.
 Inot, William, 748.
 Ireton, Henry, 379, 401.
 Irving, Sir Henry, 854.
 Isabella, Princess, 61.
 Isabella, Queen [93-98], 80, 92, 212, 669, 703, 789.
 Ives, J., 506.
 Ivo, 42.
 Ivory (Ivorye, Iverye), John, 312, 804, 816, 866.
 Ixworth, Walter de, 107.
- JACKER, THOMAS, 261.
 Jackman, William, 844.
 Jack(a)man, William, 842, 843.
 Jackson, Henry, 417.
 Jackson, Joseph Howard, 388.
 Jackson, Rev. O., 645, 646.
 Jacksonne, Sir John, 302.
 Jaggard, Rev. John, 881.
 †James I. [314-330], 383, 420, 424, 432, 787, 806, 816, 844, 849.
 James II. [439-449], 432, 458, 489.
 James IV. (Scotland), 307.
 James, Edwin, 587.
 James, William, Bishop, 315.
 Jankynson, Richard, 728.
- Janrys, Peter, 728.
 Janson, Mr., 669.
 Jarrad, Anne, 557.
 Jarvis, Mr. Alexander W., 588, 589.
 Jarvis, Sir Lewis W., 608, 610, 612, 633, 659, 669, 843.
 Jarvis, William, 668.
 Jarvis, Mr. William, 668.
 Jarvis and Jarvis, 666.
 Jay, William, 106.
 †Jearesson, John Cordy, 17, 49, 77, 84, 94, 95, 108, 120, 162, 163, 170, 187, 199, 247, 343, 382, 750.
 Jeary, Robert, 539.
 Jeffery (Jeffery, etc.), Lord Chief Justice, 328, 495.
 Jeffrey, Father, 743.
 Jegon, Mr. 367.
 Jenks, Rowland, 310.
 Jermyn, Thomas, 723.
 Jermyn, Mr. Alfred, 652, 668, 865.
 Jermyn and Perry, 668.
 Jerningham, Sir Henry, 278.
 Jerrems, W., 531.
 Jessop, James, 648.
 Jessop, William, 391.
 †Jessopp, Rev. Dr. Augustus, 29, 70, 91, 104, 105, 140, 253, 329, 397, 547, 583, 701, 742, 749, 854.
 Jewells, Messrs., 668.
 Jewitt, Mr. Llewellynn, 52.
 Jex, Horatio, 831.
 Jex, James, 543.
 Jex, W. H., 576.
 Joan (Joanna) of Navarre, Queen, 141, 748, 820.
 Jocelyn, 210.
 Jocelyn, Viscount Robert, 585, 586, 587, 588, 600, 635.
 John, King [46-57], 58, 59, 67, 72, 194, 257, 383, 412, 666, 669, 685, 694, 718, 741, 742, 753, 757, 772, 773, 804, 805, 806, 807.
 John (King of France), 807.
 John III. (Portugal), 286.
 John IV. (Portugal), 393.
 John (town clerk), 680.
 John, the clerk, 818.
 John, St., 34, 35, 146, 154.
 John, St., the Baptist, 144.
 John, Lord John St., 217.
 John, Lord William St., 273.
 Johnes, 284.
 Johnson, General, 518.
 Johnson, George, 543.
 Johnson, Sir H. H., 629.
 Johnson, Sir James, 442, 443, 455.
 Johnson, Jo., 408.
 Johnson, John, 367.
 Johnson, Matthew, 397.
 Johnson, Mr., 299.
 Johnson, Ralph, 866.

- Johnson, Mr. Randall, 6.
 †Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 424, 468, 487, 498, 507, 708.
 Johnson, Simon, 172.
 Johnson, Thomas, 560.
 Johnson, Vincent, 274.
 Johnson, William, 367.
 Johnson, Mr. William Henry, 553, 646.
 Jolliffe and Banks, 779.
 Jones, Andrew, 802.
 Jones, Sir Francis, 325.
 Jones, Colonel P., 383.
 Jones, Thomas, 285.
 Jones, Thomas, 285.
 †Jones, Sir William, 149.
 Jones, Mr., 527.
 Jordan, Mrs. (Dorothea), 829.
 Jossom, Nicholas, 723.
 Joynour, Geoffrey, 729.
 Judy (Judy), William, 270.
 Jumper, 358.
 Jurnepin, William, 749.
 †Jusserand, Jean A. A. Jules, 76.
- KARRYLLS, THOMAS, 279, 281.
 Kascolm, Reginaldus, 172.
 Katherine, St. [See Catherine, St.].
 Kean, Charles, 826.
 Kean, Edmund (*père*), 826, 827.
 Kechwicke, 391.
 Keed, James, 550, 610.
 Keed, John (*père*), 568, 573, 875.
 Keed, John, 648, 649.
 Keeling, William, 412.
 Keene, Sir Benjamin, 413, 502, 753, 881.
 Keene, Charles, 502.
 Keene, Edmund, Bishop, 502.
 Keene, Mr., 490.
 Kele, Alan de, 794.
 Kellett, Captain, 622.
 Kelley, Harry, 619.
 Kelloc, Alexander, 794.
 Kellock, Walter, 109.
 †Kemball, W. H., 447.
 †Kemble, John Mitchell, 12, 673.
 Kemble, Charles, 825, 826, 829.
 Kemble, Mrs. Charles, 829.
 Kemp, Thos. Richardson, 539.
 Kempe, John, 124, 726.
 Kempe, Margerie, 528.
 Kendal, William H., 631.
 Kendall, Robert Oxley, 830.
 Kendall, Thomas Marsters, 830.
 Kandle, Frederick, 636.
 Kenete, Mr., 258.
 Kenman, Thomas, 126.
 Kenmore, Malcolm, 803.
 Kennett, Francis, 312.
 Kent, Captain, 763.
 Kent, Duchess of, 569, 670.
 Kent, Duke of, 642.
- Kent, Goodman, 101.
 Kent, Joan of, 135.
 †Kent, Nathaniel, 525, 539.
 Kentes, Stephen de, 108.
 Kenyngdale, Thomas de, 171.
 Keppel, Major G. Thomas, 585.
 †Kerrick, Barbara, 503.
 Kerrich, Rev. Samuel, 501, 528.
 Kerrick, 289.
 Kerry, Messrs., 618.
 Kerstall Forge Co., 784.
 Kervyle, Christopher, 313.
 Ketel, 794.
 Ketleston, Geoffrey de, 103.
 Ketlistone, Ralph de, 707.
 Kett, Mrs., 545.
 Kett, Robert, 260, 261, 263.
 Kett, William, 260, 263.
 Kiallmark (Kilmark), George (*père*), 504.
 Kiallmark, George, 504.
 Kiallmark, John, 504.
 Kidd, John, 413, 443, 456.
 Kidd, Rev. Thomas, 866.
 Kilborne, 322.
 Kilham, Rev. Alexander, 570, 646.
 Killingbank, T., 842.
 Killingtree, William, 300, 537.
 Killingworth, Grantham, 453.
 Kimbolton, Earl of [See Montagu, Edward].
 †Kinderley, Nathaniel, 486, 487, 778, 781, 784, 885.
 King, Dr., 283.
 King, Edward L., 633, 635.
 King, George, 573.
 King, Host, 614.
 King, James, 843, 844.
 King, Lieut. James, 498.
 King, John, 130.
 King, John, 729.
 King, Captain John, 379.
 King, Mr., 557.
 King, Oliver, 215, 217.
 King, Thomas, 507, 509.
 King, Thomas, 551.
 King, William, 509.
 Kinge, Thomas, 408.
 †Kingsley, Charles, 15.
 Kingstead, John, 416.
 †Kingston, Mr. Alfred, 349.
 Kinkingale, John de, 143, 144.
 Kinloss, Lord, 325.
 Kirby (Kyrbie), Henry, 276.
 Kirby, John, 488.
 Kirby, Walter, 350, 351, 355, 360, 385, 394.
 Kircher, John, 327.
 Kirk, John, 613.
 Kisch, Mr., 527.
 Kittle, Richard, 854.
 Knap(p), John, 272, 282.

- †Knapp, William I., 618.
 Kneller, Sir Godfrey, 753.
 Knight, 551.
 Knight, John, 460.
 Knight, Dr. Samuel, 229.
 Knight, Sir William, 251.
 Knights, John H., 225.
 Kniveton, Edward, 368.
 Knowles, Sheridan, 829.
 Knox, John, 854, 866.
 Knyvett, Edmund, 215.
 Köningsmark, Count, 474.
 Krinks, Henry, 875.
 Kynd, Andrew, 108.
 Kynge, John, 271.
 Kynne, John, 292.
 Kynton, Edward, 203.

 LABOR, RENARDE DE, 280.
 Lacey, Margaret, 56.
 Lacey, Walter, 56.
 Lacey, Mr. W. E. H., M.P., 598.
 Ladbroke, Henry, 623, 635.
 Lafayette, M. Marie Jean Paul, de, 497.
 Lake, Francis, 843, 844.
 Lakenham, William de, 103.
 Lakenham, William de, 24, 96.
 Lakesle, Owen, 699.
 Lam, Thomas, 322.
 Lambard, William, 728.
 Lambe, Sir John, 352.
 Lambert, General, 383, 386, 391.
 Lambert, John, 109.
 Lambert, Richard, 307.
 Lambred, Cornelius, 313.
 Lancaster, Joseph, 642.
 Lancaster, Sir William John, 248, 589.
 Landseer, Sir Edwin, 629.
 †Lane, Frederick, 221, 224, 232, 545, 569, 573, 579, 610, 633, 753, 860.
 Lane, Mr. Frederick William, 738.
 Lane, Sir Ralph, 790.
 Lane, Samuel, 539.
 Lane, Samuel, 753.
 Lanfranc, Archbishop, 583.
 †Lang, Mr. Andrew, 24.
 Langestrotter, Sir William, 201.
 Langford, Rev. C., 557.
 Langham, Robert, 704.
 †Langland, William, 692, 731.
 Langley, John, 500, 501.
 Langley, Sergt.-Major William, 501.
 Langley, Thomas, 152.
 †Langtoft, Peter, 17, 18.
 Langton, Stephen, 55.
 Lansdown, Rev. George, 654.
 Lantaff, John, 477.
 Larkin, Mr., 737.
 Lassells, Mr., 823.
 Lath(e), Johanna atte, 387.
 Lath(e), Robert atte, 120, 199, 387.
 Lath(e), Thomas, 199.
 Latton, R—, Bishop, 253.
 Laud, Archbishop, 347, 873, 883.
 Laurs, Philip, 857.
 Lawrence, He., 392.
 Lawrence, Joseph, Junr., 578.
 Lawrence, Mr., 402.
 Lawrence, Mr. W. F., 608.
 Lawson, Roger, 327.
 Lazarus, 249, 251.
 Le Neve, Oliver, 455.
 Leake, Henry, and Son, 668.
 †Lecky, Mr. William Edw. Hartpole, 468.
 Lee, Dorothy, 851.
 Lee, George, 284.
 Lee Warner, 442.
 Lee Warner, William Wilson, 578, 824.
 Leech, Rev. Thomas, 345.
 Leech, William, 203.
 Leech and Allflat, 549.
 Leed(e)s, Rev. William, 232, 300.
 Leek (Leake), William, 343, 349, 353, 360, 361, 376.
 Leeper, Rev. William, 887.
 Leet, Jenkins M., 836.
 Leete, C., 592.
 Legat, John, 509.
 Leighton, Thomas, 220, 238.
 †Leland, John, 15.
 Lely, Sir Peter, 753.
 Leman, Capt. Thomas, 371, 372, 373.
 Lemon, Andrew George, 866.
 Lemon, Thomas, 413.
 Len, William de, 69.
 Lenn, Sir Edmund de, 116.
 Lenne, Aleyn (Allanus), de, 712.
 Lenne, Anger de, 211.
 Lenne, Edmundus de, 833.
 †Lenne, Geoffrey, 708.
 Lenne, Johannes de, 833.
 Lenne, Nicholas de, 705, 706, 785.
 Lennox, Lady Mary Ann (*née* Paton), 830.
 Lennox, Lord William Pitt, 567, 572, 830.
 Lester and Pack, 836, 837, 857.
 †Lestrangle (Le Strange, Lestraunge), Alice, 203, 264, 354, 367.
 Lestrangle, Barbara, 354.
 Lestrangle, Dorothy, 373.
 Lestrangle, Hamon [373, b 3].
 Lestrangle, Sir Hamon [373, b], 320, 333, 351, 354, 355, 360, 361, 367, 371, 374.
 †Lestrangle, Mr. Hamon, 133, 202, 264, 310, 317, 397, 403, 411, 413, 588, 790, 833, 865.
 Lestrangle, Sir Nicholas [373, a], 264, 816.

- Lestrangle, Nicholas [373, b 1].
 Lestrangle, Sir Nicholas [373, c], 354.
 Lestrangle, Nicholas [373, d].
 Lestrangle, Sir Nicholas [373, d], 441.
 Lestrangle, Nicholas, [373, e].
 Lestrangle, Sir Nicholas [373, e], 456.
 Lestrangle, Richard, 292.
 †Lestrangle, Roger [373, b 3], 354, 371,
 372, 373, 403, 404.
 Lestrangle, William, 373.
 L'Estree, Bernard, 704.
 Letthour, Richard, 729.
 Leventhorpe, John, 152.
 Levy, Isaac, 851.
 Lexham, Thomas de, 713, 714.
 Lexington, Robert, 60.
 Leyton, William, 227, 230, 866.
 †Lightfoot, Dr. Joseph Barber, Bishop,
 266.
 Lightwise, Robert, 227.
 Lillie, Sir John Scott, 568.
 Lillye, Thomas, 482.
 Limburgh, Leofric, 699.
 Lincoln, Simon de, 64.
 Lindesey, Alan de, 681.
 Lindesey, John de, 704.
 †Lingard, John, 164.
 Linstead, William, 444.
 Lisewis, Jeffrey de, 200.
 Lisewis, Muriel de, 200.
 Lisgate, Robert de, 63.
 Lisle, William de, 60.
 Lister, Geoffrey, 123, 127.
 Lister (Litster, Littester), Jack, 122,
 127.
 Lister, Mr., 737.
 Lister, Thomas, 365.
 Lithier, John, 477.
 Littel, Rev. Thomas, 481, 639.
 Littleport, Thomas, 161.
 Livesey, Sir Michael, 402.
 Livingstone, Dr. David, 628.
 Lloyd, Captain, 426.
 Lloyd, David, 866.
 Lloyd, Griffith, 382.
 Lloyd, Rev. Henry, 866.
 Lock, Benjamin, 649.
 Lockwood, E., 843.
 Lockwood, Sir Frank, 534, 588.
 Lockwood, R., 843.
 Lodbrog, Ragnar, 39.
 Lodesham, Robert de, 63.
 Lodge, 448.
 Lodyngton, William, 157.
 Loftus, Major, 516.
 Logon, Sir Robert, 138.
 Lok (Lokk, Locke), John, 228.
 Lok, Margery (Margaret), 228, 250.
 Lok, William, 228.
 Loki, 40.
 Loksmyth, Roger, 125, 729.
 Lombe, John, 149.
 Lonediester, Wgot, 848.
 Long, Mrs. Anne, 469, 470.
 Long, George, 573.
 Long, Sir James, 469.
 †Longfellow, Hy. Wadsworth, 415, 846.
 Longueville, Thomas de, 142.
 Lonyson (Lonistone, Louinston, Lo-
 norston), John, 290.
 Lonyson, William, 290.
 Loosemore, 493.
 Louis XI. (France), 194.
 Louis XIV. (France), 449.
 Louis, the Bastard, 710.
 Louthurburg, de, 822.
 Loveday, John, 729.
 Lovell, John, 271.
 Lovell, Lord, 481.
 Lovell, Sir William, 707.
 Lovering, William, 274.
 †Low, Dr. R. Bruce, 798, 799, 800.
 Lowe, John J., 619.
 †Lowell, James Russell, 657.
 †Lowerison, Mr. Harry, 5.
 Lozinga, Herbert de, Bishop, 33, 43,
 45, 70, 71, 72, 218, 235, 696, 718,
 869.
 Lozinga, Robert de, 696.
 Luard, 142.
 Lucas, John, 280.
 Lucy, St., 204.
 Lubby, John, 633.
 Ludlam, Rev. Thomas, 549.
 Ludlow, 379.
 Lumley, Marmaduke, 178.
 Lunn, Rev. Abraham, 551.
 Lunn, Rev. John C., 551.
 Lunn, W., 612, 644.
 Lunsford, Sir Thomas, 402.
 †Lyell, Sir Charles, 4.
 Lyhert, William, Bishop, 178, 182.
 Lyn, Michael of, 45.
 Lynam, Richard, 329.
 Lynmour, Thomas, 729.
 Lynne, John of, 673.
 Lynstead, William, 413.
 Lyra, Nicholas de, 785.
 Lyster, Richard, 729.
 Lyster, Stephen, 729.
 †Lytton, Bulwer, 826.
 †MACAULAY, LORD T. B., 392, 497, 532.
 Macdonald, Rev. Stodart, 613.
 Macdonald, Rev. Thomas, 613.
 Mace, William, 327.
 †Mackerell, Benjamin [506-511], 27, 35,
 36, 48, 49, 58, 175, 222, 226, 247,
 248, 268, 296, 360, 362, 366, 387,
 388, 432, 457, 478, 479, 493, 496, 540,
 659, 747, 764, 789, 794, 804, 821.
 Mackerell (*père*), John, 506.

- †Mackie, Charles, 189.
 Mackinlay, Rev. J. B., 28.
 Mackinson, William, 284.
 Macready, William Charles, 826.
 †Madox, T., 688.
 Magdalen, St. Mary, 207.
 Maggersson, Cecilia, 228.
 †Magnus (Hacon's son), 39.
 Magnus, 173.
 Maguire, Barney, 440.
 †Maitland, 21.
 Makepeace, William, 120.
 Malam, John, 567, 592, 662, 724.
 Malan, Mr., 792.
 Malcolm, of Scotland, 424.
 Malione (Maulèon), Saveric de, 55.
 †Malmesbury, William of, 39, 696.
 Maltby, John, 235.
 Maltravers, 92.
 Maltravers, Lord Henry, 336.
 Malyon, Rev. J., 572.
 Man, Rev. John, 482, 510, 866.
 Manby, Admiral Thomas, 638.
 Manby, Capt. Geo. William, 638.
 Manby, Matthew Pepper (*père*), 638.
 Manchester, Earl of [See Montagu, Edward].
 Manners, Lord, 586.
 Manners, Lord Edward, 280.
 Manning, Rev. Charles Robertson, 421.
 Manning, Edward Bosworth, 562, 615.
 Manning, John, 828.
 Manning, Mrs. John (*née* Ransome), 828.
 Manning, Thomas, 240.
 Manny, Sir Walter, 107.
 Mansell, Sir Edward, 313.
 Mansell, Sir Robert, 311.
 †Mansergh, Mr. James, 800.
 Mansfeld, Count, 346.
 Manston, Averay de, 157.
 Mapes, Francis, 337.
 Marcanter, John, 273.
 March, Capt. Thomas, 333.
 March, William, 209.
 March, Capt. William, 355, 385.
 Marchant, Adam, 729.
 Margaret of Anjou, Queen, 178, 194, 197.
 Margaret of Burgundy, 214.
 Margaret, Queen (Edw. I.), 97, 703.
 Margaret, Maid of Norway, 78.
 Margaret, St. [31-37], 696, 710, 718.
 †Margoliuth, Rev. M., 785.
 †Markham, Sir Clement, 705.
 Marmaduke, Bishop, 769.
 Marriott, Charles Harwick, 668.
 Marriott, Rev. John T., 653, 654.
 Marriott, Thomas Batman, 668.
 †Marryat, Florence, 396.
 †Marsden, J. B., 809.
 Marshal, Nicholas de, 64.
 Marshall, Rev. H. T., 650.
 Marshall, John, 840.
 Marshall, Thomas, 535, 654, 655.
 Marshall, Thomas, 860.
 Marsters, John, 636.
 Marsters (Saddleton), 875.
 Marsters, Thomas, 830.
 Marsters and Sons, 739.
 Martham, James, 453, 454.
 Martham, Ralph de, 149.
 Martial, Nicholas de, 759.
 Martin, Baron, 587.
 Martin, Captain, 827.
 Martin, Lady Helen (*née* Faucit), 830.
 Martin, R., 432.
 Martin, Richard, 385.
 Martin, Sir Theodore, 830.
 Martin, Thomas, 169.
 Martin, Thomas, 388.
 Martyn, John, 198.
 Mary I., Queen [277-287], 295, 383, 432, 449, 564, 712, 809, 883.
 Mary II., Queen [See William III.].
 Mary of France [See Brandon, Mary].
 Mary of Modena, Queen, 446.
 Mary, Queen of Scots, 292.
 Mary, St. (the Virgin), 209, 210, 269.
 Mary Magdalen, St., 270, 696.
 Maseye, John, 156.
 Mason, Dennis, 377.
 Mason, Henry, 191.
 †Mason, R. Hindry, 13, 55, 94, 95, 140, 157, 162, 163, 241, 260, 281, 337, 355, 357, 401, 442, 545, 833.
 Massey and Jarvis, 643.
 Massingham, Hugh de, 64, 65, 79, 680.
 Massingham, James, 629.
 Massingham, John de, 117.
 Massingham, John, 198.
 Massingham, Nicholas de, 124, 132.
 Massingham, Sarah [See Baines, Sarah].
 Mathew, Robert, 721.
 Mathews, Charles, 371, 826.
 Mathews, Mrs. Charles [See Vestris, Mdme.].
 Matland, Collier, 516, 543.
 Matlaske, Hamo de, 65.
 Matsell and Targett, 527.
 Matthews, Hobson, 674.
 Maud, H.R.H. Princess, 667.
 Mawpas, Nicholas, 126.
 Maxey, Nathaniel, 326.
 Maxey, Nicholas, 348, 365, 366, 370.
 May, John, 343, 364, 367.
 May, William, 321.
 Mays, Robert, 551.
 Mays and Sampson, 558.
 Mayhew, Rev. Anthony, 416.
 Maykins, Robert, 840.
 M'Clintock, Lieut. Leopold F., 621.

- †M'Cure, Sir Robert le M., 620, 621, 622.
 McDonald, Rev. Arch., 551.
 McDowell, Rev. James, 551.
 McKnight, Thomas, 830.
 McKnight, Mrs. Sarah (*née* Thorne), 830.
 Meadows, General, 521.
 Mears, William, 836.
 Mears and Stainbank, 836, 837, 877.
 Measham, Henry, 634.
 Medicis, Marie de, Queen, 330.
 Medina Sidonia, Duke of, 295.
 Medland and Maberley, 595, 616.
 Meggit, Margaret, 504.
 Meise, Thomas, 818.
 Melch(e)burne, Thomas de, 108, 115.
 Meldrum, Rev. S., 650.
 Mellows, Robert, 554.
 Menzies, David, 610.
 Mephram, Symon de, Archbishop, 94.
 Mercator, Gerardus, 785.
 †Merewether (H. A.) and Stephens (Archibald J.), 46, 57, 58, 59, 61, 287.
 Merlawe, Johannes, 133.
 Merlawe, Ricardus, 133.
 Merrist, Rev., 556.
 †Merryfellow, Dick [See Gardiner, Richard].
 Merston, John, 133.
 Meryell, John, 155.
 Merys (Moes), Robert, 429.
 Meys, John, 750.
 Meyres, Peter, 258.
 Michael, St., 32.
 Mickleson, Thomas, 600.
 Middleton, Brian, 857.
 Middleton, Captain, 875.
 Middleton, Thomas, 155, 161.
 Middleton, William de, 118.
 Mild(e)may, Thomas, 273, 274.
 Mildrum, Sir John, 370, 371.
 Miles, William, 649, 651.
 Miles, Mr. William S. V., 505, 592, 865.
 Milkwoman, Clara, 847.
 †Miller, Samuel H., [See Skertchly, Sydney B. J.].
 Miller, Simon, 283, 284, 855.
 Miller (Milner), Thomas, 234, 236, 237, 238, 243, 283, 339, 340.
 Millet, John, 284.
 Millington and Ellis, 598.
 Mills, Rev. 572.
 †Milman, Henry Hart, Dean, 32, 131, 142.
 Milne and Hall, 877, 887.
 Min, Abel, 476.
 Minerva, Goddess, 25.
 Mingay and Fielding, 554.
 †Minot, Laurence, 108.
 Misaundre, John, 728.
 Mixon, William, 504.
 Molineux, Crisp, 533, 534.
 Molins, Adam, 181.
 Mona, Guy de, 146.
 Monckton, 512.
 Mondeford, Francis, 243.
 Mondeford (Mountford), Osbert, 269, 272, 276, 280, 281, 284, 304, 306.
 Monethe, Thomas, 161.
 Monk, General, 392.
 †Monmouth, Geoffrey of, 39.
 Monson, William, 557.
 Montagu, Sir Edward, 424, 425.
 Montagu, Lord Edward, 247, 354, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 365, 368, 407, 844, 873, 881, 883.
 Montagu, George, 532, 533, 535.
 Montagu, Sir Sydney, 424.
 Montague, Christopher, 277.
 Montalt (Monhaut), Cecily, 80.
 Montalt, Lord Robert, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.
 Montalt, Roger, 80.
 Montcalm, General, 512.
 Monte, Henry de, 75.
 Monte, Hermeri Ralf de, 85.
 Montealto, Sir Robert, 676.
 Montenay, John de, 123, 128.
 Montford, John de, 99, 100.
 Moor, Samuel, 851.
 Moordon, Thomas de, 110.
 Moore, Mr., 425.
 Moore, Philip, 678.
 Moore, Thomas, Bishop, 496, 501.
 Moore, Wil., 842.
 Mordaunt, Sir Charles, 354, 373, 394, 395.
 Mordaunt, Sir John, 354.
 Mordaunt, Lord John, 459.
 Mordaunt, Sir Lestrangle, 321, 324.
 Mordaunt, Robert, 354.
 Mordaunt, William, 354.
 More, Thomas, Bishop, 639.
 More, Sir Thomas, 674.
 Morgan, H., 530, 531.
 Morgan, Henry, 684.
 Morgan, Thomas, 329.
 Morgan, Rev. Walter Giles, 863.
 Morgans Brewery Co., 531.
 Morle (Morley), Robert de, 108, 109.
 Morley, Lord, 819.
 †Morley, Mr. John, M.P., 466.
 Morrell, Philip, 856.
 Morris, John, 476.
 Morrys, Peter, 796.
 Mors (Moes), Robert, 429.
 Morse, Captain, 355.
 Mortimer, Miss Bella, 828.
 Mortimer, Edmund, 151.
 Mortimer, Roger, 92, 93, 97.
 Morton, Thomas, 132, 135.

- Mortram, Mr., 825.
 Morys, John, 284.
 Moss, Capt. John, 385.
 Mott, Robert, 649, 651.
 Mott, William, 836.
 Motteux, John, 860.
 †Moule, Thomas, 33.
 Mountford, Sir Simon, 214.
 Mountford, Rev. William, 551.
 †Mourt, 808.
 Mowbray, Thomas, 150.
 Mowthe, Robert, 290.
 Moyer, Mr., 425.
 Moyse, Walter, 587, 610, 614, 784, 824.
 Mugridge, Edward, 633, 635.
 Mumbi, Geoffrey de, 116.
 Munford, Sir Edmund, 385.
 Mundy, Edmund, 249.
 †Munford, Rev. George, 15, 26, 504, 564, 633.
 Munns, Mr., 739.
 Munro, J. B., 658.
 Munson, Richard, 646.
 Munton, Jonathan, 312.
 Murford, 370.
 Murray, Mr. J., 625.
 †Murray, Dr. James Augustus Henry, 18.
 Murray, Robert, 325.
 Musgrave, Alexander, 295.
 Muskett, C., 753.
 Mylbourne (Milbourne), R., 345.
 Myller, Thomas, 312.
 Mynthinghe, Simon de, 859.

 NAPOLEON I., 514, 517, 526, 717.
 Natalis, 210.
 Naunton, Captain, 354.
 Neale, Dr. J. M., 625.
 Needham, Daniel, 346.
 Nell, Edmund, 280.
 Nelson, Rev. Edmund, 466.
 Nelson, Lord Horatio, 466, 577, 753, 808.
 Nelson, Horatio, 488.
 Nelson, Thomas, 843, 844.
 Nelson, Thurlow, 488, 573, 595.
 Nelson and Collier, 266, 541.
 Nelston, Mr., 367.
 Nero, Emperor, 25.
 Nestlings, Richard, 366.
 Nestlings, Thomas, 366.
 Nethersole, Sir Francis, 346.
 Nethersole, Miss Olga, 830.
 Nevill, Lord Admiral, 103.
 Nevill, Elizabeth, 856.
 Nevill, Ralph, 151.
 Nevill, Sir Thomas, 192.
 Neville, Anne, 194.
 Neville, Lord Charles, 292.
 Neville, Isabel, 194.
 Neville, John, 194.
 Neville, Richard, 168.
 Neville, Richard, 193, 201.
 Neville, Lord Richard [Warwick], 168, 193, 194, 195, 197, 212.
 Newburg, Michael, 45.
 †Newburg, William de, 51, 53, 54.
 Newcastle, Earl of. [See Cavendish, Lord William].
 Newham, John, 818.
 Newham, Samuel, 329.
 Newham, William, 288, 477, 491, 616, 657, 736.
 Newington, James, 794.
 Newman, Charles, 543.
 Newman, Charles, 835.
 Newman, Robert, 247.
 Newman, Thomas, 833.
 Newton, Edward, 238.
 †Newton, Sir Isaac, 717.
 Nichassone, James, 155.
 Nicholas, Edward, 341.
 †Nicholas, Sir Harris, 140.
 Nicholas, Pope, 254.
 Nicholas, St., 718.
 Nicholasson, John, 729.
 Nicholasson, William, 198, 205, 208.
 Nicholls, George, 290.
 Nichols, Robert, 858.
 Nicholson, 461.
 Nicholson, Mr., 459.
 †Nightingale, Rev. Robert Cubitt, 5.
 †Ninnius, 38.
 Nix (Nykke), Richard, Bishop, 15, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239, 240, 285, 711, 748, 871.
 Noble, Robert, 729.
 Nokes, John, 649.
 Noll, John, 377.
 Norman, Nicholas, 676.
 Norris, 319.
 †Norris, Charles, 128.
 Norris, John, 477.
 Norris, John, 845.
 Norris, Rev. John, 211, 250, 388, 480, 710, 738, 743, 883.
 Norris, Thomas, 835.
 Norris, Tobias, 835.
 North, Sir Francis, 396, 397, 423.
 †North, Roger, 397, 398.
 Northumberland, Earl of [See Percy, Algernon].
 Norton, Richard, 157.
 Norwich, Edmund, 223.
 Norwich, Ralph, 60.
 Norwich, Thomas, 881.
 Notton, William de, 118.
 Nurse, W., 591.
 Nurse and Hart, 784.
 Nuthall, Benjamin, 512.
 Nuthall, Daniel, 312.
 Nutt, Mr. David, 696.

- OATES, TITUS, 399, 427.
 Ode, James, 707.
 Ode, John, 680, 707.
 Ode, John, 883.
 Odin, 28, 38, 769.
 Odo, of Bayeux, Bishop, 80.
 Off', William, 233.
 Offa, 27, 36.
 Ogden, Hester, 308.
 Oiry, Fulk d', 55.
 Okey, Colonel, 403.
 Oldfield, Anthony, 403.
 Oldman, Walter, 676.
 Olkam, John, 130.
 Oliver, 555.
 Oliver, Mr. James J. 247.
 Oliver, Thomas, 615.
 Olybius, 31, 32.
 Omer, Adam de St., 703, 704.
 Omer, John de St., 82, 83.
 Omer, Lambert de St., 83, 85.
 Opdam, Admiral, 406.
 Orby, 133.
 Ord, Craven, 387.
 Ormiston, the, 661.
 Osborn, Thomas, 836.
 Osborne, Rev. Arthur T., 572.
 Osborne, Commander, 622.
 Osborne, Emanuel, 329.
 Osborne, Lord Thomas, 398.
 Oscratt, Rev. J., 644.
 Oseincraft, Henry, 454.
 Oswell, Mr. George R., 550.
 Osyth, St., 144.
 Oter, Adam, 848.
 Oter, Richard, 189, 848.
 Otway, Dr., 468.
 Oufande, Mathew, 444.
 Outlawe, Sir Adam, 263, 681.
 Outlawe, John, 268.
 Outlawe, Richard, 268.
 Outlawe, Thomas, 268, 681.
 Overend, Thomas, 317.
 Overend, William, 258, 265, 276, 280, 285, 286.
 Ovid, 681.
 Owen, John, 305.
 Oxburgh (Oxborowe), Thomas, 322, 327.
 Oxeneford, Durand, 74.
 Oxeneford, Peter, 74.
 Oxford, John of, Bishop, 74.
 Oxford, Lord, 488.
 Oxley, English, 604.
 Oxley, Kendle and Andrews, 562.
 Oxwike, Robert de, 115.
 Oxwikes, Richard de, 57.
 PACK AND CHAPMAN, 836.
 Page, George C., 616.
 Page, John, 851.
 Paget, Lord William, 423.
 Pain, John, 476.
 Paine, John, 679.
 Paine, Robert, 413, 444.
 Palemer, John, 312.
 Palgrave, Sir John, 352, 360, 399.
 Palgrave, Sir Henry, 339.
 Palmer, Robert, 261, 285.
 Palmer, Robert, 270.
 Palmer, Samuel, 414.
 Palmer, Thomas, 257.
 Palmer, Sir Thomas, 281.
 Palmer, William, 155.
 Palmer, William, 547.
 Palmer, William, 762.
 Pane, Mr., 409.
 Panton, Radulfus, 124, 125.
 Parche *alias* Tyler, Simon, 707.
 †Paris, Matthew, 56, 58.
 Parke, William, 313.
 Parker, Robet, 289.
 Parkhurst, John, Bishop, 844.
 †Parkin, Rev. Charles [See Blomefield, Rev. Francis].
 Parkins, Doctor, 366.
 Parkinson, John, 842.
 Parkinson, Richard, 545.
 Parlett, Francis, 336, 337, 348, 349, 360, 361.
 Parmenter, John, 729.
 Parmonter, John, 152, 169.
 Parmonter, Robert, 238.
 Parr, William, 262.
 Parr, Lord William, 281.
 Parry, Catherine (*née* Hankinson), 624.
 Parry, Dr. Caleb Hillier, 625.
 Parry, Sir Thomas, 315.
 Parry, Sir William Edward, 621, 622, 625.
 Partridge, Frederick Robert, 635, 862.
 Partridge, Henry, 511, 534.
 Partridge, Henry, junr., 554.
 Partridge, Major, 521.
 Partridge, Mrs. Frederick Robert, 862.
 Pashley, Robert, 587.
 Passelew, 818.
 Paston, Clement, 280.
 Paston, John, 193.
 Paston, John, 280.
 Paston, John, 489.
 Paston, Robert, 157.
 Paston, Sir —, 258, 280.
 Paston, Sir Robert, 397, 398.
 Paston, Sir Thomas, 262.
 Paston, William, 164.
 Paston, William, 306, 723.
 Paston, William, 340, 371.
 Paston, William, 442, 443.
 Pastons, the, 201.
 Paton, Mary Ann [See Lennox].
 Patteson, Judge, 618.

- Patrick, Robert, 836.
 Paul, St., 25, 26, 146.
 Paule, Richard, 257.
 Pauntenaye, Peter, 63.
 Paxman, Roger, 123, 130, 137, 174, 251.
 Paxton, David, 544.
 Payne, Walter, 82.
 Paynot, Thomas, 123, 125.
 Payntour, Thomas, 111.
 Payntour, Stephen, 818.
 Peacock, 253, 853.
 Peacock, Dr., 627.
 Peacock, William, junr., 555.
 †Pearson, Charles H., 73.
 Pearson, William, 851.
 Pearson and Son, 609.
 Peast, Charles, 416, 444.
 Peast, Seel, 444, 456.
 Peautrer, William, 729.
 Peek, Christopher, 562.
 Peel, Jeffrey, 313.
 Peel, Sir Robert, 585, 586, 604.
 Pegge, Edward, 280.
 Pegge, Rev. T., 866.
 Pelham, Sir John, 152.
 Pelham, Thomas, Bishop, 643.
 Pell, Jeffrey, 300, 306, 313.
 Pell, John, 292, 300, 301, 307, 308, 317, 325, 327.
 Pendraves, Alexander, 531.
 Penteney, John, 135.
 Pepper, Richard, 238.
 Pepyr, Edmund, 219, 222, 674, 871.
 Pepys, Gratiana, 413.
 Pepys, Roger, 413.
 †Pepys, Samuel, 222, 396, 397, 398, 408, 409, 413, 419, 425, 426, 436.
 Pepys, Talbot, 413.
 Pepys, Thomas, 413.
 Perbroun, John, Admiral, 106.
 Percival (Percevall), John, 337, 343, 348, 349, 350, 356, 364, 367, 381, 401, 705.
 Percy, Lord Algernon, 361.
 Percy, Henry Algernon, 217.
 Percy, Lord Henry, 138, 150.
 †Percy, Thomas, Bishop of Dromore, 103.
 Percy, Thomas, Bishop of Norwich, 119.
 Percy, Lord Thomas, 292.
 Perkins, Mr., 406.
 Perry, Rev. Thomas, 572.
 Person, Thomas, 227, 228, 230.
 Person, Thomas, 866.
 Peslowe, 728.
 Peter, Friar, 710.
 Peter, St., 182.
 Peters, Anthony, 682.
 Petipas, Bartholomew, 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 161, 165, 689, 879.
 Peto and Betts, 681, 783.
 Pett, Commander Peter, 408.
 Pettus, Sir John, 351.
 Petygard, Roger, 118.
 Peverel, Richard, 704.
 Peye, Sir John, 148, 149, 877.
 Peyteuyn, Philip, 680.
 Peyton, 559.
 Peyton, Sir John, 310, 317.
 Philip II. (Spain) [See Mary I.]
 Philip IV. (France), Philippe le Bel, 80.
 Philip VI. (France) of Valois, 105.
 Philip, John, 84.
 Philippa of Hainault, Queen [100-102], 93, 96, 124, 133, 703, 726, 807.
 Phillips, Charles, 416.
 †Phillimore, 583.
 Phillips, 822.
 Phillips, Captain J., 787.
 Phillips, Mr., 276.
 "Philocrates," 410.
 Phipps, Sir Charles, 668.
 Pickering, John, 360, 369.
 Pickford, 653.
 Pickringe, 323.
 Pierrepoint, Lord Henry, 479.
 Pigefield, Rosa, 879.
 Pigefield, Roger, 879.
 Piggot, John, 847.
 Piggott, Ralph, 385.
 Pigott, Alice, 327.
 Pile, Francis, 378.
 Pilkington, Bishop, 229.
 Pilton, William, 185.
 Pim, Lieutenant, 622.
 Pinchebek, 123.
 Pinero, Mr. Arthur Wing, 631.
 Piper, Mr. Frederick George, 549.
 †Pits, 715.
 Pitt, William, 442, 522.
 Plaiz, Sir John, 707.
 Plaiz, Sir Robert, 704.
 Plantagenet, Edmund, 145.
 Plantagenet, Humphrey, 166.
 Plantagenet, John, 166.
 Plantagenet, Richard, 142.
 Platt, Daniel, 346.
 Platten, John, 610, 611, 612.
 Plautius, Aulus, 13.
 Plews, William, 591, 783, 784.
 †Pliny, 36.
 Ploket, Thomas, 144.
 Plowright, 610.
 Plowright, Henry, 843.
 †Plowright, Dr. Charles Bagge, 5, 8, 9, 177, 638.
 Poe, Captain, 353, 355.
 Poile, Rev. W. F., 571, 572, 647.
 Poking, Thomas, 227, 866.
 Pole, Edmund de la, 217.
 Pole, John de la, 203.
 †Pollard, Alfred W., 812.

- Pollard, Rev. Thomas, 549.
 Pollock, Jonathan Frederick, Baron, 618.
 Pond, Henry, 567.
 Poole, Rev. William, 613.
 Pope, Henry, 381, 413, 444.
 Pope, Rev. William A., 653.
 Popham, Sir Charles, 844.
 Popjoy, 657.
 Porker, Widow, 857.
 Porter, Sir W. Beauchamp, 520.
 Porter, Charles, 402.
 Porter, Lieutenant, 355.
 Porter, Richard, 856.
 Potter, Anthony de, 734.
 Potter, George S. Derisley, 618.
 Potter, Gilbert, 282.
 Pottle, 504.
 Poulett (Pawlett), John, 366.
 Povy, Treasurer, 397, 398.
 †Powell, Edgar, 122, 127, 128.
 Powell, Messrs., 877.
 Powis, Lord, 504.
 Powley, Mrs. and Miss M., 247.
 Powlett, Captain Henry, 521.
 Powlett, Sarah, 492.
 Powte, Mr., 264.
 Poyntz (Poynes), Colonel, 369, 370, 845.
 Prat, Walter, 123.
 Pratt, Hugh, 282.
 Preist, Timothy, 413, 444.
 Prentis, John, 313.
 Prentys, John, 750.
 Pressour, William, 729.
 Preston, 493.
 Preston, Anthony, 417, 418.
 †Prestwich, Prof. Joseph, 4.
 Pretender, the Young [See Stuart, Charles Edward].
 Price, Miss Elizabeth, 529.
 Price, John, 681.
 †Prideaux, Dr. Humphrey, 70, 312, 469.
 Pridgeon, William Read, 865.
 Priestly, Mary, 857.
 Pryce, Rev. Nicholas, 414.
 Pryme, Humphrey, 324.
 †Ptolemy, 6, 14.
 Puckering, Christopher, 309.
 Puckering, Elizabeth, 309.
 Puckering, Thomasine, 309.
 Pugin, Augustin Webly, 612.
 Pulteney, J., 431.
 Pulvertoft, John, 413.
 Purdewe (Perdye, Perdue), Christopher, 429, 728.
 Purdue (Perdue), Richard, 429.
 Purdy, Messrs. J. and W., 635.
 Purdy, Thomas, 429.
 Purs(e)glove, Robert, 471, 545.
 Purselowe, G., 345.
 Puttock, John, 250, 251, 764.
 Pyerpunte, Sir George, 750, 883.
 †Pyle, Rev. Edmund, 465, 501, 502, 503, 544.
 Pyle, Rev. Philip, 502.
 Pyle, Rev. Thomas, 492, 501, 502, 512, 544, 881.
 Pylock, William, 231.
 Pym, John, 361.
 Pym, Mr., 402.
 Pyne, Benjamin, 802.
 Pynson, Richard, 708.
 QUASH, WILLIAM, 357.
 Quinn, Rev. William H., 551.
 Quytlock, Isabel, 680.
 Quytlock, John, 680.
 RABYE (RABAT), DAVID, 429.
 Rabye, Robert, 361, 386.
 Radley, Peter, 835.
 Raikes, Mr. Henry St. John, 865.
 Rainald, 42.
 Raleigh, William, Bishop, 190, 746.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 309, 315, 324.
 Ramsdell, Thomas, 857.
 Ransby, Robert, 376.
 Ransby, Simon, 376.
 Ransom, Richard, 418.
 Ransome, John A., 828.
 Ranulph, Mr., 306.
 Rapier, 423.
 Rastell, William, 812.
 Rastrick, Rev. John, 416, 509.
 †Rastrick, William, 22, 91, 222, 414, 416, 440.
 Ratcliffe, Lord Henry, 269, 276.
 Ratcliffe, Lord Thomas, 292.
 †Raven, Rev. Dr. John James, 322, 833.
 Raven, John, 325, 331.
 Raven, Jos., 842.
 Raven, Richard, 499.
 "Raw, Johnny," 123.
 Rawlinson, John, 866.
 Rawlyn, William, 205.
 †Rawnsley, Rev. Hardwicke Drummond, 626.
 Ray, Mr., 329.
 Raymond, Thomas, 400.
 Read, Father, 834.
 Read, Margaret, 850.
 Read, Robert, 408.
 Read, Rev. Thomas J., 551.
 Read, William, 338.
 Reade, Thomas, 231, 284.
 Ream, Mr. Alfred, 865.
 Reave, John, 327.
 Redcliffe, Lord de [See Canning, Sir Stratford].
 Reddie, Josiah Ferdinand (père), 636, 866, 875.

- Reddie, Josiah Henry, 866.
 Rede, Richard, senior, 227.
 Redman, William, Bishop, 308.
 Reed, Robert R., 634.
 Rees, William, 131.
 Reeve, 519.
 Reeve, John, 291.
 Reeves, Miss Fanny, 829.
 Reeves, Sims, 827.
 Reily, 822.
 †Rénan, Ernest, 707.
 Rendle, W. E., 615.
 Rennie, Sir John, 779, 781, 782, 783.
 Reppe, John de, 108.
 Reveley (Rewley), George, 279.
 Reynham, Sir Edmund, 126.
 Reynham, John, 282.
 Reymer, John de, 64.
 Reyner, Ralph, 127.
 Reynolds, 545.
 Reynolds, Mr., 737.
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 498.
 Rich, Anne, 356.
 Rich, Lord, Duke of York, 820.
 Rich, Frances, 356.
 Rich, Mr., 822.
 Rich, Robert, 356, 360, 361.
 Richard I., 54, 59, 60, 721, 741, 747, 759, 769.
 Richard II. [121-137], 77, 138, 148, 152, 172, 192, 200, 232, 287, 709, 714, 737, 883.
 Richard III. [207, 214], 557.
 Richards, Rev. E. Valentine, 666.
 †Richards, Rev. William [529-530], 94, 95, 197, 226, 227, 247, 266, 290, 321, 357, 360, 362, 366, 411, 416, 422, 433, 440, 453, 454, 458, 459, 461, 470, 502, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 523, 528, 532, 543, 546, 550, 570, 572, 659, 678, 702, 745, 748, 749, 750, 761, 795, 797, 806, 821, 835, 839, 841, 851.
 Richardson, J., 388.
 Richardson, John, 305.
 Richardson, Joseph, 839.
 Richardson, Lord, 405.
 Richers, John, 321.
 Richmonds, Mary, 476.
 Richwys, John, 95.
 Riddell, Dr. Arthur, 612.
 Ridinge, Widow, 329.
 Ridley, Thomas, 122.
 Ridout, Master, 662.
 Rigby, Rev. George, 611, 613.
 Rightwise, Thomas, 877.
 Riston, Johannes, 833.
 Ritchie, J. Ewing, 629.
 Rivers, Lord, 201.
 Rivett, 639.
 Rivett, Michael, 321, 328, 344.
 Rivett, Thomas, 341, 344, 381, 850.
 Rivett, Thomas, 804.
 Rivett, Robert, 601.
 Rix, James B., 668.
 Rix, Thomas, 227, 228, 866.
 Roane, William, 352.
 Robat, Robert, 108, 109.
 Robertson, A., 172.
 Roberdeson, Simon, 126.
 Robert, 133.
 Robert, Mayor, 769.
 Roberts, Rev. Alexander, 329, 850, 866.
 Roberts, W., 531.
 Robertson, Thomas W., 631.
 Robinson, 567.
 Robinson, 381.
 Robinson, Captain, 376.
 Robinson, Edward, 350, 353, 363, 365, 370.
 Robinson, Edward, 345.
 Robinson, Edward, 439.
 Robinson, Sir John, 402.
 Robinson, Mr., 411.
 Robinson, Robert, 866.
 Robinson, Thomas, 345.
 Robinson, Thomas, 413, 444, 682, 753.
 Robinson, W. W., 506.
 Robsart, Amy, 278, 281.
 Robsart, John, 272.
 Robsart, Sir John, 269, 272, 276, 278.
 †Robson, Isabel S., 729.
 Robyn, Thomas, 108.
 Robyns, William, 258.
 †Rock, Dr. Daniel, 170.
 Roe, Edmund, 866.
 Roe, Rev. Robert Gordon, 584.
 Roger, 64.
 Roger, Lord, Earl of March, 137.
 Rogers, Miss, 648.
 †Rogers, James Edwin Thorold, 176.
 Rogers, William, 408.
 Rok, Margaret, 847.
 Rokeby (Rockley), Sir Thomas, 151.
 Rokele, Ralph de, 60.
 Rolfe, Edmund, 411, 413, 440, 444, 462.
 Rolfe, Francis, 381, 411, 422.
 Rolfe, Mary, 501.
 Rolfe, Rev. Strickland Chas. Edward Neville, 860.
 Rolfe, Susan, 502.
 Rolin, 610.
 Rolin, Mr., 439.
 Rollesby, Nicholas, 752.
 Romanus, Clemens, 25.
 Roney, Mr., 598.
 Rookwood, Nicholas, 281.
 Rookwood, Captain John, 426.
 Roos (Roosee), Thomas, 429.
 Roose, Richard, 854.
 Roose, Thomas, 728.
 Rosamond, the Fair, 488.
 Rose, Mr. George Edward, 865.
 Rosenthal, Edmund, 828.

Rosewell and Reynolds, 778.
 Rosiere, J. G., 828.
 Ross, Lilia, 829.
 Rossiter, Rev. William, 654.
 Roughtone, Simon de, 108.
 Rousby, Mrs. Clara Maria Jessie, 828.
 Rousby, Wybert, 828.
 Rowland, John, 618.
 Rowse (Roose), John, 429.
 Rudderham, John, 852, 853.
 Rudyerd, Sir Benjamin, 346.
 Rugg (Repps), William, Bishop, 240,
 241, 258.
 Rungeton (Runcton), Robert de, 745.
 Rupert, Prince, 368.
 †Rushworth, John, 357, 361, 366, 371,
 372.
 †Ruskin, John, 565.
 Russel, Bedford, 488.
 Russell, Mr. Arthur George, 667.
 †Russell, Rev. Frederick William, 260.
 Russell, Lord Francis, 335, 359, 360.
 Russell, Lord John, 280.
 Russell, Lord John, 572, 580.
 Russell, W., 545.
 Russell, William, 842.
 Russell, Lord William, 776.
 Rust, Mr. John, 666.
 Rust, Robert, 126.
 Ruste, John, 302.
 †Rye, Mr. Walter, 16, 27, 366, 388, 391,
 548, 740, 751, 754, 766.
 Ryley, Thomas, 860.
 †Rymer, Thomas, 162, 163, 174.
 Rysing, Anger de, 211.

 SABB, NICHOLAS, 295.
 Sadd, Robert, 729.
 Sadler, George Gold, 669.
 Sadlere, 124.
 Salisbury, Geoffrey of, 706.
 Salisbury, John, 240.
 Salisbury, Lord, 325.
 Salisbury, Thomas, 180, 181, 182.
 Salmon, Colonel, 386.
 Salmon, John, Bishop, 83, 84, 85, 88,
 92, 117, 159.
 Saltar, Jeffry, 328.
 Salter, William, 329.
 Saltoun, Lord, 585.
 Salus, John, 175.
 Salvin, Mr. A., 861.
 Sampson, Abraham, 333.
 Samuel, 572.
 Sanday, William, 139.
 Sanders, Mr. J. Harris, 589.
 Sanders, Ninian, 282.
 Sanderson, William, 300.
 Sandey, Stephen, 341.
 Sandwell, William, 437.
 Sandy, Ralph, 65.
 Sandyll, Alderman, 421.

Sandyll, Thomas, 295, 684, 809.
 Sandys, Lieut.-col. William, 370.
 Sanson, Captain, 377.
 Santone, William de, 95.
 Saul, Colonel John, 384, 400, 853.
 Saunders, 322.
 Saunders, Arthur, 664.
 Saunders, Charlotte, 828.
 Saunderson (? Andreson), 276.
 Saunderson, Rev. W., 646.
 Saus, Reginald de, 77.
 Savage, Frederick, 634, 667.
 Savage, Mr. John Thomas, 865.
 Savage, Thomas, 217.
 Savage and Co., 595, 668.
 Sawtre (Sautre), Sir William [142-148],
 226, 247, 869.
 Saxe-Coburg, Albert of, 585.
 Saxe-Meinigen, Adelaide of, 567.
 Saye, Mr., 448.
 Saye, Lord William, 195.
 Sayers, Tom, 619.
 Sayle, Dr. George, 505, 651.
 Scalariis, Harlewin, 200.
 Scales, Elizabeth de, 201.
 Scales, Imaïne, 178.
 Scales, Lady, 704, 711.
 Scales, Lord, 708.
 Scales, Robert de, 201.
 Scales, Robert de, 704, 745.
 Scales, Roger de, 200.
 Scales, Thomas de, 178, 201, 203, 818
 Scales, Thomas de, 769
 Scambler, Edward, Bishop, 304.
 Scarfe, William, 486.
 Scarlett, Thomas, 729.
 Schilling, John, 104.
 Schmidt, 495.
 Schouldham, Edward, 400.
 Schröder, R., 457.
 Seonce, Mr. Walter, 825.
 Scot, Robert, 576.
 Scott, Allen, 633.
 Scott, Rev. F. Bagge, 866.
 Scott, Sir George Gilbert, 875, 881.
 Scott, Isaac, 578.
 Scott, Mr. John Olrid, 345, 881.
 Scott, Malathy, 368.
 Scott, Rev. Richard, 866.
 †Scott, Sir Walter, 91, 281, 860.
 Scott, Mr. Walter, 452.
 Scott and Son, 667, 668.
 Scowle, Richard [223-224], 219, 871.
 Scraggs, James, 633.
 Scrivener, William, 423.
 Scroop, Richard, 150.
 Seals, James, 551, 653, 738.
 Seaman, Benjamin, 842.
 Seaton, Rev. Thomas, 624.
 Secheford, Thomas de, 67, 77.
 Secheford, William de, 108.
 Secker, Captain, 567.

- Secker, Richard, 339.
 Sedgford, Thomas de, 44.
 Sedgley, John William, 843.
 Seeler, Caspar, 736.
 Sefouls, John, 106.
 Sefull, Richard, 703, 704.
 Sekeford, Henry, 313.
 Selander, John, 249.
 Selby, Rev. William, 551.
 †Selden, John, 15, 149.
 Self, Lionel (*père*), 479, 525, 557, 562, 572, 573, 663.
 Self, Lionel, 587, 622, 635.
 Sells, the, 574.
 Semaine, John, 380.
 Seman, 699.
 Sendall, Thomas, 327.
 Seppings, William, 171, 587, 634, 642.
 Sergius, St., 210, 211.
 Seth, Father, 345.
 Sewale, John, 130.
 Seymour, Lord Edward, 265.
 Seymour (Seymer), Lord Henry, 295, 809.
 Seymour, William, 315.
 †Shakespeare, William, 56, 85, 126, 129, 142, 151, 194, 255, 694, 773, 821, 823, 830.
 Shanks, Rev. William R., 654.
 Sharman, Mr., 439.
 Sharpe, Anthony, 375.
 Sharushulle, William de, 101.
 Shaw, Daniel, 394.
 †Shaw, Henry, 807.
 Shawe, Gooderman, 344.
 Shaxton, Francis, 313.
 Sheffield, Lord John, 262.
 Shelton, Sir John, 278.
 Shenery (Chennery), 413, 456.
 Shepherd, Porter, 568.
 Sheppard, Owin, 321.
 Sheppy, Mr., 614.
 Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 497.
 Sherman, John, 729.
 Sherman, Nicholas, 729.
 Sherwood, Capt. Livewell, 351, 356.
 Ship, Alice, 852.
 Ship, Richard, 852.
 Shipden, Mother, 517.
 Shipp, William, 632, 737.
 Shipton, 304.
 Shooter, Capt. Edward, 385, 386, 417, 418.
 Shirley, Mr. Arthur, 866.
 Shirley, Host, 706.
 †Shirley, Dr. William Waddington, 148.
 Shuttlewood, William, 342.
 Shyrewyn, William, 879.
 Sibthorpe, Col. Humphrey, 523.
 Sidney, Mr. and Mrs. W., 828.
 Siffe, Alexander, 848, 877.
 Sigebert, King, 26, 38.
 Silcock, Mr. Edward John, 664, 798, 800.
 Silvester, Adam, 703.
 Silvester, St., 32.
 Simans, 353.
 Simmons, Rev. F. T., 528.
 †Simms, Mr. John Robert, 416.
 Simms, John Raven (*père*), 687.
 Simnel, Lambert, 214.
 Simpson, W. S., 597, 598.
 Simpson, Walker and Bennett, 599.
 Sing, His Highness Dhuleep, 401.
 Singleton, 572.
 Singleton, Widow, 341.
 Sissewell, John de, 680.
 Sisson, Henry, 329.
 Sisterne, Reginald de, 95.
 Skarlet, Edward, 818.
 †Skeat, Prof. Walter William, 11, 12, 16, 19, 21, 52, 103, 705.
 †Skelton, John, 812.
 Skerning, Roger de, 73.
 †Skertchly, Sydney B. J., (with Miller, Samuel H.), 336, 773.
 Skipper, Robert, 600.
 Skippon, 381.
 Skipworth, Ralph, 374.
 Skot, John, 676.
 Skot, Roger, 676.
 Skott, Jonas, 351, 353, 365, 370.
 Skrene, William, 157.
 Skyphon, John, 743.
 Slack, Colonel, 667.
 Slaney, Captain, 348.
 Slater, Rev. Barnard, 549.
 Sleepe, Esther [See Burney].
 Slight, Rev. John Bullivant, 866.
 Sly, Richard, 542, 866.
 Smart, Christopher, 625.
 Smeatham, I. (John) O., 266, 541, 545, 633.
 †Smirke, Sir Robert, 25.
 Smith, 424.
 †Smith, Adam, 49, 50.
 Smith, Alexander, 571, 572.
 Smith, Benjamin, 567, 766.
 Smith, Christian, 493.
 Smith, George, 830.
 Smith, George, 852, 855.
 Smith, George Townsend, 866.
 Smith, Henry, 576.
 Smith, Henry, 842.
 Smith, James, 830.
 Smith, Jo., 323.
 Smith, John, 338.
 Smith, John, 556.
 Smith, John, 830.
 Smith, John, 856.
 Smith, Captain (John), 377, 403.

- Smith, Rev. John, 648.
 Smith, Mary, 850.
 Smith, Richard, 379.
 Smith, Rev. Richard, 551.
 †Smith, Sir Sidney, 526.
 Smith, Rev. T., 648.
 Smith, Sir Thomas, 283.
 Smith, Toulmin, 749.
 Smith, W., 477.
 Smith, William F., 652.
 Smith, William Robert, 865.
 Smyth, George, 470.
 Smyth, Grace, 203.
 Smyth, Henry, 127.
 Smyth, Henry, 635.
 Smyth, John, 127.
 Smyth, Mrs. (*née* Long, Anne), 469.
 Smyth, William, 816.
 Smyth(e), Rev. Peter, 312, 816.
 Snell, Rev. William, 546.
 †Snelling, T., 513.
 Snetzler, Johannes, 495, 496, 873.
 Snoringe, Simon de, 108.
 Snorynge, William de, 95.
 Snyterton, Simon de, 126.
 Soame, Thomas, 333.
 †Soames, Mr., 25.
 Socket, Jeremiah, 481.
 Socrates, 749.
 Solempne, Anthony de, 528.
 Somerset (Sconset, Scounfet), Nicholas, 162.
 Somersham, John de, 106.
 Soome, Robert, 258.
 Sotherton, Captain, 355.
 Sotherton, Thomas, 428.
 Sourmere, John, 728.
 Southerby, Mr., 738.
 †Southey, Robert, 392.
 Southmere, Margaret, 713, 714.
 Southwell, Sir Richard, 262, 281, 285.
 Southwell, Sir Robert, 319, 853.
 Southwell, Sir Thomas, 684.
 Spalding, John de, 287.
 Sparham, Thomas, 131.
 Sparks, Joseph (Joe), 519, 534.
 Sparrow, Anne, 857.
 Sparrow, Anthony, Bishop, 493.
 Sparrow, Mrs., 851.
 Sparrow, Robert, 413, 414, 444, 446.
 Spanye, John, 124, 125.
 Spayne, John, 123.
 Speed, Eliza, 477.
 †Speed, John, 25, 56, 708.
 Spelman, Charles, 408.
 †Spelman (Spylman, Spilman), Sir Henry, 15, 16, 18, 26, 27, 35, 51, 58, 119, 208, 255, 320, 326, 537, 681, 694, 804, 805.
 Spelman, John, 351, 360, 676.
 Spelman, John, 411.
 Spelman, Roger, 411.
 Spence, John, 327, 776, 777.
 Spencely, Thomas, 421.
 Spencer (*Lespencer*), Henry 1^e, Bishop, 119, 127, 128, 131, 136, 139, 140, 141, 143, 148, 150, 159, 174, 251, 616, 716, 718, 869, 877, 883.
 Spencer, John, 161.
 Spencer, Thomas, 188.
 Spencer, Thomas, 280.
 Spicer, Alice, 211.
 Spicer, John, 164, 729.
 Spirling, Alan, 106.
 Sprenger, Jacob, 849.
 Springall, John, 482, 510.
 Springall, Margaret, 473.
 Springall, Mr. Robert French, 678, 709.
 †Sprott, Thomas, 218.
 Spryngale, Thomas, 272.
 Spurgeon, Rev. Charles Haddon, 619.
 Spurgeon, Charles W., 610.
 Spynk, William, 208.
 Squire, Rev. Charles, 866.
 Squire, Matthew, 391.
 Squire, Samuel, 390.
 Squire, Thomas, 390.
 Squire, William, 391.
 Squires, John, 842.
 Stacey, Thomas, 288.
 Staël (Holstein), Baron de, 562.
 Stafford, Edmund, 146.
 Stamford, John, 702, 706.
 Stanhope, Lord William, 502.
 Stanley, Edward, Bishop, 862.
 Stanley, Lord Edw. G. G. Smith, 568.
 †Stanley, Lord Edward Henry, 568, 583, 586, 587, 588, 608, 615, 634, 636, 640, 641, 865.
 Stanley, J., 431.
 Stanley, James, Bishop, 243.
 Stanley, Mr. Robert Vinen, 866.
 Stanley, Sir William, 217.
 Stannard, George, 556.
 Stannard, Mr., 824.
 Stanquin, William, 699.
 Start, 387.
 Stephen, King, 17, 48, 53.
 Stephen, Rev. W., 650.
 Stephen, St., 222.
 Stephens, Edward, 810.
 †Stephens, Justice, 148.
 Stephens, P., 345.
 Stephenson, George, 796.
 Stephenson, Robert, 783.
 Sterling, Justice, 667.
 †Stevens, Archibald, J. [See Mewether, H. A.].
 Steward, Dr. Augustine, 682.
 Steward, Patteson, and Co., 592.

- Steward (Stuart), Sir Robert, 397, 423, 425, 455.
 Steynour, John, 729.
 Stibien, William, 728.
 Stigand, Archbishop, 41.
 Stileman, 367.
 Stiles, Lieut.-col. John, 391, 392.
 Stillingfleet, Edward (*père*), Bishop, 24, 457.
 Stillingfleet, Dr. Edward, 457.
 Stimpson, John, 615, 635.
 Stoakes, Captain, 408.
 Stockdale, John Bailey, 780.
 Stockdale and Co., 604.
 Stokes (Stokys), Rev. John, 270, 271, 283.
 Stokes, Robert, 357.
 Stone, David, 684.
 Stone, John de, 127.
 Stortt, 476.
 Stothard, 387.
 †Stow, John, 757.
 Stradsett, Emma de, 80, 84.
 Stradsett, John de, 80.
 Strange, Le [See Lestrangle].
 Stratton, Hellen, 327.
 Stratwhayt, William, 247.
 Straw, Jack, 123.
 Street, Samuel, 546, 633.
 Street and Son, 637.
 Streeten, Rev. Henry Harkness, 863.
 Streets, John, 842.
 Streme, John, 871.
 †Strickland, Miss Agnes, 94, 95, 96, 726, 803.
 Strickland, Sir Walter, 383, 385.
 Stringer, Mr., 473.
 Stringer, William, 413.
 †Strype, John, 281.
 Stuart, Lady Arabella, 315, 316.
 Stuart, Charles Edward (the Young Pretender), 489, 518.
 Stuart, Jane, 449.
 Stuart, Lord Charles, 422, 423.
 Stuart, Lord James, 396, 402, 406, 427, 428, 432.
 Stuart, Mary (Scotland), 314.
 Stubbings, Lieutenant, 372.
 †Stubbs, William, 21, 188, 310.
 Stubbs, Charles William, Dean, 637.
 Suckling, Catherine, 466.
 Suckling, Rev. Charles, 466.
 Suetonius, Emperor, 718.
 Sufflete, Tho(mas), 552.
 †Suffling, Ernest R., 386.
 Sugars, John, 582, 633, 666, 885, 887.
 Sulegrave, Sir Richard de, 794.
 Sunolf, 71, 702, 704, 769.
 Surrey, Earl of (Henry Howard), 301.
 Surtees, Rev. S. F., 26.
 Sussex, 642.
 Sverend, Thomas, 295.
 Swaffham, Robert de, 64.
 Swagg, 702.
 Swallow, Captain, 354.
 Swanlonde, John de, 112.
 Swann and Sons, 597.
 Swanson, Thomas, 679.
 Swanton, William de, 95.
 Swanton(e), William de, 101, 108.
 Swartz, Dirick, 376.
 †Swatman, Alan H., 94, 95, 681.
 †Swatman, Edward Lane, 605, 783.
 Swatman, William, 527, 567.
 Swavesey, William of, 211.
 Swavey, 858.
 Swayn, John, 729.
 Sweeting, Rev. Robert Charles Sheldon, 877.
 Sweeting, Mrs. R. C. S., 877.
 Swerdeston, John de, 115, 848.
 Swerdeston, Thomas de, 95.
 Swift, John, 851.
 †Swift, Jonathan, Dean, 469, 470.
 Swinbourne, Mr., 828.
 Swyneflete, Lord William de, 98, 99.
 Sydenham, Colonel, 383.
 Symes, Robert, 321, 322, 323,
 Symmes, Robert, 342.
 Symmes, Thomas, 341.
 Symondson, Nicholas, 172.
 Symons, Henry, 696.
 Syms, John, 368.
 Syms, Robert, 311.
 System, Bartholomew, 839.
 †TACITUS, 13, 42.
 Taillebois, Ivo, 210.
 Taillur, John, 224.
 Talbot, 18.
 Talbot, Sir Gilbert, 215.
 Talbot, Thomas, 328, 408.
 †Tanner, Dr. Thomas, 508, 510, 511, 528.
 Tassett, Edmund, 413.
 Tate, John, 77.
 Tateshale, Robert de, 718.
 Tatsell, Giles, 331.
 Taverner, John, 413.
 Taverner, Reginald de, 62.
 Taverner, Richard de, 64.
 Tayler, Stephen, 444.
 Taylor, Colonel, 517.
 †Taylor, Dr. Isaac, 12, 15, 18, 21.
 Taylor, J., 843.
 Taylor, J. W., 843.
 Taylor, James, 754.
 Taylor, Joseph, 524, 557.
 Taylor, Mary, 852, 855.
 Taylor, Mr., 490.
 Taylor, Philip, 866.
 Taylor, Captain Silas, 404.
 Taylor, Sir Simon, 397, 398, 399, 413, 443, 444, 455, 457, 464, 733.

- Taylor, T., 843.
 Taylor, Thomas, 271.
 Taylor, Thomas, 312.
 †Taylor, Thomas, 266, 708.
 Taylor, Widow, 329.
 Taylor, Ensign William, 456.
 Taylor, William, 473.
 Taylor, William, 481.
 †Taylor, William, 15, 26, 84, 119, 220, 221, 226, 232, 387, 388, 494, 495, 635, 636, 699, 702, 707, 710, 748, 758, 762.
 Taylor and Co., 838.
 Taylor, J. W. and Son, 881.
 Taylour, T., 249.
 Tenterden, Lord, 561, 576.
 Ternan, Miss Fanny, 827, 828.
 Ternan, Miss Maria, 827, 828.
 Thacker, Samuel, 682.
 Thacker, Stephen, 682.
 Thacker, Symon, 328.
 Thamar, 493.
 Thelwell, John, 522.
 †Theodoret, 25.
 Theodosius, 749.
 Thetford, Thomas, 394.
 †Thew, John (*père*), 574, 575, 633.
 †Thew, John Dyker, 52, 569, 570, 586, 612, 633, 637.
 Thew and Son, 643.
 Thiodons, Messrs., 558.
 Thirlwall, Miss, 829.
 Thomas, Adam, 390.
 Thomas, the Clerk, 115, 116, 727.
 Thomas, Rev. S. D., 652.
 Thompson, Ambrose, 319.
 Thompson, Rev. Henry, 510.
 Thompson, John, 357.
 Thompson, William, 444.
 Thompson, William, 618.
 Thompson, William, 634.
 Thompson, Patrick and Woodward, 615.
 Thomson, James, 866.
 Thoresby, Fr., 408.
 Thoresby, Henry [222 b], 182, 219, 220, 224, 869.
 Thoresby, John [222 a].
 Thoresby, Robert, 224.
 Thoresby, Thomas [222 c], 44, 119, 176, 219, 220, 223, 224, 225, 226, 228, 229, 230, 236, 246, 742, 795, 869, 871.
 Thoresby, Thomas, 208, 216.
 Thoresby, Thomas [223 d], 215.
 Thoresbys, the, 808.
 Thorisby, John, 224.
 Thorley, John, 608, 881.
 Thorndeyn, Peter de, 662.
 Thorndon, Thomas, 707.
 Thorne, Mr., 402.
 Thorne, Miss Sarah, 826, 830.
 Thornech (Thornhegge), John de, 83.
 Thornham, Robert of, 706.
 Thorny, Lady de, 676.
 Thorp, Robert de, 118.
 Thorp, William de, 118.
 Thorpe, T., 506.
 Thorsby, Randolphus, 233.
 Thorowgood, Sir John, 381, 846.
 Thorowgood, Robert, 365, 378, 389, 411.
 Thouresby, John de, 224.
 Thrale, Mrs. Hester Lynch, 498.
 Throthe (Trothe), Thomas, 729, 750.
 Thurendine (Thoryndeyn), John de, 67, 211.
 Thurendine (Tourenden), Peter de, 211.
 Thurkill, 173.
 Thurlin, Rev. Thomas, 638.
 Thursby, Mr., 223.
 Thurston, Jane, 856.
 Thurston, William, 856.
 Thymelbye, Denys, 280.
 Tickell, 448.
 Tidd, John, 444.
 Tidd, Thomas, 328.
 Tighe, Mr. Edward K. Bunbury, 589.
 Tiler, Wat the, 122, 123, 148.
 †Tillett, Mr. Edward Arthur, 420.
 Tilloch, 461.
 Tilneye, John, 155.
 Tilson, Mr. Herbert, 863.
 Tindale, Justice, 561.
 Tindall, Rev. S., 648.
 Tinner, John, 494, 873.
 Tippling, Richard, 476.
 Titley, John, 290.
 Tixonye, Arnulph, 201, 815.
 Tizack, 391.
 Toche, Lawrence, 728.
 Todení (Tony), Ralf de, 42, 674, 675,
 Toftes, Eustace de, 65.
 Toftes, Richard de, 65.
 Tolbooth, Geoffrey (*atte*), 120, 171.
 Toll, Rev. Nicholas, 345.
 Toll, Thomas, 343, 344, 348, 349, 356, 360, 363, 364, 365, 367, 381, 382, 384, 399, 401, 456.
 Tolls, Mrs. Sarah, 866.
 Toly, John, 342.
 Tomson, Thomas, 810.
 Tooke, Horne, 522.
 Toole, John Lawrence, 829.
 Topias, Daw, 85.
 Topley, John, 794, 795.
 Tournay, William de, 142.
 Tournedon, John, 211.
 Towell, James, 568, 573.
 Towers, George, 400.
 Towers, John, 400.

- Towers, Rose, 400.
 Towne, John, 556.
 Townley, Jonathan, 573.
 Townsend, Benjamin, 417.
 Townsend, Joseph, 417.
 Townsend, Sir Charles [396 d], 458, 469, 474.
 Townshend, Sir Charles [396 e].
 Townshend, Lord George, 396.
 Townshend, George, 408.
 Townshend, Sir George [396 f], 512, 516, 517, 518.
 Townshend, Sir Horatio [396 c], 355, 394, 395, 398, 399, 400, 405, 407, 408, 409, 411, 412, 418, 423, 429.
 Townshend, Horatio [son of 396 d], 475.
 Townshend, James, 866.
 Townshend, Sir Roger, 258.
 Townshend, Sir Roger [395 a], 414.
 Townshend, Roger [396 b],
 Tracey, Sir John, 411.
 Tree, Miss Ellen, 828, 829.
 Tree and Price, 592.
 Treleaven, Rev. Benjamin, 551.
 Trevenant, John, 146.
 Trevor, Sir John, 396.
 Trewe, Thomas, 216, 217.
 Trewe, William, 178, 233.
 Trewella, Rev., 572.
 †Trevelyan, Sir George O., 520.
 Trice, Jasper, 425.
 Trimmel, Charles, Bishop, 472, 478.
 Trollop, Richard, 471.
 Trubbot, Geoffrey, 64.
 True, M(ark), 843.
 Trunch, Adam de, 106.
 Trunch, John, 205.
 Trusbutt, Agatha de, 56.
 Trussebut, Thomas, 144.
 Tudor, Margaret, 217.
 Tudor, Margaret, Queen of Scots, 314, 734.
 Tudor, Mary, 315, 711.
 Tue, Thomas, 873.
 Tullock, Mr. F., 667.
 Tumblebye (Thumblebye), Stephen, 120, 302.
 Tupet, Geoffrey, 847.
 Turbus (Turb, Turbe), William, Bishop, 44, 45, 71, 248, 757, 877.
 Turchetil, 42.
 Turnall, Gregory, 412.
 Turnepenny, Wilifred, 120.
 Turner, 825.
 Turner, Anne, 413.
 Turner, Charles, junr., 433.
 Turner, Charles [433 a].
 Turner, Sir Charles [433 d], 432, 462, 466, 468, 475, 499, 504.
 Turner, Charles [433 g], 532.
 †Turner, Dawson, 128, 269, 762.
 Turner, James (or John), 425.
 Turner, Capt. John [433 e], 398, 425, 456, 467, 468.
 Turner, John [433 f].
 Turner, John [433 h].
 Turner, Sir John [433 b], 399, 413, 430, 431, 444, 457, 490, 493, 503, 532, 533, 534, 535, 733, 873.
 Turner, Mary, 466.
 Turner, Mr., 506.
 Turner, Robert, 417.
 †Turner, Sharon, 40, 86, 789.
 Turner, William [433 c].
 Turner, William, 522.
 Turnour, John, 752.
 Tusser, Thomas, 826.
 Tutcher, Anthony, 376.
 Tweedale, Dr. John, 634.
 Twelles, Matthias, 394.
 Twier, John, 201.
 Twygodm, Dorothy, 390.
 Twygodm, John, 390.
 †Tyack, Rev. George Smith, 840.
 Tyard, Thomas, 681.
 Tygo, John, 216.
 Tyllott, Thomas, 410.
 Tyrrel, Sir John, 278.
 Tyrrel, Sir James, 206.
 Tyrwhitt, Thomas, 705.
 UFFA, 27, 36, 144.
 Ufford, Robert, 201.
 Ufford, Catherine, 201.
 Underclif, Paul, 108.
 Underwood, Henry, 313.
 Underwood, Lieutenant, 384, 417.
 Unwin, Paul, 545.
 Upland, Jack, 85, 123.
 Urban VI., Pope, 814, 869, 877, 883.
 Urri, Robert, 119.
 Ursula, St., 36, 37.
 Utteryng, William de, 95.
 †Utting, Charles, 212.
 VALENCER, AYMER DE, 92.
 Valenger, Thomas, 329, 421, 473, 711, 883.
 Valenger(s), Mrs., 840.
 Valentine, Frederick, 609.
 Valentine, John S., 598, 609.
 Valour, Thomas, 759.
 Vancouver, Bridget, 499.
 Vancouver, Charles, 500.
 Vancouver, Charles (of Philadelphia), 500.
 †Vancouver, George [499-501].
 Vancouver, John, 500, 501.
 Vancouver, John Gaspar, 499, 500.
 Vancouver, Mary, 500.
 Vancouver, Sarah, 500.

- Vandall, M., 696.
 Vanderhoff, Miss, 828.
 Vankamp, 391.
 Vause, Thomas, 325.
 Vaux, Lord John de, 246, 713.
 Venus, the Goddess, 24.
 Vere, 396.
 Vere, John de, 217.
 Vermuyden, Sir Cornelius, 335.
 Verrer, Jordan de, 64, 735.
 Vessye, Robert, 271.
 Vestris, Lucy Elizabeth (*née* Bartolozzi), 826, 829.
 Vetch, Captain James, 783.
 Veteringe, Simon de, 108.
 †Vian, Alsager, 509.
 †Vicars, John, 361.
 Vickers, Rev. Nathaniel, 863.
 Victoria, H. R. H. the Princess (See Victoria, Queen).
 Victoria, H. R. H. Princess, 667.
 Victoria, Queen [584-670], 569, 570, 583, 669, 782, 837, 862.
 Vigvier and Tiratt, 307.
 Villa, Gonzago de la, 307.
 Villiers, Barbara, 396.
 Villiers, Charles, 342.
 Villiers, George, 332, 423.
 Vincent, Mr., 443.
 Vincent, Rev. O. P., 637.
 Vincent, Tycho, 255.
 †Vine, Rev. Francis T., 27.
 Vining, Fred, 827.
 Vining, Miss (See Gill, Mrs. C.).
 Violet(t), Henry (Mr.), 325, 327.
 Vipam, John, 783.
 †Virgil, 15, 19, 785.
 †Voltaire, François, 785.
 Voragine, Jacob de, 812.
 Vynne and Everitt, 523.

 WACE, JOHN, 877, 879.
 Waceneys, Agnes, 676.
 Wade, John, 461.
 Wailes, 612, 862.
 Wakefield, Thomas, 303.
 Waking, John, Bishop, 161, 163, 164, 186, 187.
 Waldegrave, Bishop, 627.
 Walden, George, 820.
 Walden, Lionel, 425.
 Walden, William, 155.
 †Wale, Rev. Henry James, 542.
 Wales, John, 634.
 Wales, Joseph, 572.
 Wales, Joseph, 655.
 Wales, H.R.H. the Prince of (See Edward VII.).
 Wales, H.R.H. the Princess of (See Alexandra, Queen).
 Walker, Ezekiel, 460, 461, 462, 785.
 Walker, Mrs. Frances, 522.
 Walker, T., 468.
 Walker, William, 476.
 Walker, William, 609.
 Walker and Son, 666, 668.
 Wallace (Sir William), 142.
 Wallack, Elizabeth Field (*née* Granger), 827.
 Wallack, Miss Fanny, 829.
 Wallack, Henry (John) (*frère*), 636, 827.
 Wallack, James William, 827.
 Walleys, Edmund, 327.
 †Waller, Mr. J. G., 803, 805, 807.
 Waller, Thomas, 417.
 Waller, Sir William, 368.
 Wallis, John, 327.
 Walpole, Dorothy, 396.
 Walpole, Edward, 280.
 Walpole, Edward [465, 1], 399, 411.
 Walpole, George [465, 5].
 Walpole, Horace [465, 6], 532, 695, 753.
 Walpole, Horatio [465, 8], 466, 475, 532.
 Walpole, Horatio [465, 7], 475.
 Walpole, Horatio [465, 10], 535, 559.
 Walpole, Horatio [466, 11], 559.
 Walpole, Jane, 742.
 Walpole, John de, 126.
 Walpole, John [466, 12], 559, 560, 561, 562, 567, 572, 686.
 Walpole, John, 729.
 Walpole, Mary, 433.
 Walpole, Mary, 466.
 Walpole (Sir) Robert, 346, 394, 465.
 Walpole, Robert [465, 2] 442, 462, 464.
 Walpole, Robert, 280.
 †Walpole, Sir Robert [465, 3], 396, 433, 457, 464, 466, 467, 468, 474, 490, 502, 520, 729, 753.
 Walpole, Robert [465, 4], 490.
 Walpole, Thomas [465, 9], 533, 534, 535.
 Walpole, Thomas, 742.
 Walpole, Tyrrey, 280.
 Walsh, Rev. Andrew, 613.
 Walsh, Rev. Edmund, 613.
 Walsam, Ralph, 157.
 Walsingham, Sir Francis, 301, 306.
 Walsingham, John de, 67.
 Walsingham, Simon de, 122.
 †Walsingham, Thomas (of), 39, 122, 127, 142.
 Walsingham, Thomas, 729.
 Walsoken, Adam de, 106, 117.
 Walsoken, Walter de, 171.
 Walsokne, Adam de, 387.
 Walsokne, Margaret de, 387.
 Walsyngham, Alan de, 832.
 Walter, M., 92.
 Walter, Mr., 838.
 Walton, Richard de, 132.
 Walton, Simon de, Bishop, 706.
 Walton, Rev., 572.

- Walton, William, 162.
 Walworth, Sir William, 143.
 Wanker, Mrs. John, 857.
 Warbeck, Perkin, 214, 215.
 Ward, David, 634.
 Ward, George, 443.
 Ward, Mary, 473.
 Ward, Mr. 873.
 Wardale, Robert, 825, 831.
 Warden (or Billins), Dorothy, 852.
 Warham, John de, 849.
 Waring, Dr., 612, 647.
 Warles, William, 182.
 Warne, 668.
 Warne, Rev. George, 650, 651.
 Warne, Rose, 852, 833.
 Warner, Sir Edward, 306.
 Warner, Mr., 840.
 Warner, William, 327.
 Warner, Rev. William, 416.
 Warnes, William, 668.
 Warren, William de, 14.
 Warwick, Earl of [See Neville].
 Warwick, Johanna, 77.
 Warwyk, Richard de, 77.
 Waryn, John, 130, 137.
 Washington, Captain, R.N., 591, 783.
 Wastell (Wastle), Rev. Henry, 473, 478.
 Water, John, 238.
 Waterden, T., 879.
 Waterden, William, 198.
 Waterdeyn, William de, 388.
 Waterdeyn, Alice de, 388.
 Waters, Edward, 752.
 Waters, John, 261.
 Waters, Richard, 322, 421.
 Waters (Wayters), Thomas, 257, 258, 271, 274, 276, 284, 286, 292, 302.
 Waters, the, 537.
 Watirden, John, 188.
 Watirden, Thomas, 158, 159.
 Watling, John, 545.
 Watson, 853.
 Watson, Jane, 473.
 Watson, Mark, 738.
 Watson, Robert, 473.
 Watson and Bevill, 780.
 Watts, Rev. Isaac, 572.
 Watts, "Roger Rainbow," 858.
 Wauton, Margaret, 401.
 Wauton, Sir Thomas, 401.
 Wauton (Walton), Valentine (*père*), 356, 359, 360, 361, 362, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 372, 379, 385, 386, 401, 402, 403.
 Wauton, Valentine, 402.
 Way, Mr., 708.
 Waylett, Mrs. Henry, 829.
 Waynflete, Thomas de, 67.
 Waynfleth, Simon, 680.
 Waynford, John, 456.
 Waynforth, John, 295.
 Wayte, Henry, 327, 856.
 Wayte, William, 328.
 Weasenham, Benedict de, 759.
 Webb and Forster, 273.
 †Webster, George, 209.
 Webster, Rev. Mordaunt, 409.
 Wedderburn, Alexander, 516.
 †Weever, John, 11, 673, 745.
 Welch, Rev. T., 572.
 Welle, John de, 64, 680.
 Welles, Henry, 139.
 Welles, Thomas, 306.
 Wellington, Duke of, 526.
 Wells, John, 750.
 Wells, John, 871.
 Wells, Sir John, 227.
 Wells (Wallys), William, 715.
 Wenlok, William, 135.
 Wentworth, John (de), 138, 144, 150, 153, 158, 159, 160, 689.
 Wesenham, John de, 106, 108.
 Wese(n)ham, Roger de, 142, 701.
 Wesenham, William, 729.
 Wesley, Rev. Charles, 547.
 †Wesley, Rev. John, 547, 548, 648, 649.
 †West, Benjamin, 859.
 West, Nicholas, 236.
 West, Thomas, 810.
 Westacre, R— de, 246.
 Westacre, William, 162.
 Westhorpe, Edmund, 196.
 Weston, 666.
 Whaites, Mr., 470.
 Wharton, 353.
 Wharton, 426.
 Wharton, 716.
 Wharton, Anne, 346.
 Wharton, Captain John, 342, 346, 394.
 Wharton, Mr., 344.
 Wharton (Mrs.), 852.
 Wharton, Lord Thomas, 469.
 Wharton, William, 346, 385, 417, 752.
 Wheeler, Mr. W. H., 784.
 Wheelock (Willock), Abraham, 383, 384.
 Wheelock, Mary, 383, 384.
 Whin, John, 655.
 Whin, Joseph, 655.
 Whincop, James D., 573.
 Whincop, (Robert) (*oncle*), 169.
 Whincop, Robert, 516, 559, 655.
 Whiston, Rev. William, 501.
 †Whitaker, Dr. Thomas Dunham, 40.
 Whitaker, Captain, 517.
 Whitaker, Mr. W., 799.
 Whitby, Rev., 645.
 White, Mr. George, M.P., 588, 589.
 White, Mr., 229.
 White, Mr., 669.

- White, Robert, 554.
 White, Rev. Thomas, 866.
 White, Sir Thomas, 462, 463, 682, 753.
 White, William, 338.
 †White, William, 633, 806.
 White, William, 862.
 Whitefield, Rev. George, 547.
 Whitehead, Robert, 454.
 Whitelock, James, 404.
 Whiteman, Henry, 490.
 Whiting, Charles J., 635.
 Whiting, John (*père*), 414.
 Whiting, John, 414.
 Whiting, John, M.A., 227.
 Whiting, John B., 587.
 Whiting, Josiah B., 635.
 Whiting, Rev. Samuel, 414, 415.
 Whittingham, Charles, 523.
 Whittingham, William, 528, 550, 569.
 Whittingham, W. G., 530.
 Whittinghams, the, 528.
 Whitworth, John, 386.
 Whitworth, Joseph, 417.
 Whur, W. Cornelius, 826.
 Whyote, Anne, 250.
 Whyte, Adam, 729.
 Whytynge, Thomas, 715.
 Wicheton, William, 584.
 Wickins, Miss, 710.
 Wigenhale, Adam de, 246.
 Wigenhale, Sir John de, 708.
 Wigenhale, Richard de, 246.
 Wigg, John Goddard, 610, 635.
 Wigner, Rev. John Thomas, 571, 572, 647, 649, 651.
 Wiken, Humphrey de, 106.
 Wildbur, Rev. William, 645.
 Wilkerson, Jeremiah, 476.
 Wilkes, John, 519, 520, 522, 533.
 Wilkes, Captain John, 385.
 Wilkes, Thomas, 736.
 Wilkinson, S., 645.
 Wilkinson and Jarvis, 600.
 Wilkinson and Hengler, 557.
 Willblood, William, 387.
 Willelmus, 70.
 Willet, Katron, 84.
 William I., 12, 41, 42, 43, 69, 89, 218, 674, 696, 726.
 William II., 59, 72, 80, 235.
 William III. (and Mary II.) [450-458], 285, 424, 426, 432, 449, 753.
 William IV. [567-584].
 William V. (Holland), 522.
 William, Duke of Gloucester, 566, 569.
 William, Prince of Orange [See William III.].
 William, St., of Norwich, 749.
 Williams, Mr. C., 598.
 Williams, John, Bishop, 330.
 Williams, R. W., 556.
 Williams, Rev. Thomas V., 863.
 Williams, William, 351.
 Williamson, Rev. Anthony, 416.
 Williamson, Sir Joseph, 404, 443, 455.
 Williamson, Nathaniel, 842.
 Willis, Professor Robert, 266.
 Willoughby, Captain, 408.
 Willoughby, Lord, 394, 395.
 Willoughby, Lord P— de, 64.
 Willoughby, Sir William, 261, 264.
 Wills, Cecily, 436.
 Wilson, Christopher, 790.
 Wilson, Leonard, 852.
 Wilson, Rev. Maximillian, 549.
 Wilson, S. Moreton Wightman, 797.
 Wilson, Philip, 635.
 Wimbledon, Viscount, 339.
 Winchester, Bishop, 104.
 Wing, Thomas, 783.
 Wingfield, William, 883.
 Winkleys, Messrs., 527.
 Winstanley, Henry, 460.
 Winter, Thomas, 282.
 Winter, Rev. Edward George Adlington, 836, 843.
 Wise, Robert, 633.
 †Withers, George, 34.
 Withers, Laurence, 400, 411.
 Wodehouse, John, 163.
 Wodehouse, Sir John, 515.
 Wodehouse, Sir Philip, 324.
 Wodehouse, Rev. Philip John, 610, 635, 636.
 Wodehouse, Sir Thomas, 276.
 Wodhous, Thomas, 232.
 Wodhouse, George, 280.
 Wodhouse, William, 280.
 Wolfe, General James, 512.
 Wolman, William, 729.
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 236, 237, 245, 252.
 Wolsley, 386.
 Wolsy (Wulsi), Thomas, 84, 116.
 Wood, Widow, 329.
 Wood, John, 163.
 Wood, Thomas, 408.
 Woodbine, 312.
 Woodcock, John, 638.
 Woodcock, Mary, 638.
 Woodes, Thomas, 339.
 Woodhouse, Thomas, 847.
 Woodman, 284.
 Woodmansea, Robert, M.A., 866.
 Woodville, Anthony, 195, 201.
 Woodville, Elizabeth, Queen, 193, 214, 217.
 Woodward, Edwin, 633.
 †Woodward, Samuel (Pickworth), 5.
 Woolstan, Mr., 6.
 Woolstencroft, Mr. Johnson W., 865.
 Worde, Wykyn de, 192, 528, 708, 716.
 †Wordsworth, William, 61.
 Wordsworth, Messrs. 496, 877.
 Wormall, Benjamin, 368.

- Wormegay, John, 729.
 Wormell (Wormall), Bartholomew,
 363, 367, 378, 384, 390, 394.
 Worsted, Thomas, 729.
 Worthington, Mrs., 822.
 Wrag, Joseph, 422.
 Wraw, John, 123.
 Wreke, Geoffrey, 95.
 Wrench, John, 312.
 Wrigglesworth, Rev. George, 613.
 Wright, Ann, 852.
 Wright, Grace, 851.
 Wright, John, 818.
 Wright, Rev. John, 551.
 Wright, Martin, 818.
 Wright, Mr., 614.
 Wright, Robert, M.P., 399.
 Wright, Theo(philus), 333.
 Wright, Thomas, 208.
 Wrightson, Lord, 443.
 Wriothesley, Lord Thomas, 428.
 Wrov, George Thomas, 123.
 Wryght, Henry, 178.
 Wuttone, Robert de, 108.
 †Wyatt, Prof. Matthew Digby, 4.
 Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 282.
 Wych, Philip, 95.
 Wycliff, John, 142, 144.
 Wykyn, Humphrey de, 713, 714.
 Wykyn, Robert de, 713, 714.
 Wylkynsson, John, 810.
 Wylymot, Simon, 125.
 Wynde, Margaret, 356.
 Wynde, Thomas, 356.
 Wyndham, Edmund, 281.
 Wyngesfield, Sir Robert, 203.
 Wyngfeld, John, 233.
 Wynteryngham, Robert, 750.
 Wyntworth, J., 879.
 Wyringeye, Thomas, 729.
 Wysdam, John, 64.
 Wystade, John, 729.
 Wyth, John, 111.
 Wyth, Philip, 131.
 Wyth, Thomas, 243.
 YARMOUTH, LADY, 398.
 Yarway, Widow, 477.
 Yates, William, 208.
 Yaxley, John, 417.
 Yaxley, Mr., 510.
 Yelverton, William, 847.
 Yelverton, Sir William, 320, 346.
 Yole, Thomas, 763.
 Young, Arthur, 499.
 Young, John Francis [630, 632], 827,
 828, 831.
 Young, Mrs. J. F., 631, 827, 828.
 Young, Captain Michael, 405.
 Young, Richard, Bishop, 140.
 Young, Richard, 588.
 Young and Son, 592.
 Youngs, Henry, 856.
 York, H.R.H. the Duke of, 644, 667.
 York, H.R.H. the Duchess of, 667.
 York, William de, 60.
 Yorke, Lord Charles P., 784.
 Ypres, 391.
 Yspania, John de, 123.
 ZELL, Duke of, 474.
 Zell, Sophia Dorothea of, Queen, 474.
 †Zimmern, Helen, 173.
 Zouche, Allen de, 210.
 Zouche, Lord, 217.

INDEX III.

PLACE-NAMES.

For obsolete Street-names, &c., see pages 863-865.

* Denotes where the derivation of the word is given.

- ABERDEEN, 138.
Abingdon, 255.
Acle, 735.
Aconbury, 56.
Acton Burnell, 133.
Agin-court, 162, 190.
Albans, St., 38, 127, 168, 191, 192.
Aldborough, 409.
Alden, 474.
Allington, 354.
Amboise, 194, 209, 210, 211.
Amiens, 516.
Amsterdam, 377.
Andernach, 742.
Angers, 210, 211.
Anmer, 27.
Anmer Point, 500.
Antioch, 31.
Antwerp, 108, 233, 258, 609, 734, 736, 871.
Appleton, 218, 340, 371, 372, 489, 669.
Argiere, 437.
Asaph, St., 510.
Ashfield Magna, 189.
Ashill, 385.
Ashton, 650.
Ashton-under-Lyne, 627.
Assisi, 700, 702.
Attleborough, 94, 260.
Attlebridge, 68.
Auckland, 229.
Audley End, 596.
Audry, 113.
Aumalé, 611.
Aussay, 176.
Aylesbury, 520.
Aylmerton, 10.
Aylsham, 465, 499, 519, 728.

BABINGLEY, 25, *26, 27, 90, 121, 536, 669, 736, 745.
Babraham (Badburgham), 156.
Badley Moor, 853.
Bakton [Suffolk], 752.

Ballarat, 618.
Baltic, the, 604, 737.
Baltimore, 606.
Baly Marsh, 290.
Banham, 26.
Bank's Land, 620.
Baoza, 36.
Bar Flat, 3.
Barbadoes, the, 379.
Bardwell, 27.
Barkway, 156.
Barnack, 761.
Barnard's Heath, 168, 192.
Barnet, 195, 197, 316.
Barrow Point, 620.
Barrow Strait, 621.
Barsham, 256.
Barsham, East, 261.
Barsham, West, 132.
Barton Bendish, 5.
Barton Mills, 596.
Barwick, 126, 589.
Batesford, 240.
Bath, 25, 400, 463, 625, 715.
Bawsey, 27, 89, 247, 801, 830.
Bayly End, 472.
Beaugé, 141, 165.
Beaumanor, 342.
Beccles (Beckells), 437, 519.
Becton, 240.
Bedford, 4, 38, 597, 770.
Bedford Level [See Great Level].
Bedford (New) River, 778, 791.
Beechamwell, 5, 860.
Beechamwell, St. Mary, 24.
Beechey Island, 622.
Beeston, 10.
Beeston Regis, 458.
Beetley, 240.
Behring Strait, 620.
Beighton, 240.
Bell [Bucks.], 402.
Benet(s)-at-Holme, St., 240, 241, 735.
Benwick, 771.

- Bergen, 173, 175, 749.
 Berkeley, 69, 92, 98, 402.
 Berkhamstead, 93.
 Berne, North [See Bergen].
 Berner Bay, 500.
 Berwick (Euer Wyk), 84, 91, 92, 94, 107,
 112, 276, 279, 304, 315, 325, 331.
 Beverley, 136, 178, 718, 747.
 Bexwell, 501, 835.
 Bickerstaffe, 588.
 Biddenham, 4.
 Bidstone, 461.
 Biggleswade, 597.
 Bildeston, 322.
 Billingford, 624.
 Bilney, 614, 624, 729.
 Binham, 74, 212.
 Bircham Newton, 624.
 Birmingham, 596, 597, 627, 736.
 Bishop Stortford, 596.
 Bishton, 437.
 Blackburn, 192, 226, 255, 282.
 Blackheath, 122, 123.
 Blackwall, 315.
 Blakeburg, 211.
 Blakeney (Blakney, Blackney), 110,
 212, 255, 287, 293, 294, 305, 517,
 541, 809, 835.
 Blenheim, 458, 459.
 Blickling, 215, 255, 455.
 Blisworth, 596.
 Blofield, 240.
 Bloreheath, 168.
 Blyth, 556, 738.
 Bodham (Boddenham), 347.
 Bordeaux, 77, 138, 539.
 Borden Bridge, *216, 328.
 Borewell, 761.
 Boston (St. Botolph), 5, 38, 39, 59, 68,
 176, 220, 287, 302, 305, 313, 325, 333,
 334, 343, 363, 369, 370, 378, 406, 407,
 414, 487, 537, 609, 645, 718, 719, 736,
 781, 790, 791.
 Bosworth, 214.
 Botham, St., 85.
 Bothwell Bridge, 427.
 Bottisham, 374.
 Boulogne, 258.
 Bourn Bridge, 596.
 Brackley, 770.
 Bradenham (Bradingham), East, 853.
 Bradenham, East, 853.
 Bradenham, West, 347.
 Bradford, 609.
 Bramham Moor, 15, 292.
 Brampton, 505, 507.
 Brancaster, 26, 126.
 Brandon, 2, 63, 156, 157, 218, 261, 344,
 374, 438, 487, 526, 592, 596, 597, 604,
 673, 674, 756, 771.
 Brandon River, the [See Little Ouse].
 Bray, 393.
 Breda, 396.
 Bremen, 172, 175.
 Brentwood, 596.
 Brest, 99.
 Brettenham, 127.
 Bridget Point, 500.
 Bridge(water), 393, 845.
 Brighton (Brighthelmstone), 517, 809,
 857.
 Brinckley, 709.
 Bristol, 176, 189, 393, 432, 460, 463, 487,
 529, 538, 539, 571, 611, 705, 726, 809,
 845.
 Bristow, 240.
 Brokewell, 707.
 Brome Hall, 812.
 Brompton, 830.
 Bromwell, 294.
 Bromwich, West, 627.
 Bro(o)mholve, 74, 293.
 Brow-of-the-Hill, 800.
 Bruges, 175, 258, 727.
 Brussels, 696, 743.
 Buckenham, Old, 215, 516.
 Buckenwell, 705.
 Bungay(e), 415, 436, 437, 519.
 Burgh, 74.
 Burgh Castle, 38.
 Burgh Green, 709.
 Burgh-on-Sands, 79.
 Burlington, 377.
 Burn(e)ham [Market], 91, 126, 261, 276,
 293, 306, 332, 333, 438, 707, 853.
 Burnham Thorpe, 466.
 Burton Lazars, 250, 794.
 Burton [on Trent], 542, 627.
 Butley, 240.
 Byron (Burun), 407.
 CADIZ, 332, 339.
 Caen, 211, 616.
 Caerleon, 22.
 Caermarthen, 311.
 Caernarvon, 79.
 Caistor [Chesterton], 39.
 Caistor [Lincoln], 39.
 Caistor [Norwich], 39.
 Calais, 110, 189, 276, 287, 313, 537, 727.
 Caldecott, 5, 24.
 Caldstream, 78.
 Cam, the River, 302, 711.
 Camberwell, 624.
 Cambridge, 22, 24, 38, 39, 143, 156, 208,
 210, 214, 240, 246, 258, 266, 278, 280,
 302, 303, 304, 329, 335, 342, 350, 351,
 369, 370, 371, 383, 401, 414, 419, 435,
 457, 463, 468, 501, 502, 509, 528, 596,
 597, 609, 618, 624, 626, 632, 638, 646,
 669, 706, 712, 715, 716, 719, 728, 770,
 812, 833, 841, 861.

Cambridge Bay, 621.
 Camden, Port, 500.
 Canterbury, 19, 69, 98, 145, 153, 224, 463,
 583, 836.
 Carbrooke, 201.
 Carlisle, 79, 325, 485, 489, 627, 641.
 Carlton, 709.
 Carmel, Mount, 702.
 Carpentaria, Gulf of, 628.
 Casterton, 616.
 Castleacre, 27, 73, 75, 76, 121, 211, 218,
 637, 760.
 Castle Bainard, 42.
 Catton, 587, 588.
 Catt's Bank, 316.
 Cawston, 455.
 Chaldon, 715.
 Chamberlain, 400.
 Channel Islands, the, 33.
 Charlestown, 515.
 Chatham, 347, 408, 810.
 Chatteris, 142.
 Cheapside, 282.
 Chelsea, 256, 502.
 Cheshunt, 120, 330.
 Chester, 39, 80, 502, 695, 811, 845.
 Chesterford, 596.
 Chesterton, 303.
 Chichester, 143, 707.
 Chiddingfold, 735.
 Chiltern, 562, 588.
 Chippenham, 360.
 Chiswick, 528, 529.
 Christian Hills, the, 26.
 Christiania, 406.
 Church Bank, the [See Cooke's Bank].
 Citeaux, 700.
 Clackclose, 337, 389.
 Claughton, 832.
 Clears, St., 529, 550.
 Clenchwarton, 11, 290, 316, 510.
 Cley (Claye), 255, 287, 293, 294, 420, 541,
 792.
 Clipsham, 248.
 Clugny, 700.
 Clyst St. George, 842.
 Cockle Dike, *479.
 Coke Point, 500.
 Coke(s)ford (Coxford), 68, 73, 94.
 Colchester, 39, 77, 305, 383, 463, 608.
 Cole Harbour, 436.
 Cologne (Coleyne), 36, 37, 176, 788.
 Colton Dale, 282.
 Congham, 5, 218, 222, 255, 320, 584, 830.
 Congleton, 489, 875.
 Conisford, 715.
 Constance, Lake, 143.
 Constantinople, 585.
 Cooke's Bank, 472, 677.
 Coppingford, 374.
 Cordova, 123, 176.

Cork, 214.
 Cornhill, 167.
 Costessey, 6, 11, 652.
 Coventry, 142, 695, 811.
 Cowgate [Hardwick], 249, 250.
 Cowgate [West Lynn], 124, 250, 742, 768.
 Coxwell, 51.
 Crabhouse, 178, 226, 713.
 Creake, 624.
 Cregy, 98, 114, 190.
 Cressingham, Great, 45.
 Crimplesham, 374.
 Cromer, 5, 26, 40, 196, 197, 255, 293, 306,
 600, 751, 785, 791.
 Cross Key(e)s, 56, 300, 578, 771.
 Crowe's Bank [See Cooke's Bank].
 Crowland (Croyland), 38, 40, 55, 82, 193,
 210, 211, 248, 384, 771, 845.
 Croxton, 812.
 Crutch (Crotche), the, 251, 294, 580,
 764.
 Culloden, 512.
 Cumnor Place, 281.
 Curtryke, 177.
 Cyprus, 153.

DAISLEY BEACON, 606.
 Danby Wisk, 625.
 Danzig, 175.
 Dartmouth(e), 123, 189, 194, 296, 307,
 845.
 Daventry, 381.
 Davids, St., 146.
 Davis' Strait, 787.
 Deal, 26, 27, 589.
 Dealy Island, 622.
 Deeps (Depths), the Lynn, 313, 318, 332,
 405, 459, 607, 632, 711, 781.
 Denny, 210, 211.
 Denver, 27, 157, 189, 598, 638, 771, 776,
 778, 791.
 Deptford, 460.
 Derby, 347, 463.
 Dereham [East or Market], 38, 73, 127,
 251, 330, 347, 384, 519, 528, 597, 599,
 600, 612, 761, 818, 830, 843, 853.
 Dersingham, 222, 293, 325, 528, 536, 649,
 669.
 Dessau, 325.
 Dettingen, 512.
 Devil's Ditch, the, 596.
 Devizes, 393, 845.
 Dillingham, 709.
 Diss, 278, 420, 516, 548, 812, 853.
 Docking, 74, 126.
 Doddington, 310.
 Dogger Bank, the, *409, 787.
 Doncaster, 194.
 Doona Nook Beacon, 791, 792.
 Doornik, 733.
 Dordrecht, 403.

- Douay, 307.
 Dover, 305, 395, 558.
 Dovesdale, 193.
 Downham (Dounam) [Market], 14, 261,
 264, 355, 374, 384, 385, 387, 389, 470,
 471, 490, 516, 520, 526, 548, 568, 597,
 598, 600, 630, 662, 711, 836.
 Downham, Little, 597.
 Drayton, 436.
 Drayton Basset, 103.
 Drogheda, 379.
 Dublin, 15, 214, 379, 495, 602, 825.
 Dumfermline, 136, 709.
 Dunbar, 379.
 Dundee, 136, 517, 709, 798.
 Dungeness, 460.
 Dunkirk, 313, 331, 334, 363, 370, 378,
 384, 407, 467, 490.
 Dunwich, 38, 39, 43, 45, 46, 55, 287.
 Durham, 55, 386.
 Dussin(s) Dale, 261, 282.

 EARITH, 374, 770, 771.
 Earham, 623, 624.
 Eastcheap, 85.
 Eaton, 756.
 Eau Brink, the, 778.
 Eau Brink Cut, the, 775, 778, 779, 782.
 Ebling, 305.
 Eccles, 190, 240, 260, 278, 293.
 Ecclesal, 361.
 Eddystone, 460.
 Edgehill, 402.
 Edinburgh, 99, 124, 136, 138, 461, 489,
 602, 709, 825.
 Edmunds Bury, St., 27, 38, 39, 42, 54,
 75, 94, 193, 212, 214, 215, 256, 276,
 301, 322, 348, 381, 509, 510, 547, 548,
 596, 597, 627, 661, 673, 674, 770, 835,
 873.
 Edmund's Ness (or Point), St., 36, 117,
 242, 318, 460, 477, 790.
 Effingham, 311, 317.
 Elba, 517, 526.
 Eldernell, 27.
 Ellingham, 320.
 Elm, 390.
 Elmham, 39, 41, 70, 139.
 Elmham, North, 240, 433.
 Elmham, South, 43, 143, 240.
 Elsing, 189.
 Elstow, 142.
 Ely (Eleye), 38, 39, 58, 69, 76, 83, 113,
 132, 216, 217, 236, 243, 294, 300, 302,
 304, 310, 317, 326, 336, 352, 370, 374,
 379, 397, 417, 437, 510, 517, 544, 548,
 563, 596, 597, 598, 599, 617, 627, 630,
 637, 748, 770, 772, 784, 786, 789, 832,
 839, 879, 881.

 Emneth (Emeneth), 11, 121, 316, 330,
 584.
 Enckhuysen, 810.
 Ensham, 437.
 Ermine Street, 24, 27, 523.
 Eriswell, 400.
 Esk, the River (Middleton Stop Drain),
 664, 760.
 Esselby, 701.
 Eton, 618.
 Euston, 301.
 Exeter, 146, 215, 217, 293, 393, 463, 537,
 845.
 Eye, 519, 836, 877.

 FAKENHAM, 94, 346, 384, 389, 516, 600,
 688.
 Falmouth, 189, 634, 809.
 Faversham (Faversham), 305, 449.
 Felmingham, 123.
 Feltwell, 3, 226.
 Fendyke, 772.
 Fenland, the [See the Fens].
 Fens, the, 1, 13, 27, 33, 268, 350, 380, 418,
 770, 772, 776, 781.
 Fersfield, 508.
 Fincham, 222, 707.
 Finchams, the Manor of, 171.
 Fitton, 165.
 Flamborough, 333.
 Flanders, 222, 378.
 Fleet, 477.
 Flegg, West, 127.
 Florence, 104.
 Flitcham, 27, 68, 121, 165, 218, 506.
 Flushing, 377.
 Fontenoy, 512.
 Fordham, 5, 374, 760, 833.
 Fossdyke Wash, 248.
 Fowey, 189, 537.
 Framlingham, 278, 295, 326.
 Freebridge, *11, *12, 41, 164, 218, 688.
 Freebridge Hundred-and-Half, 584.
 Freebridge, Lynn, 324, 325, 337, 347,
 380, 456, 516, 565, 584, 662.
 Freebridge, Marshland, 11, 324, 325,
 337, 347, 380, 456, 565, 584, 594.
 Fressingfield, 143, 189.
 Friday Bridge, *11.
 Fring (Freinges), 699.
 Fritton (Freyton), 745.
 Furness, 214.

 GAINSBOROUGH, 306, 531, 718.
 Galilee, 388.
 Garboldisham, 189, 533.
 Gat Sand, the, 781.
 Gavathan Lhyn, 15.
 Gayton, 27, 29, 90, 121, 216, 544, 649.
 Gayton Thorpe [See also Thorpe], 94,
 218, 222.

- Gaywood (Geywode, etc.), 9, 16, 21, 41, 44, 46, 51, 55, 70, 72, 73, 78, 85, 89, 118, 119, 128, 130, 164, 189, 190, 203, 216, 223, 230, 236, 240, 245, 247, 248, 250, 310, 316, 321, 325, 341, 357, 367, 419, 427, 436, 440, 470, 477, 489, 491, 559, 584, 601, 638, 657, 658, 666, 688, 694, 699, 707, 710, 712, 714, 715, 718, 736, 756, 757, 778, 793, 799, 807, 830, 847, 877.
 Gaywood River, the, 658, 756, 793, 794, 797, 800.
 Gedney, 501.
 Genoa, 176, 727.
 Germaines, St. [France], 449.
 Germans (Jarmins), St. [See Wiggenhall St. Germans].
 Ghent, 136.
 Gibraltar Point, 792.
 Giles, St., 627.
 Gimmingham, 74.
 Glaslin, 15.
 Gleane, the River, 335.
 Godeston (Gooderston), 210, 211.
 Godscroft, 448, 472.
 Golden Ball, the, 448, 452.
 Goole (Goule) Bank (or Dyke), 472, 486, 487.
 Gore Point (also End), 28, 318, 792.
 Gore Sand, the, 789.
 Gorleston, 29.
 Goscote, West, 342.
 Goseford, 92.
 Goworth, 321.
 Grangemouth, 609.
 Grant, River, the, 335, 770, 771.
 Grantham, 369.
 Gravesend, 779.
 Great Fen Road, the, 27.
 Great Level, the, 334, 336, 379, 386, 500, 776, 778.
 Great North Road, the, 523.
 Great Ouse (Owse), the [770-775], 4, 22, 51, 69, 72, 100, 138, 192, 317, 318, 334, 335, 386, 473, 487, 525, 536, 538, 591, 660, 681, 733, 742, *773, 777, 778, 779, 781, 790, 791.
 Great River, the [See the Great Ouse].
 Greenhoe, North, 332.
 Greenland, 539, 787.
 Greenwich, 277, 325.
 Greenwich, East, 285.
 Gressenhall, 390.
 Grime's Graves, 7, 10.
 Grimbsy, 386.
 Grimston (Grimeston), 9, 121, 600, 649, 674, 745, 797, 800, 846.
 Grimston River, the, 793.
 Guernsey, 408, 426, 828.
 Guiana, 324.
 Guinea, 286.
 Gunthorpe, 556.
 Gunworth, 835.
 Guyhirn (Guyhurn, Guyhorne), 300, 570.
 Gylney Smithe (Smeeth), 280.
 HADDENHAM, 770, 833.
 Haddon, 120.
 Hagneose (Hanelose, Haclose) [See Haveless Hall].
 Hague, the, 395, 519, 522.
 Halesworth, 519.
 Halifax, 695, 734.
 Hall Place [See Seche Parva].
 Hamburg, 172, 175, 376, 609.
 Hamelin, 334.
 Hampstead, 624.
 Hampton Court [London], 632.
 Hanover, 396.
 Happsburgh, 791, 792.
 Hardwick (Herdewyke), *52, 192, 217, 223, 236, 245, 250, 448, 470, 472, 479, 517, 578, 596, 598, 616, 704, 756, 793, 851.
 Harfleur, 161, 213.
 Hargrave, 322.
 Harleston, 143, 189, 733.
 Harlewyn(s), 223, 236.
 Harling, 214, 374.
 Harling, East, 203, 533.
 Harlow, 596.
 Harpley, 89, 649.
 Harris, Island of, 461.
 Harwich, 97, 276, 377, 404, 405, 409, 448, 460.
 Harwood, 192.
 Hasborough(e) (also Hasboro'), 293, 306.
 Hastings, 41, 633, 674.
 Hatfield, 381.
 Haveless Hall [Mintlyn], 223, 230, 280.
 Havodporth, 313.
 Hawsted, 301.
 Haydon Alland, 405.
 Haymarket, the, 825.
 Heacham (Hitcham, Hatcham, etc.), 5, 126, 293, 306, 860.
 Heldon, 718.
 Hellesdon, 193.
 Hemming's Ea (or Lode), 771.
 Hempton Green, 405.
 Hemsby, 6, 293.
 Herculanum, 171.
 Hereford, 146, 463, 706.
 Hermitage, the, 770, 776.
 Hertford, 18, 93, 97.
 Hethersett, 260.
 Hevingham, 189, 240.
 Hickling, 241.
 High Wycomb(e), 627.
 Hilburgh (Hilborough), 33, 78, 466.

- Hilgay, 472.
 Hillington, 5, 78, 90, 360, 496, 503, 532,
 542, 559, 561, 565, 588, 589, 649.
 Hinchbrook, 425.
 Hindolveston, 322.
 Hingham, 707.
 Hobart Point, 500.
 Hobb's Cross, 596.
 Hobshouse, 300.
 Hogue, La, 110.
 Holbech (Holbeach), 39, 477.
 Holborn, 495.
 Holderness, the, 196.
 Holkham, 91, 396, 397, 398, 474, 475, 557,
 567, 569.
 Holkham Bay, 500.
 Holland [Lincolnshire], 9, 317, 771, 791.
 Holm-cum-Thorpland, 316.
 Holme, 27, 127.
 Holme Scarfe, 5.
 Holme-next-Sea, 27, 318.
 Holt, 74, 347, 384, 389, 405, 528, 600, 853.
 Holy Island, 277.
 Homildon Hill, 150.
 Horn, Cape, 620.
 Hornby, 192.
 Horncastle, 361.
 Horningham, 74.
 Horsham, 240.
 Horsley's Chase, 666.
 Houghton, 280, 394, 442, 464, 639, 753.
 Hoxne, 99, 240.
 Hoxton, 546.
 Hoylake, 461.
 Huddersfield, 734.
 Hull, 176, 197, 286, 293, 302, 325, 346,
 361, 405, 432, 449, 459, 514, 537, 538,
 539, 598, 604, 605, 609, 695, 736, 778,
 796, 828.
 Humber, the, 213, 386, 812.
 Hundred Feet River, the, 776.
 Hunstanton (Hunston), 5, 27, 28, 35, 36,
 109, 126, 264, 320, 351, 371, 373, 374,
 441, 460, 461, 600, 619, 658, 790, 791.
 Huntingdon, 369, 374, 425, 462, 523, 597,
 599, 770.
 Hythe, 70.
 ICELAND (Iselond), 177, 213, 293, 294, 377,
 378, 706, 784, 785, 786, 787.
 Ickburgh, 27.
 Icknield Street or Way, 24, 27.
 Impingham, 413.
 Ingoldisthorpe, 477, 578, 756.
 Ingworth, 701.
 Intwood, 262.
 Ipswich, 52, 55, 75, 176, 220, 240, 253,
 278, 287, 293, 305, 325, 463, 661, 809,
 810, 833, 836.
 Isleworth, 549.
 Islington (Heslyngton), 218, 311, 316,
 776, 781.
 Ives, St., 336, 597, 770, 786.
 Ixworth, 5, 27.
 JERSEY, 408.
 Jerusalem, 250, 749.
 KENDAL, 725, 726.
 Kenilworth, 69.
 Kenninghall (Kenynghale), 84, 278, 279,
 281, 283.
 Kensington, 381, 513, 584, 831, 846.
 Ketel Hills, the, 794.
 Ketlam, the River, 794.
 Ketteringham [near Norwich], 794.
 Kettleburgh, 794.
 Kettlewell [Yorkshire], 794.
 Kidderminster, 627.
 Killin, 15.
 Kimbolton, 351.
 Kinnard's Head, 461.
 Kirkstead, 78.
 Kislingbury, 624.
 Knaresborough, 854.
 Knockholt, 18.
 Kyntire, Mull of, 461.
 LACKFORD, 673.
 Laffeldt, 512.
 Lakenheath, 2, 5.
 Lambeth, 157, 229, 315, 463, 855.
 Lancaster, 485, 489, 584, 586, 623.
 Langford, 123.
 Langham, 240.
 Langley, 93, 94, 95.
 Langley, Port, 500, 501.
 Langport, 21.
 Lark, the River, 832.
 Lavenham, 123.
 Lee, the River (or Roadstead), 315, 331,
 798.
 Leeds, 383, 496, 596, 648, 784, 877.
 Leicester (Leycestre), 69, 165, 173, 214,
 246, 695, 710, 750.
 Leith, 306.
 Lendale, 15.
 Lenham, 15.
 Lenne Episcopi (Bishop's Lynn), *15,
 681.
 Lenne (Lynn), New, *23, *358.
 Lenne (Lynn), Old, *23, 356, *358, 390,
 472, 768, 774, 776.
 Lenne Regis (King's Lynn), 15, 55,
 *241, 681.
 Lennox, 15.
 Lenton, 15.
 Lenwade, 15.
 Leonard's, St., 592.
 Lesborne, Cape, 620.
 Leveton, 781.
 Lewes, 14.
 Lexham, 5.

- Lexham, West, 126.
 Leziate, 649.
 Lichfield, 142, 877.
 Lin, the *[14-16], 3, 17, 22, 23, 30, 41, 42, 43, 218.
 Lin, Len (Linn, Linne; Lenn, Lenne, etc.), North, 14, 36, 42, 250, 316, 357, 358, 383, 502, 510, 594, 601, 617, 666, 869, 875, 881.
 Lin, Len (Linn, Linne; Lenn, Lenne, etc.), South, 14, 41, 42, 121, 137, 144, 167, 172, 178, 199, 211, 223, 250, 282, 285, 286, 290, 308, 316, 329, 338, 358, 384, 409, 420, 421, 422, 435, 447, 451, 452, 453, 471, 476, 478, 479, 486, 487, 500, 510, 516, 517, 527, 554, 556, 572, 584, 601, 611, 616, 617, 655, 657, 658, 666, 669, 674, 676, 679, 709, 710, 712, 715, 733, 750, 756, 760, 767, 796, 814, 851, 883, 885, 887.
 Lin, Len (Linn, Linne; Lenn, Lenne, etc.), West, 14, 23, 36, 42, 100, 124, 160, 222, 249, 250, 268, 280, 290, 316, 318, 383, 424, 477, 572, 580, 594, 618, 630, 649, 681, 738, 784, 869.
 Lincoln, 15, 23, 39, 77, 85, 115, 142, 146, 246, 361, 400, 417, 463, 467, 749, 803.
 Lindsey, 791.
 Lingheath, 8.
 Linlithgow, 15.
 Linnhe, Loch, 15.
 Linton, 15.
 Lisbon, 345, 346.
 Litcham, 438, 709.
 Little Lode, the, 772.
 Little Ouse (Owse), 4, 768, 770, 771, 774.
 Littleport (Litleport), 21, 57, 68, 540, 597, 771, 772.
 Littleport Chayre, 771, 772.
 Liverpool, 72, 432, 438, 461, 537, 538, 596, 597, 604.
 London, 24, *42, 45, 53, 54, 59, 77, 84, 85, 92, 97, 98, 99, 108, 111, 115, 116, 117, 122, 144, 146, 151, 156, 157, 162, 175, 176, 181, 183, 184, 190, 206, 233, 235, 241, 246, 252, 254, 258, 263, 264, 279, 280, 281, 282, 290, 292, 293, 295, 298, 304, 305, 319, 320, 325, 331, 338, 342, 343, 345, 347, 353, 373, 375, 377, 378, 379, 381, 385, 390, 393, 401, 406, 410, 412, 419, 423, 424, 426, 427, 431, 432, 435, 436, 437, 438, 449, 450, 454, 460, 463, 467, 468, 473, 487, 490, 491, 492, 498, 502, 503, 509, 520, 530, 531, 537, 538, 539, 546, 548, 550, 556, 570, 574, 585, 587, 588, 589, 591, 592, 596, 597, 598, 600, 601, 602, 615, 616, 627, 629, 653, 654, 661, 662, 667, 669, 695, 696, 703, 707, 716, 722, 727, 734, 736, 738, 753, 761, 764, 781, 782, 786, 798, 810, 836, 837, 838, 846, 861, 862, 869, 875, 877, 885.
 Long Sand, the, 318.
 Loretto, 68, 612.
 Lostwithiel, 311.
 Loughborough, 838, 881.
 Low Countries, the, 292, 305, 346, 428, 528, 539, 540, 726, 734, 764, 790.
 Lowe, 809.
 Lowestoft, 247, 287, 294, 350, 351, 406, 519, 810.
 Lübeck, 172, 173.
 Ludgate, 232.
 Ludlow(e), 206, 207.
 Lutgershall, 47.
 Lyghes, 240.
 Lyme Regis, 366.
 Lymington, 539.
 Lynford, 15.
 Lyng(e), 251.
 Lynn [Mass.], [414-415].
 Lynn Common, South [674-680], 556, 853.
 Lynn, St. Peter's [See Lin, West].
 Lynn, St. Edmund's [See Lin, North].
 Lyons, 246.
 MADRID, 502, 881.
 Magdalen (Mawdelyn, Magdalynn, etc.), [See Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen].
 Maidenhead, 36.
 Maidstone, 122.
 Maldon, 305.
 Malmesbury, 460.
 Malvern, Great, 612, 644.
 Manchester, 489, 589, 597, 598, 627, 640, 666.
 Manningtree, 849.
 Mansfield, 531.
 Mansworth, 437.
 March, 771, 798.
 Marham, 226.
 Market Deeping, 243.
 Marlborough, 10, 436.
 Marlingford (Marlyngford), 133.
 Marseilles, 307.
 Marsham, 10, 240.
 Marshland, 9, 11, 12, 16, 261, 279, 291, 299, 306, 316, 319, 335, 356, 426, 567, 611, 664, 747, 760, 771, 776, 778, 835, 853.
 Marston, 368, 391.
 Martham, 853.
 Marylebone, 587.
 Massachusetts, 706.
 Massingham, 5, 8, 354, 373, 394, 540, 600.
 Massingham, Great, 9, 41, 460, 657.
 Massingham, Little, 9, 373.
 Mattishall, 189.
 May, the Isle of, 377.
 Maydenbure, 35.

- Maydenburg, 36.
 Melford, Long, 301.
 Melton, 94.
 Mepal, 317.
 Mersey, the River, 386, 461.
 Merton, 5.
 Methwold, 123, 853.
 Middle Level, the, 536, 601, 778, 783.
 Middleton, 5, 200, 201, 204, 211, 217,
 477, 490, 589, 649, 664, 704, 707, 745,
 756, 760, 794, 818.
 Milan, 720.
 Mildenhall, 2, 94, 597, 771.
 Mile End, 122.
 Milford Haven, 214, 460.
 Milton, 305.
 Minster Lovet, 475.
 Mintlyn (Mintling), 46, 222, 223, 230,
 280, 699, 794.
 Mitford, 127, 330.
 Morpeth, 69.
 Mousehold, 260, 261, 262.
 Mow, 644.
 Much Wenlock, 218.
 Mundesley (Mandeley), 293, 294.
 Munford, 526.

 NAHANT [Mass.], 415.
 Namur, 454.
 Nantes, 728.
 Naples, 212.
 Nar, the River, 5, 15, 44, 355, 421, 476,
 479, 513, 536, 664, 665, 666, 668, 678,
 679, 681, 709, 757, 760, 777, 788, 794.
 Narborough, 5, 16, 326, 568, 598.
 Narford, 535.
 Naseby, 369, 845.
 Nazareth, 68, 612.
 Needham Market, 189.
 Nene (Neane), the River, 3, 38, 39, 317,
 335, 681, 770, 771, 772, 781, 791.
 Neots, St., 38, 770.
 Netherlands, the [See Low Countries].
 Netherwold, 596.
 New England, 400, 415.
 New Forest, 215.
 New York, 604.
 Newark, 56, 369, 370, 373, 374.
 Newburg, 51.
 Newbury, 361.
 Newcastle (Neof-Chastel)-upon-Tyne,
 59, 92, 189, 246, 286, 293, 302, 313,
 325, 333, 347, 352, 377, 380, 386, 390,
 395, 408, 408, 434, 435, 459, 463, 485,
 487, 537, 539, 547, 556, 810, 845.
 Newfoundland, 377.
 Newgate, 373, 403, 703.
 Newhall, 311.
 Newmarket, 68, 94, 156, 342, 374, 391,
 423, 436, 519, 556, 596, 597.
 Newport [Essex], 21, 596.

 Newport, or Nieupoort [Holland], 518.
 Newport [Monmouthshire], 674.
 Newport Pagnell, 370.
 Newton, West, 669.
 Nile, the River, 626.
 Nitley, 470.
 Nootka, 500.
 Norman Cross, 523.
 Northallerton, 22.
 Northampton, 168, 596, 597, 612, 770.
 North Foreland, 406.
 North (Sea) Bank, the, 580, 778, 782.
 Norwich (Norwyche), 5, 22, 25, 33, 38,
 39, 43, 46, 49, 53, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73,
 74, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 101, 105, 111,
 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 130,
 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 149,
 157, 161, 162, 174, 176, 178, 179, 182,
 193, 209, 215, 223, 235, 236, 239, 241,
 245, 246, 251, 258, 260, 261, 263, 264,
 265, 276, 279, 281, 283, 284, 289, 291,
 293, 301, 308, 318, 320, 322, 326, 340,
 341, 342, 346, 347, 348, 350, 351, 352,
 353, 354, 355, 363, 371, 377, 384, 389,
 391, 393, 398, 408, 412, 418, 419, 420,
 421, 428, 429, 437, 438, 442, 453, 455,
 456, 463, 465, 469, 472, 478, 488, 489,
 490, 496, 506, 507, 515, 517, 518, 523,
 528, 528, 536, 541, 542, 545, 547, 560,
 566, 583, 584, 587, 588, 589, 592, 596,
 597, 599, 600, 604, 611, 618, 623, 624,
 654, 661, 662, 667, 694, 695, 696, 699,
 706, 707, 712, 714, 715, 726, 727, 728,
 732, 733, 734, 735, 745, 749, 750, 753,
 758, 791, 794, 799, 805, 825, 830, 833,
 843, 844, 852, 854, 855, 856, 873, 875,
 877, 879, 881.
 Nottingham, 93, 116, 214, 347, 353, 401,
 644, 645, 650, 664.
 Nottingham Point, 580, 782.
 Novgorod, 727.
 Nuns Deke, the, 448.
 Nuremburg, 803.

 OAKHAM, 243.
 Oakley (Ugle), 596.
 Old Croft River, the, 771.
 Oldham, 627.
 Oporto, 604.
 Orange Farm, the, 522.
 Orford, 465, 533.
 Orkney Islands, the, 461, 784, 786.
 Orwell, the River, 107, 108, 109.
 Osberton, 808.
 Osnabruck, 489.
 Ossian's Vale, 262.
 Ostend, 304, 316, 331, 334, 376, 377, 518.
 Otaheite, 498.
 Ouse Parva [See Little Ouse].
 Ousewell, 770.
 Outwell, 227, 280, 310, 426, 490, 501, 771,
 772, *773.

Owhyhee, 498, 500.
 Oxborough, 5, 14, 27, 218, 279, 307, 325,
 400, 441, 489.
 Oxford, 47, 48, 49, 78, 116, 142, 181, 246,
 281, 310, 360, 361, 371, 373, 374, 402,
 455, 462, 463, 497, 505, 506, 507, 508,
 523, 528, 633, 696, 701, 715, 716, 741.

PAGE GREEN, 505.
 Pakenham, 373.
 Palling, 6, 293.
 Pancras, St., 153.
 Parham, 261, 394.
 Paris, 165, 229, 526, 742, 826.
 Parson Drove, 300.
 Peak, the, 854.
 Peddars' Way, the, 27.
 Penrhydd, 529.
 Penryn (Perin), 296.
 Pensthorpe, 5.
 Pentney, 5, 218, 624, 794.
 Pepper's Hill [Brandon], 674.
 Pershore, 529, 570.
 Perth, 136, 709.
 Peterborough, 27, 38, 304, 354, 419, 523,
 596, 597, 770, 845.
 Petersburg, St., 465, 618.
 Pevensey, 674.
 Pickenham (Pykenham), 27, 256.
 Pierpoint Drain, the, *479.
 Pisa, 633.
 Pitt Point, 620.
 Plymouth (Plimouthe), 189, 296, 313,
 523.
 Pockthorpe, 818.
 Poitiers, 190.
 Pontefract, 93.
 Popham Lode, 772.
 Porchester, 118, 200.
 Porters [Herts], 589.
 Portland, 385.
 Portsmouth (Portsmouth), 79, 110,
 223, 296, 332, 342, 393, 523.
 Pot Row [Grimston], 661.
 Prague, 324.
 Presteign, 437.
 Prickwillow, 771.
 Prince of Wales' Strait, the, 621.
 Pulham, 733.
 Pulver Drain, the, 286.
 Purfleet [Essex], 21.
 Purfleet [West Lynn], 681, 742, 767, 768.

QUEBEC, 396, 512.
 Quendon, 596.
 Quidenham, 585.
 Quornden, 84.

RAMILIES, 459.
 Ramsey, 38.
 Ranaldshaw, North, 461.
 Ratcliffe, 810.
 Ravenspur, 137, 196, 197.

Raynham, 355, 394, 395, 396, 429, 512,
 566.
 Reading, 462, 463.
 Rebbach (Rebech), 771, 772.
 Red House, the, 596.
 Reedham, 39.
 Rhine, the River, 36, 742.
 Richmond, 121, 233, 279, 286, 313, 489.
 Rifley, 5, 427, 535, 566, 618.
 Riga, 542.
 Ripon, 625.
 Rising (Castle), 4, 5, 14, 16, 22, 26, 42,
 52, 53, 72, 74, 80, 82, 84, 90, 93, 94,
 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103, 114, 120,
 126, 179, 193, 207, 211, 216, 232, 256,
 261, 264, 273, 278, 279, 340, 350, 398,
 413, 442, 443, 455, 464, 465, 468, 475,
 502, 536, 553, 624, 625, 630, 703, 736,
 753.

Roads, the (Lynn), 608, 661, 767.
 Rochdale, 549.
 Rochelle, 313, 346.
 Rochester, 146, 217, 305, 449.
 Rollesby, 240.
 Rolling Ground, the, 581.
 Roman Bank, the, 11, 12, 773, 774, 776.
 Rome, 25, 149, 210, 224, 283, 714, 877.
 Romney, 70.
 Roslin, 15.
 Rotterdam, 377, 419, 609.
 Roudeshill [South], 44, 113.
 Roudes (Rond's) Hill [East], 113, 216,
 251.
 Rouen, 165.
 Rougham, 78, 123, 320.
 Roydon, 5, 222.
 Royston, 24, 325, 374.
 Rudham, *63, 649.
 Runcton, 9, 16, 220, 418, 649, 745.
 Runcton, North, 121, 218, 449, 477, 582,
 618, 623, 627, 633, 705.
 Runton, 5.
 Runton, Upper, 458.
 Ryston (Riston), 261, 264, 833.

SADDLEBOW (Sadlebow), 448, 556, 617,
 853.
 Saffron Walden, 710.
 Sagamore Hill [Mass.], 415.
 Salisbury, 463, 501, 520, 710.
 Sall, 833.
 Salley (Sallee), 437.
 Salter's Lode, 10, 335, 770, 771.
 Salter's Road (or Way), 216, 328, 658,
 *736.
 Salter's Sluice, 540.
 Salthouse, 293.
 Sandringham, 368, 460, 462, 528, 666,
 668, 669, 860.
 Sandringham Ea [See Nar River].
 Sandwich, 110, 305, 325, 429, 734.
 Sandwich Islands, the, 620.
 Santon Warren, 5.

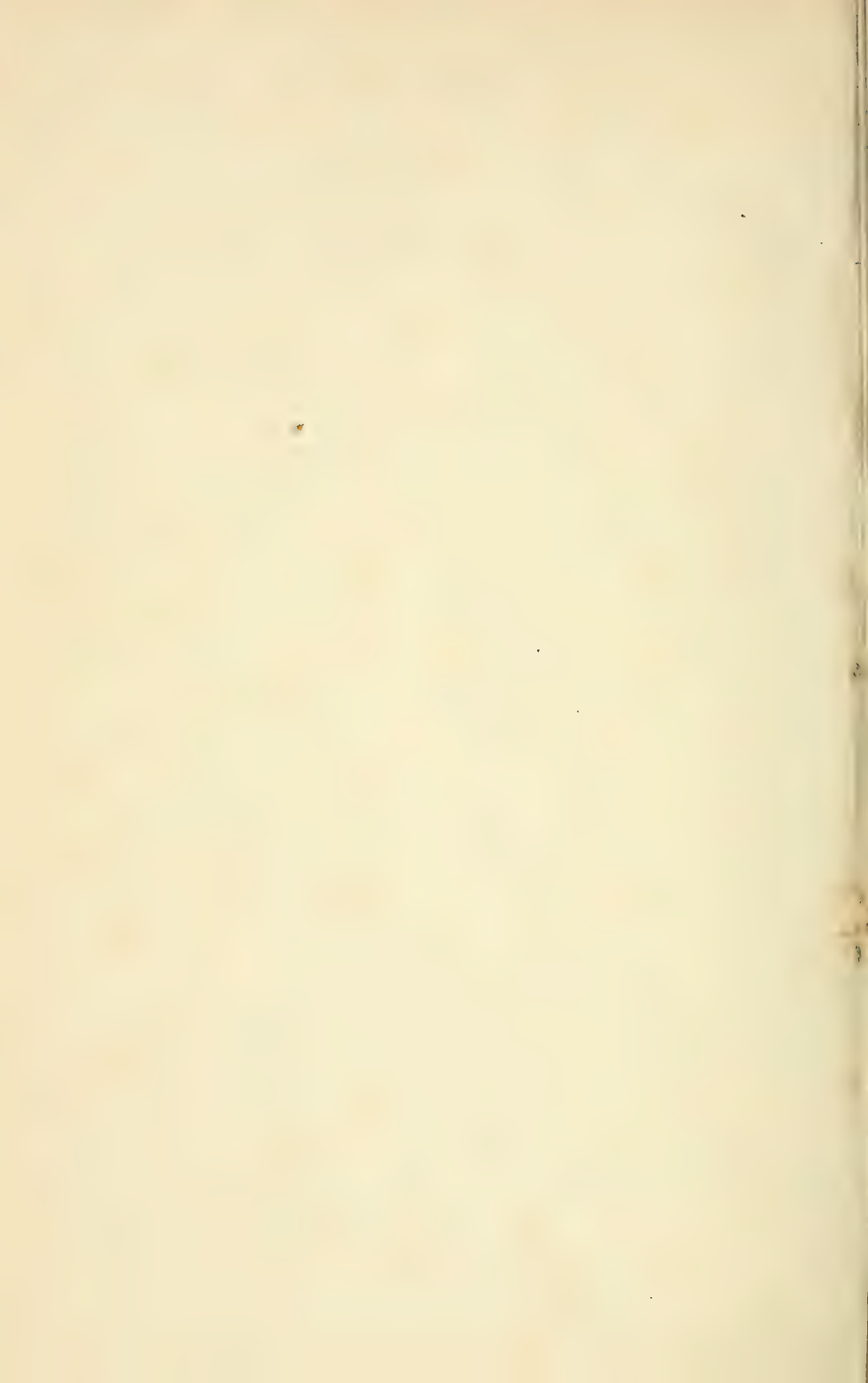
- Saugus [Mass.], 415.
 Sawston, 278.
 Sawtree, 142.
 Sayer's (Sarah's) Marsh, 504, 514, 763.
 Scale's How (Scalishough), 290, 448, 555.
 Scalpa Point, 461.
 Scarborough, 92, 331, 370, 371, 408, 537, 651.
 Scarning, 105.
 Scottow, 94.
 Sedgford (Sedgford, Sechford, etc.), 27, *44, 45, 699.
 Sedgley Park, 611.
 Seeche (Seeche or Setchy Parva), 223, 245, 250, 452, 477.
 Seeche Hithe, 250, 756.
 Setch (Seeching or Setchy Magna), 355, 367, 472, 576, 596, 724, 760.
 Sevenoaks, 763.
 Seville, 176, 502.
 Sewaldesfield, 699.
 Shanghai, 626.
 Sheffield, 631, 720, 827.
 Shene, 121, 233.
 Sheringham, 26, 27, 293, 306.
 Shernbourne, 126, 669, 756, 830.
 Shetland Isles, the, 784, 786.
 Shingham, 5, *24, 25, 26.
 Shoreditch, 600.
 Shoreham, 305.
 Shottesham, 426.
 Shouldham, 74, 75, 83, 228, 875.
 Shrewsbury, 133, 150, 151, 463, 845.
 Shrew(e)s Ness Point, 10, 771.
 Shrub Hill, 3.
 Sienna, 104.
 Silbury Hill, 10.
 Skegness, 348.
 Skirbeck, 414.
 Sleaford, 56.
 Sluys, 108, 304.
 Smeeth (Smeth), the, *11, 124, 127.
 Smerden, 103.
 Smithdon, 41, 80, 565.
 Smithfield, 11, 148, 373, 869.
 Snettisham (Snetesham), 5, 84, 102, 124, 125, 293, 294, 306, 357, 477, 576, 589, 596, 601, 756, 781.
 Snettisham Point, 500.
 Snore Hill, 833.
 Soligen, 803.
 Solway Firth, the, 757.
 Somerton, West, 833.
 Sopwell, 191.
 Southampton, 59, 77, 293, 296, 463, 537, 794.
 Southery, 123, 374.
 Southport, 633.
 Southwell, 374.
 Southwold, 287.
 South Level, the, 536, 778.
 South Sand Head, the, 376.
 Sow's Head, 798.
 Spalding, 38, 211, 248, 403, 439, 487.
 Spalding River, the, 771.
 Sporle, 5.
 Sprowston, 352.
 Spurn Head, 407, 791.
 Stanley, 625.
 Stalham, 556.
 Stamford, 38, 374, 523, 574, 596, 770, 835.
 Stanfield, 311.
 Stanhope, 502.
 Stansted, 596.
 Staple Were (Weere, etc.), 117, 238, 239, 242, 318, 790.
 Staughton, Great, 402.
 Staverton, 437.
 Steping, 437.
 Stevenage, 77.
 Stilton, 374, 523.
 Stirling, 91, 632.
 Stockport, 21.
 Stockton Soken, the Manor of, 330.
 Stoke [Suffolk], 437.
 Stoke [Nottinghamshire], 214.
 Stoke Waters, 770.
 Stoke (Stock, Stoake) Ferry, 44, 225, 390, 470, 472, 563, 596, 760.
 Stourbridge (Stirbich, Stirbitch), 258, 302, 719, 722, 728, 786, 789.
 Stow(e) Bardolph, 63, 75, 78, 224, 228, 300, 316, 374, 441, 661, 709, 710.
 Stradbroke, 142.
 Stradsett, 27, 84, 199, 385, 707.
 Stralsund, 258.
 Stratford-upon-Avon, 830.
 Strawberry Hill [Twickenham], 506.
 Stretham Meer, 770.
 Stukeley, 374.
 Stuntney, 630.
 Styleman Point, 500.
 Sudbury, 123, 519, 739.
 Sunderland, 377, 407, 434, 539, 567, 606, 615.
 Sutton, 317, 417.
 Sutton Bridge 3, 598.
 Sutton, Long, 56, 68, 209, 423, 426.
 Swaffham, 5, 24, 77, 94, 125, 189, 211, 256, 346, 384, 385, 389, 390, 408, 447, 479, 516, 519, 548, 557, 560, 597, 598, 600, 662, 667, 858.
 Swanington, 263.
 Swans' Lin [Lincoln], 23.
 Swavesey, 210, 211.
 Swineshead, 806.
 Syderstone, 278, 281.
 Syracuse, 204.
 TADCASTER, 151, 369.
 Tempsford, 22.
 Terling, 240.

- Terrington, 11, 121, 316, 330, 516, 566,
 640, 774, 799.
 Terrington Brest Sand, the, 318.
 Terrington St. Clements, 357, 522.
 Terrington St. Johns, 300, 781, 871.
 Tewkesbury, 197, 207.
 Thames, the River, 38, 107, 315, 347,
 450, 619, 757, 798, 812.
 Thanet, the Isle of, 710.
 Theobalds, 330.
 Thetford, 2, 5, 7, 33, 35, 38, 39, 42, 43,
 53, 78, 89, 94, 121, 123, 127, 132,
 214, 215, 239, 240, 251, 261, 308, 315,
 319, 321, 323, 340, 351, 357, 384, 408,
 412, 421, 422, 442, 443, 456, 469, 487,
 489, 519, 560, 562, 589, 597, 611, 662,
 707, 750, 770, 812, 834, 835, 879, 887.
 Thief Sand, the, 575.
 Thomas, St. [Guiana], 324.
 Thompson, 390.
 Thoresby [Lincolnshire], 222.
 Thornage, 74, 240.
 Thorndens, 94.
 Thorney, 38, 772.
 Thornham, 94, 240, 407.
 Thorpe (Gayton), 51.
 Thorpe [Norwich], 162, 240.
 Thorpe Market, 501.
 Thursford, 306.
 Thurston, 322.
 Tickenshall, 624.
 Tilney (Tylney, Tyllney), 11, 78, 121,
 136, 330, 344, 490, 704, 871.
 Tilney Allsaints, 624.
 Tilney-cum-Islington, 311.
 Titherington [See Middleton].
 Tittleshall, 618.
 Tofts, 624.
 Tofts, West, 496.
 Toilethorpe [Rutlandshire], 545.
 Tonga Bay, 498.
 Torbay, 449.
 Toternhoe, 22.
 Tottenham [London], 505.
 Tottenham, 5, 12.
 Tottenham-cum-Wormegay (Totnell-
 cum-Wormgays), 316.
 Toulouse, 528, 702.
 Tournay, 214, 733.
 Tours, 210.
 Towcester, 22, 770.
 Townley, 811.
 Townshend Point, 500.
 Trafalgar, 753.
 Transvaal, 93, 629.
 Travannes, 633, 753.
 Trent, the River, 791.
 Trunch, 833.
 Tunis (Tunnis), 437.
 Tunstead, 331.
 Twickenham, 465.
 Twyford, 624.
 Tyburn, 345, 401, 403.
 Tydd St. Mary, 501.
 Tyne, the River, 331, 619.
 Tynemouth, 460.
 UPWELL, 470, 472, 771, 772, *773.
 Upwood, 356.
 Utrecht, 175.
 VANCOUVER ISLAND, 499, 500.
 Venice, 104, 727, 734.
 WADDON, 200.
 Wakefield, 168, 734.
 Walgrave, 142.
 Wallington, 501.
 Wallsend, 757.
 Walpole, 11, *16, 121, 220, 316, 337, 646,
 742.
 Walpole St. Andrews, 624, 781.
 Walpole St. Peters, 322, 464, 781.
 Walpole Point, 500.
 Walsall, 627.
 Walsham, 127.
 Walsham, North, 35, 123, 128, 178, 418,
 519.
 Walsingham, 19, 39, 67, 68, 73, 74, 75,
 76, 78, 89, 93, 94, 95, 193, 208, 212,
 214, 215, 216, 218, 253, 255, 256, 261,
 283, 306, 384, 389, 442, 487, 612, 613,
 794, 806, 853.
 Walsoken (Walsoekene), 11, *16, 121,
 300, 316, 330, 337, 390, 438.
 Waltham Cross, 156.
 Walton, 11, *16, 91, 121.
 Walton, East, 5, 200, 218, 445, 536, 568.
 Walton, West, 316, 330, 584, 794.
 Walvisch Bay, 628.
 Wanstead, 275.
 Warboys, 437.
 Wardon, 745.
 Ware, 156, 157, 435.
 Warham, 433.
 Warwick, 417.
 Wash, the, 6, 68, 194, 209, 406, *773, 782,
 789, 792, 806.
 Washes, the, 771, 772.
 Waterbeach, 210, 211.
 Waterford, 15, 35, 215.
 Waterloo, 497.
 Watlington, 35, 84, 232, 316, 444, 452,
 598, 600, 649, 661, 707, 760.
 Watton, 261, 723.
 Waveney, the River, 525.
 Waxham, 293.
 Weasenham (Weseham, Wesenham),
 433.
 Weeting, 5, 7, 8, 10, 853.
 Weldon, 592.
 Well Hall, the [Grimston], 800.
 Well, the Lynn, 789.
 Welland, the River, 248, 317, 335, 772,
 781, 791.

- Welle, 771, 772, 773, 848.
 Welle Stream (or River), 772, *773.
 Wells (Welles), 26, 70, 123, 189, 255, 293,
 294, 306, 332, 333, 339, 376, 406, 409,
 459, 516, 517, 519, 541, 596, 715, 848,
 850.
 Wells [Somersetshire], 715.
 Welney, 771, 772, *773, 774.
 Wendling, 833.
 Wereham, 5, 596, 853.
 Westacre, 5, 33, 41, 74, 94, 220, 311, 513,
 676, 883.
 Westhall, 90.
 Westminster, 53, 58, 66, 69, 73, 78, 84,
 92, 109, 112, 118, 121, 123, 136, 138,
 139, 147, 143, 151, 152, 153, 157, 165,
 178, 182, 186, 197, 200, 206, 207, 229,
 232, 233, 235, 237, 241, 258, 265, 275,
 277, 285, 287, 299, 303, 313, 320, 321,
 325, 330, 331, 360, 364, 382, 401, 403,
 411, 438, 458, 466, 474, 493, 502, 524,
 618, 669, 708, 715.
 Westminster, New, 501.
 West Briggs, 12.
 West Water (or River), 771.
 Wexford, 379.
 Weybourn (Waborne), 10, 26, 27, 293,
 294, 405, 517.
 Weymouth, 809.
 Whaplode, 39, 812.
 Whissonett, 189, 433.
 Whitby, 332, 810.
 White Buoy Heading, the, 606.
 White House, the [Manor], 452.
 White Post, 596.
 Whitechapel, 836.
 Whitehall, 259, 331, 336, 346, 375, 393,
 402, 443.
 Whiting Sand, the, 318, 575.
 Whittlesea (Wittlesey), 38, 771, 798, 861.
 Wickham Skeith, 322.
 Wiggenhall (Wynhall), 121, 273, 282,
 318, 452, 774, 776, 853.
 Wiggenhall St. Germans (Germanes,
 Jarmans), 82, 165, 300, 304, 306,
 312, 321, 322, 323, 329, 399, 465, 472,
 473, 477, 489, 554, 576, 619, 649, 652,
 776.
 Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen (Maw-
 delyn, etc.), 178, 250, 279, 299, 306,
 318, 477, 505, 536, 576, 649, 714, 776,
 778.
 Wiggenhall St. Peters, 477, 576.
 Wighton, 123.
 Willingham, 709.
 Wimbledon, 632.
 Winch (Wynch), East, 217, 225, 633, 745.
 Winch, West, 171, 223, 224, 232, 307, 311,
 477, 576, 592, 596, 756.
 Winchester, 56, 106, 167, 463, 762.
 Windham Point, 500.
 Windsor, 56, 92, 93, 112, 118, 145, 200,
 206, 375, 576, 823.
 Winterton (Wynterton), 293, 294, 306.
 Winter Harbour, 622.
 Wisbech (Wisbiche, Wisbeach, etc.),
 14, 22, 38, 39, 56, 78, 94, 193, 279,
 280, 300, 307, 308, 317, 319, 346, 351,
 354, 355, 369, 376, 380, 384, 449, 484,
 487, 501, 522, 523, 526, 528, 530, 536,
 584, 588, 596, 598, 599, 602, 652, 680,
 742, 771, 772, *773, 799, 853.
 Withingham, Great, 322.
 Witham, the River, 781, 791.
 Wolferton, 290, 633, 669, 781, 790.
 Wolterton, 465, 532.
 Wood Ditton, 123.
 Wood Rising, 833.
 Woodbridge, 519, 810.
 Woodhouse, Point, 500.
 Woodstock, 215.
 Wooler, 150.
 Woolwich, 207.
 Wootton (Witton), 516, 633, 736, 778,
 781, 794.
 Wootton, North, 291, 316, 632.
 Wootton, South, 5, 291, 316, 350, 356, 666.
 Wootton Gapp (Gap), 216.
 Wootton Green, 120.
 Worcester, 379, 463.
 Worlington, 322, 832, 833.
 Wormegay (Wrongay), 27, 42, 89, 192,
 255, 617, 707, 729.
 Worstead (Worsted), 320, 428, 732, 750.
 Wreningham, Little, 794.
 Wretham, 5, 7, 27, 385.
 Wretton, 337.
 Wyke, 240.
 Wymondham, 94, 260, 263, 330, 428.
 Wyveton, 293, 294.
 YARE, THE RIVER, 39.
 Yarmouth (Yarmowthe), Great, 30, 39,
 43, 55, 66, 69, 73, 75, 91, 94, 105,
 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 121, 123, 127,
 133, 136, 137, 176, 177, 253, 258, 285,
 278, 286, 293, 294, 301, 304, 305, 306,
 309, 313, 325, 331, 332, 340, 346, 350,
 351, 356, 361, 376, 377, 378, 384, 385,
 391, 396, 402, 403, 404, 408, 409, 412,
 419, 420, 421, 442, 453, 455, 456, 459,
 465, 474, 489, 490, 497, 514, 516, 517,
 522, 523, 524, 525, 528, 536, 541, 546,
 547, 573, 577, 589, 600, 633, 661, 662,
 667, 694, 727, 728, 736, 757, 758, 790,
 791, 809, 810, 848, 853.
 Yaxley, 523.
 Yelverton, 320.
 Yokohama, 626.
 York (Yorke), 54, 69, 85, 115, 116, 151,
 176, 236, 246, 293, 386, 408, 463, 502,
 598, 599, 695, 726, 811, 819, 825, 845,
 854.
 ZAMBESI, THE RIVER, 628.
 Zeeland, 26, 177.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 15, line 23, <i>for</i>	'Seldon'	<i>read</i>	'Selden.'
" 36, " 4, "	'Uffa's'	"	'Offa's.'
" 42, " 9, "	'Conqueror's'	"	'Confessor's.'
" 43, " 15, "	'North'	"	'South.'
" 44, " 3, "	'of Turbe'	"	'or Turbe.'
" 81, " 8, "	'Fyson and Son'	"	'Fison and Sons.'
" 159, " 44, "	'Arudel'	"	'Arundel.'
" 275, " 52, "	'Gentilsme'	"	'Gentilisme.'
" 279, " 43, "	'atlhough'	"	'although.'
" 311, " 11, "	'Carmarthen'	"	'Caermarthen.'
" 311, " 31, "	'ancesters'	"	'ancestors.'
" 329, " 48, "	'Friar'	"	'Friars.'
" 383, " 11, "	'(C.22). Besides'	"	'(C.22), besides.'
" 424, " 32, "	'Macbeth'	"	'Duncan.'
" 450, " 1, "	'Jesuists'	"	'Jesuits.'
" 475, " 16, "	'ordnance'	"	'ordinance.'
" 478, " 18, "	'1708'	"	'1709.'
" 480 (diagram) "	'Carnegie Road'	"	'Mill Fleet Road,' the Town Council having recently decided to perpetuate the ancient place-name.
" 508, line 22, <i>for</i>	'Lynn.'	<i>read</i>	'Lynn''.
" 523, " 41, "	'Vyne'	"	'Vynne.'
" 531, " 28, "	'Morgan'	"	'Morgans.'
" 534, " 15, "	'1881'	"	'1880.'
" 571, transpose lines 24 and 25.			
" 615, line 46, <i>for</i>	'James'	<i>read</i>	'John.'
" 627, " 7, "	'Wycomb'	"	'Wycombe.'
" 674, " 18, "	'quite unknown'	"	'quite as unknown.'
" 695, " 9, "	'Cosgrove's'	"	'Crosgrove's.'
" 754, " 22, "	'pendant'	"	'pendent.'
" 848, " 4, "	'Robert'	"	'Richard.'
" 865, " 1, "	'Terrace'	"	'Road.'



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